

... PUBLISHED QUARTERLY IN SEPTEMBER, DECEMBER, MARCH, AND JUNE; PRICE
FIVE DOLLARS OR THIRTY-FIVE SHILLINGS PER YEAR. ALL FOREIGN SUBSCRIPTIONS ARE POST FREE. AP-
PLICATION FOR TRANSFER OF SECOND-CLASS MAIL PRIVILEGES TO INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA, IS PENDING.
PUBLICATION OFFICE: 128 NORTH COLLEGE AVENUE, INDIANAPOLIS 2, INDIANA. EDITORIAL OFFICE: INDIANA
UNIVERSITY, BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA. SEND FORMS 3579, CORRESPONDENCE, AND CHANGES OF ADDRESS TO
VICTORIAN STUDIES, INDIANA UNIVERSITY, BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA. RETURN POSTAGE IS GUARANTEED.

1958 / 1959



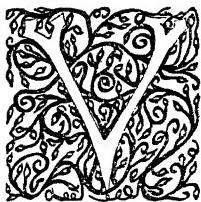
VICTORIAN STUDIES

*a quarterly journal
of the
Humanities, Arts, and Sciences*

VOLUME II

published at Indiana University

VICTORIAN STUDIES IS PUBLISHED QUARTERLY IN SEPTEMBER, DECEMBER, MARCH, AND JUNE, PRICE FIVE DOLLARS OR THIRTY-FIVE SHILLINGS PER YEAR. ALL FOREIGN SUBSCRIPTIONS ARE POST FREE. APPLICATION FOR TRANSFERS OF SECOND-CLASS MAIL PRIVILEGES TO INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA, IS PENDING. PUBLICATION OFFICE: 128 NORTH COLLEGE AVENUE, INDIANAPOLIS 2, INDIANA. EDITORIAL OFFICE: INDIANA UNIVERSITY, BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA. SEND FORMS 3579, CORRESPONDENCE, AND CHANGES OF ADDRESS TO VICTORIAN STUDIES, INDIANA UNIVERSITY, BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA. RETURN POSTAGE IS GUARANTEED.



3 : PREFATORY NOTE

5 *John Clive* : MORE OR LESS EMINENT VICTORIANS: SOME TRENDS
IN RECENT VICTORIAN BIOGRAPHY

29 •*Oliver MacDonagh* : DELEGATED LEGISLATION AND ADMINISTRATIVE
DISCRETIONS IN THE 1850'S: A PARTICULAR STUDY

45 *William J. Hyde* : HARDY'S VIEW OF REALISM: A KEY TO THE RUSTIC
CHARACTERS

60 *Walker Gibson* : BEHIND THE VEIL: A DISTINCTION BETWEEN POETIC
AND SCIENTIFIC LANGUAGE IN TENNYSON,
LYELL, AND DARWIN

69 : BOOK REVIEWS

90 : ADVERTISEMENTS

94 : NEW ADVISERS AND CONTRIBUTORS

editors Philip Appleman William A. Madden Michael Wolff

book review editor Donald J. Gray

associate editor (England) G. F. A. Best

executive secretary Kay Dinsmoor *editorial assistant* Joseph Yocom

advisory board John Alford Richard D. Altick Noel Annan William O. Aydelotte

Asa Briggs Jerome H. Buckley Leon Edel Gordon S. Haight

T. W. Hutchison Howard Mumford Jones Henri Peyre Anthony Quinton

Gordon N. Ray Donald Smalley Geoffrey Tillotson R. K. Webb

editorial consultant William Riley Parker

design consultant William Friedman

VICTORIAN STUDIES

PREFATORY NOTE II



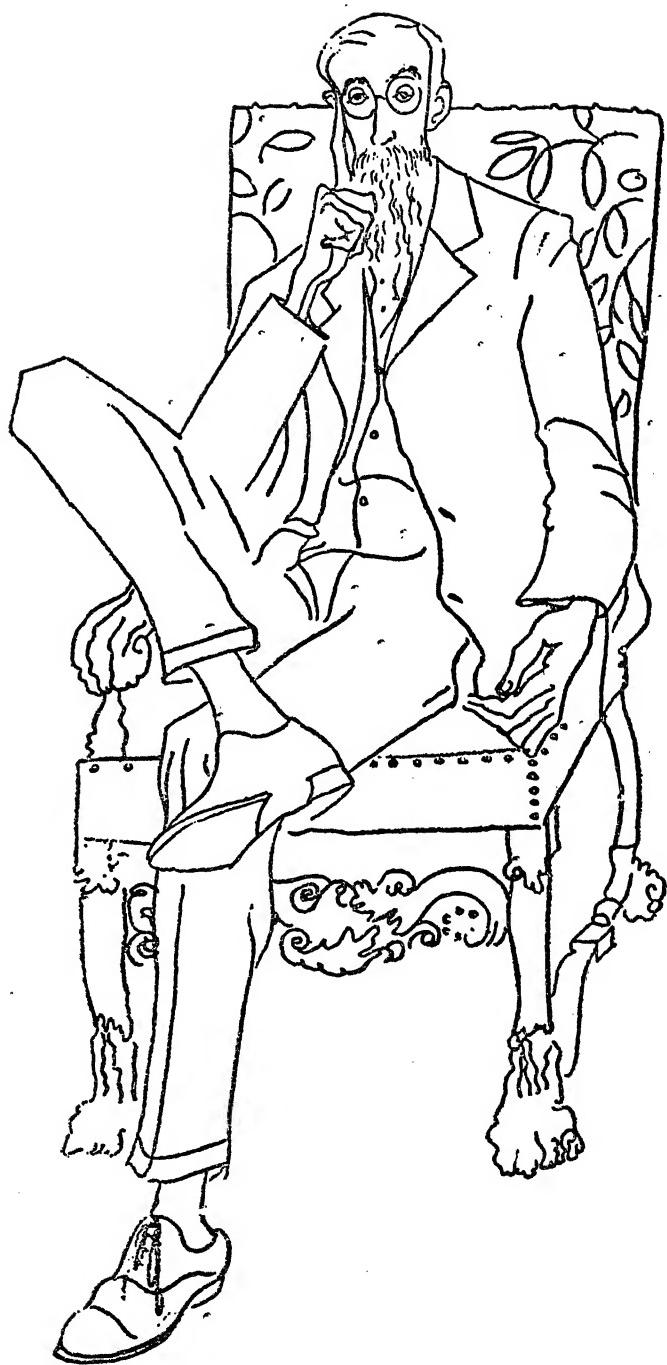
IT MIGHT BE WELL, at the beginning of Volume II, to develop the statement of policy which appeared at the beginning of Volume I. Although the following remarks are addressed primarily to contributors, we print them in our opening pages, partly because we think of all our readers as possible contributors, partly because we believe the remarks will give readers a clearer idea of what they may expect in the pages of VICTORIAN STUDIES.

The Prefatory Note to Volume I suggested that the Victorian period could be most effectively discussed and interpreted not "in departmental isolation," but "through the coordination of academic disciplines," and that therefore VICTORIAN STUDIES would publish work "addressed to all students of the Victorian age." In subsequent issues contributors were advised that they could best fit their work to the aims of VICTORIAN STUDIES by a "deliberate attempt to place their topics in a Victorian context.

This call for the coordination of academic disciplines in the study of the Victorian age does not mean that an expert writing in his own field is not welcome in our pages. We do especially want articles which define or describe important intellectual or spiritual currents in the Victorian period — discussions of vital issues or attitudes which helped to determine the quality of Victorian life. But not every article can be this ambitious; the specialist should recognize, simply, that if he publishes in VICTORIAN STUDIES he may assume from his readers an interest in his subject but not necessarily a knowledge of its details or of its relevance to the age. "Coordination of the disciplines," as we see it, requires in a scholar two qualities over and above that of competence in a particular discipline: a sense of the relation of his topic to the important ideas, movements, and personalities in the age; and the insight and skill to make this relation clear.

It is our hope that VICTORIAN STUDIES will thus promote in this one area a type of scholarship which in the past has been neglected, partly from lack of encouragement and perhaps chiefly for want of a place to be published. In short, our intention is not to dispense with specialized competence, but to make it more broadly effective.

THE EDITORS



John Clive

MORE OR LESS EMINENT VICTORIANS:

SOME TRENDS IN RECENT VICTORIAN BIOGRAPHY



HIS YEAR MARKS the fortieth anniversary of Lytton Strachey's *Eminent Victorians*; which almost persuades one to believe that life may indeed begin at forty. For not only are these four short biographical essays — about Florence Nightingale, General Gordon, Cardinal Manning, and Dr. Arnold — still widely read and reprinted; they and their author continue to constitute a bone of contention on which scholars and others are willing, even eager, to gnaw: an infallible sign of at least a certain kind of vitality.

In the Preface to *Eminent Victorians*, which is for some the sort of landmark in the history of biography that the *Communist Manifesto* is in the history of the working classes, Strachey invited biographers to throw off the chains with which they had dragged those twin-boxed Victorian coffins, otherwise known as Standard Biographies, their slow length along. The first duty of the biographer, he proclaimed, was to preserve a becoming brevity; the second, to maintain his own freedom of spirit. "It is not his business to be complimentary; it is his business to

Opposite:

Portrait of LYTTON STRACHEY by Eyre de Lanux, from *The Dial*, LXXXIII (1927)

lay bare the facts of the case, as he understands them." Furthermore, the end of biography as Strachey practised it in his essays, was not merely to depict the lives of some famous personages. His subjects were selected to serve as samples of the visions of an age, characteristic specimens brought up for examination from an ocean of material now so immense that it could hardly be studied in any other fashion.

Any readers to whom this image — it was Strachey's — gave promise of a strictly scientific procedure were doomed to quick disappointment. What they found were four elegantly written essays based on printed sources; crackling with wit, verve, and irony, and indicating in no uncertain manner that some of the great Victorian idols had possessed feet and, on occasion, heads of clay. The lives of the ecclesiastic, the educational authority, the woman of action, and the man of adventure — Victorian heroes all — gave evidence of crass stupidity alongside heroic endeavor, of selfish ambition alongside high idealism, of confusion and muddling alongside purposeful determination. Those "certain fragments of the truth which took my fancy and lay to my hand" revealed hidden depths and shadows where all had seemed plain and sunny before. The angelic Florence Nightingale turned out also to have been a demon who drove her associates and helpers as mercilessly as she drove herself. Dr. Arnold, the stern preceptor of English youth before whom even the Sixth Form quaked, was seen to be a man whose intellectual perspicacity by no means matched his moral certainty. Behind Cardinal Manning's ascetic countenance lay ruthless ambitions as well as spiritual struggles. The martyred General Gordon, gentle soldier of God, proved to have been no less a mystical fanatic than his opponent, the dreadful Mahdi.

Nor were Victorian institutions sacrosanct to Strachey. Army, church, public schools, political leaders — all supplied ready targets for the ironical and irreverent shafts loosed at them by the author. *C'est le ton qui fait la musique.* The essays were written in a tone of amused detachment expressing the reasonable man's disbelief in the extent to which folly and self-deception had actually come to take possession of such distinguished personages, living in such a respectable age. One by one, bubbles of sham and hypocrisy were pricked, sometimes with evident delight by the author, more often by the eminent persons themselves made to utter their most inane thoughts in their own words by means of Strachey's diabolically clever use of quotation and indirect discourse. Yet, though Strachey seemed to have cast himself in the double role of Mr. Sneer and the King of Brobdingnag, his portraits communicated more than mere contempt and amusement. In them he raised

problems of character and circumstance, reason and unreason, the individual in relation to the spirit of his age, and ideas in relation to action. Behind the ironical title and the strictures lay a certain recognition of achievement, and, above all, a curiosity in the motives and impulses that moved human beings, which went beyond the obvious debunking aspect of the book.

Whether or not its immediate success may be ascribed in part to the post-war disillusionment with formerly accepted values and institutions, *Eminent Victorians* rapidly and solidly established itself as a biographical classic. Rarely, if ever, had psychological penetration, a talent for dramatic depiction of character, and a brilliant style been employed together to better effect. In the space of two hundred pages, by what Asquith called his "subtle and suggestive art," Strachey succeeded in re-absorbing English biography into the realm of literature. Not that the chorus of acclaim was unanimous or wholehearted. Almost everyone, then and now, was and is willing to grant Strachey stylistic excellence. But in the forty years since the first appearance of *Eminent Victorians*, the book has been under more or less continuous and vehement attack; and has, in turn, been no less vigorously defended.¹

The case for the prosecution can be summed up as follows: Strachey misused and occasionally distorted historical evidence. He may have been a member of the Bloomsbury Group, but he did not carry its passion for absolute truth and honesty in the expression of thought and feeling about personal relations into the pages of *Eminent Victorians*. Dr. Arnold did not have short legs; Gordon was not a drunkard; Manning did not go over to Roman Catholicism because Pio Nono offered to make it worth his while. These are examples of inventions and insinuations which Strachey deliberately inserted into his essays. And even where he did not deliberately distort, he gravely misinterpreted. Since he set out to discredit the age, he ended up by drawing caricatures rather than portraits. Men and women of high seriousness and good will be-

¹ The literature is large. The brief summaries of the "defense" and "prosecution" in this essay owe most, on the "defense" side, to Charles Richard Sanders, *Lytton Strachey: His Mind and Art* (New Haven, 1957), a full and conscientious survey of Strachey's work which, while it fails to match the sprightliness of its subject, conveys a good sense of his range and his scale of values, and to Noel Annan, "Lytton Strachey and his Critics," *Listener*, XL (1949), 848-849; and, on the "prosecution" side, to F. A. Simpson, "Methods of History," *Spectator*, CLXXII (1944), 7-8, and James Pope-Hennessy, "Strachey's Way," *Spectator*, CLXXXII (1949), 264. Sanders supplies extensive references to the other relevant literature. See also Leon Edel, *Literary Biography* (London, 1957), pp. 88-89, and Hugh Trevor-Roper, "Strachey as Historian," *Historical Essays* (London, 1957), pp. 279-285.

came in his hands mere puppets going through ridiculous motions in order to raise sniggers from readers. Contradiction and complexity, to be found in all human beings, supplied Strachey with ammunition to score off hypocrisy and stupidity against the subjects of his essays. And, worst of all, the innuendoes, the irreverence, the witticisms were but the outward and visible signs of a basically flippant view of the world. Strachey, in short, was a wicked and clever alchemist who had mastered the secret of turning gold into dross.

The defense might reply as follows: True, Strachey's dishonesty disqualifies him from consideration as a serious historian. But he never pretended to write chapters of history; his essays were artistic interpretations, written from a definite point of view. Occasional distortion does not alter the essential verisimilitude of his portraits. What remains remarkable about these is the frequency with which, by a brilliant use of imagination and intuition, he was able to hit the nail on the head. Moreover, though Strachey's particular view of the world may at present be unfashionable, it is not for that reason to be dismissed. It is detached and amused rather than flippant. It exalts moderation, modesty, affection, and intelligence; and eschews stupidity, humbug, and misdirected zeal, officially sanctioned though these may be. It was held by an author who belongs in the great tradition of those comic writers for whom the world is full of paradox and folly, and who hope to effect at least the first stage of a cure by making people laugh at themselves.

As, forty years after *Eminent Victorians*, we look at current trends in Victorian biography, Strachey's contribution appears at first glance to have been both absorbed and superseded: absorbed in the sense that most biographers now assume that in order to succeed they must be as much artists as chroniclers; superseded in the sense that debunking has been followed in due course by understanding, laughter by sympathy, scorn by insight. We have discovered new dimensions in the great Victorians. Figures once irritatingly ebullient, confident, and self-satisfied we now find more and more frequently staring at us in anguish out of some strange and awful chiaroscuro. And our hearts go out to them.

And yet — is the pendulum perhaps beginning to swing too far the other way? Admitting Strachey's sins both of omission and commission, is it conceivable that a reading of some recent Victorian biographies might show that present students of the age could benefit by looking to him for more than diversion or target practice?

A brief look at post-World War II biographies of Strachey's four eminent Victorians is in itself sufficient to discourage a categorical dismissal of Strachey the biographer. With one exception, these biographies

can be called defensive in tone. They are out to show that their subjects, far from having been amalgams of strength and weakness, intelligence and stupidity, singlemindedness and contradiction, religiosity and practical self-seeking, were great and good and altogether worthy. Sir Shane Leslie's *Manning* (London, 1953), though useful in presenting a full survey of the Cardinal's activities, is chiefly remarkable for a sort of breathless awe before the institutions and grandeur of the Roman Catholic Church, not unfairly represented by sentiments such as the following: "The Holy See waiteth at one time, and at another time waiteth not. Inscrutable are her judgments."² Manning's character, motives, and actions are examined at length and found to be admirable. However that may be, the last thing Manning was was dull; and that is what this pedestrian treatment makes him. Lord Elton's *General Gordon* (London, 1954) is a much better book, noteworthy for a detailed and illuminating discussion of Gordon's highly individualistic theology and its practical expression in his apostolate to the poor. Yet one cannot help feeling that the author, justly eager to clear Gordon's personal character from Strachey's imputations and, somewhat less justly, to establish his role in the final tragedy as blameless, too often has let his indignation control his focus. The reader is never moved to exclaim: "With all his faults and virtues, what a man!"

Those seeking such a reaction will not find it induced, either, by a reading of Norman Wymer's *Arnold of Rugby* (London, 1953). Lionel Trilling and Basil Willey had already established, in contradiction to the poorest of the essays in *Eminent Victorians*, that the Doctor's intellect was not so absurdly out of kilter with his moral stature as Strachey had tried to make believe.³ But Mr. Wymer, while using some unpublished materials and supplying the first full biographical treatment of his subject, does little more than relate in a pleasant though overly lyrical manner the success story of a reforming Headmaster who triumphs when his students begin to gain academic honors. He may have felt that

² Shane Leslie, *Manning* (London, 1953), p. 190. This book is a revised and condensed version of the author's earlier *Henry Edward Manning, His Life and Labours* (London, 1921).

³ Lionel Trilling, *Matthew Arnold* (New York, 1939), pp. 36-76; Basil Willey, *Nineteenth Century Studies* (London, 1949), pp. 51-72. Fully granting the deficiencies of Strachey's portrait of Arnold, it is well to recall that the dangers of the sort of continuous moral hyper-tension inculcated by him at Rugby were observed long before *Eminent Victorians* — by Clough, by Fitzjames and Leslie Stephen, and by Jowett, to name only a few. This is not to say that they were necessarily right. But some of Strachey's detractors give the misleading impression that he was the first to denigrate people whom their contemporaries had perforce regarded as virtual saints.

analysis and critique of Arnold's writings and ideas did not come within his purview. Yet his rather inadequate coverage of Arnold's intellectual background, as reflected, say, in the Oriel Common Room when he was one of its members, raises the question of the extent to which the life of an intellectually significant figure can be fully and fairly estimated without placing him in his setting. Like Lord Elton and Sir Shane Leslie, Mr. Wymer has performed a service in correcting the distortions of *Eminent Victorians*. But will their biographies be read forty years hence, even (to use the antonym of Lord Rosebery's characterization of Strachey's *Queen Victoria*) as non-fiction?

That is perhaps too high a standard by which to judge. But it is by that standard that one can safely render judgment in favor of Cecil Woodham-Smith's *Florence Nightingale, 1820-1910* (London, 1950). Confirmed Stracheyans — a contradiction in terms? — may say with some justice that the main outlines of Miss Nightingale's character as they emerge in this lengthy and amply documented study do not differ materially from those already familiar through *Eminent Victorians*. But if Strachey's intuitions are thus vindicated, it must be added that Mrs. Woodham-Smith has laid bare for the first time in awesome and moving detail the inner life of a woman of genius who could write as well as minister like an angel. Her youthful spiritual struggles and agonies emerge especially clearly, revealing how that hardness of spirit, the demonic force that could lead to both triumph and grief, came to be forged. The author, concerned neither with defense nor attack, but with the re-creation of a personality, lets the sources speak for themselves as much as possible, often directly and without commentary. There is no doubt that she has brilliantly succeeded in thus letting her subject reveal herself fully as a human being. Yet this method of writing biography brings with it the risk that the biographer's presentation of his own point of view may exist only in his power of selecting from his sources. Strachey doubtless favored exposure at the cost of exposition. Mrs. Woodham-Smith's approach tends to favor exposition at the cost of analysis. But what she set out to do, she did superbly.

These particular biographies raise certain questions of general importance: to what extent, and with what consequences, Strachey's strategy of attack has given way to a strategy of defense; in what ways recent biographers have handled the problem of providing background and setting; and in what proportion they have given the reader on the one hand selection from the sources, on the other analysis and judgment. These questions can only be answered by examining other examples of recent biographical writing, especially since we are today interested in

aspects of the Victorian age which would not have attracted the attention of Strachey's generation.

THE INCREASING EMPHASIS on economic and administrative history has produced a number of biographies dealing with prominent figures in those areas. L. T. C. Rolt, in the preface to his fine biography of *Isambard Kingdom Brunel* (London, 1957), notes the curiously impersonal character of the few books written about the great figures of the Industrial Revolution. "We do not know what sort of men they were, or what impulses drove them on their momentous course"⁴ (p. vii). No good biographies of engineers exist, he writes, because these would have to deal with technicalities hitherto considered fit subjects only for juvenilia and arid treatises; and yet a man like Brunel must be regarded as a key character of the century, the archetype of the heroic age of engineering. Rolt attempts to probe the sources of Brunel's fabulous and fruitful energy, and with the help of extracts from a diary unfortunately covering all too short a period he succeeds in presenting us with a good likeness of the man. But when all is said and done, the book tells us more about railroad engineering in the nineteenth century than about Brunel. This may be inevitable. The monuments of scientists, engineers, and administrators are to be found in their works far more than in their lives.

That is by no means to imply that artistry is irrelevant in writing about such men. For an example of biography as an art one need only turn to S. E. Finer's *The Life and Times of Sir Edwin Chadwick* (London, 1952).⁴ The author tells us at the start that what follows is to have only the slightest reference to Chadwick's private life — since that was all of a piece with his public life. But he has injected such suspense into the record of Chadwick's administrative activities that before one has finished reading the book, defective drainpipes and leaking sewers have assumed greater consequence than even the most elaborately painful Victorian neuroses.

How has Professor Finer achieved this? Scholarship, mastery in the use of primary materials, clear organization — all these factors help. But the real secret lies in the author's assumption that just as Chadwick's private and public life were in effect one and the same, so also must the biographer describe his public life as if he were describing his private life. Instead of setting up a mental reservation positing a division between personal history (interesting and lively) and institu-

⁴ For another recent biography of Chadwick, see R. A. Lewis, *Edwin Chadwick and the Public Health Movement, 1832-1854* (London, 1952).

tional history (instructive and dull), he has proceeded with the aid of style, art, and gusto to invest something like the squabble over the exact nature of Chadwick's appointment to the Poor Law Commission with the same sort of drama ordinarily reserved for spiritual crises and military engagements:

As Nicholls, fresh from hearing Melbourne confirm his appointment, rushed out of the Prime Minister's study, he ran up to Chadwick, pressed him warmly by the hand, and said how delighted he was to serve with him. T. F. Lewis followed him, with cold hauteur and with Melbourne's last words ringing in his ears — 'Beware of theory and speculation; in you I have confidence, you are a man of business.— but there are others, others who were connected with the Commission of Enquiry, in whom I have not the same confidence.' Disdainfully, Lewis remarked his Secretary; and then, drawing himself up to his full height, turned away Pecksniff-like to order mahogany tables and plush chairs for the Commissioners' offices, and for the Secretary's cane-bottom chairs and tables of plain deal.

(p.111)

No novel could communicate more tension and sense of immediacy. In his book Mr. Finer has raised the curtain on the inner workings of the Poor Law Commission and the Boards of Health; has revealed the role played by newspapers like the *Times* in shaping public opinion on the subject of health, the tangled relations and jurisdictions of central and local authorities, the importance of vested interests such as the powerful railroad engineers; and has thrown light on the internal politics of Boards and Commissions. But, above all, he has managed to keep Chadwick in the center of the scene. Chadwick's ideas as shaped by Benthamite philosophy, his passionate devotion to the cause of reform, the sharp edges of his personality, these, "the life," are at no point swamped by "the times."

The few biographies which have been written about men of science, industry, and administration whet the appetite for more knowledge about the psychology of the Victorian engineer, the Victorian Civil Servant, the Victorian banker and businessman. That is not to say that the biographer's sole concern must be with those who have achieved or successfully exerted power. In some ways Richard Monckton Milnes, for instance, can be regarded as a failure. Yet, in Mr. Pope-Hennessy's masterful biography of the Bird of Paradox, *The Years of Promise, 1809-1851* (London, 1949) and *The Flight of Youth, 1851-1885* (London, 1951), not only does he come to life in all his paradoxical plumage, but, because he was important in Victorian literature and society, a lovingly detailed account of his life in effect becomes a social history of the age. One of the dangers of this sort of kaleidoscopic biography in which a man's life and times are reconstructed, so to speak, day by day, lies in the inevitable intrusion of trivia. We are told that when Monckton Milnes called on Varnhagen, he was out; and that when Varnhagen subse-

quently called on Monckton Milnes, he was out. We hear about the carriage horses slipping one day, with no ill effect to anyone. But the author may well feel that the bright colors of a mosaic are best set off by darker stones; that in order to communicate the texture of life, he must chronicle huggermugger and humdrum along with the rest. And a passage like this — one example of many such — amply justifies his approach: "At Derby they [Carlyle and Milnes traveling together to the West Riding] sat up late in the travelers' room at the Royal Hotel, Milnes reading a tragedy of Landor's at one side of the table while Carlyle wrote to Jane at the other. Across the room two bagmen dined and talked. Overhead the gas jets blazed relentlessly" (*Years of Promise*, pp. 139-140). Here the past lives again.

The ramifications of Monckton Milnes' friendships and interests were such that any biography must naturally and inevitably depict him within the context of his society. This is of course far from necessarily so when a less sociable man of letters attracts the biographer's attention. Wilfred Stone's manifold aims in his *Religion and Art of William Hale White ("Mark Rutherford")* (Stanford, 1954) illustrate the range of problems faced by an author writing about the sort of major-minor literary figure who must be brought into the framework of his time so that each may shed light on the other. Mr. Stone wants to introduce an author of merit, to study the transitions and tensions of the nineteenth-century milieu in which White found himself, and to elucidate his writings — fictional, scholarly, and confessional — by his life. These writings and the spiritual agonies they reflect he treats at one and the same time as the product of a peculiar personal neurosis, the sufferings of the highly nervous son of a highly nervous mother, forced, because he could not love her, to seek affection outside the home, and finding the religious springs from which he is aching to drink dried up and turned to dust and ashes before his eyes; and as a case history in the psychological experience of an age. A striking final chapter devoted to an analysis of the revised version (1912) of an article White first wrote in 1879 shows how he turned processes of particular experience, feeling, and thought into generalized principle, not merely on stylistic or aesthetic grounds, but as part of his attempt to make himself at home in the world.

The distinction between "dynamic" background, as it is to be found in the last chapter of Mr. Stone's book, and background of another kind is illustrated in Sir Geoffrey Faber's *Jowett: A Portrait with Background* (London, 1957). An example of the former, in this instance the relation of individual psychology to the general atmosphere of the age, is Sir Geoffrey's perceptive comment on Arthur Stanley who, like so

many other Victorians, found "in the rarefied moral code of his age so perfectly devised a protection for his own fastidious repugnances that he never dreamed of questioning it, or of seeking to find rational support for his extreme assumptions" (p. 121). Examples of a more static kind of background are the long set pieces on *Essays and Reviews*, on the affair of Bishop Colenso, and on the dispute concerning the Regius Professor's salary. Not all of this scaffolding is essential. Some of it might have been better constructed. But behind it the personality of the Master of Balliol may be clearly observed.

The popular image of the stern and remote Victorian taskmaster gives way to that of the undersized human being with the highly-pitched voice who triumphantly overcomes poverty and a heritage of weakness and failure. In this book, as in his *Oxford Apostles: A Character Study of the Oxford Movement* (London, 1933), Sir Geoffrey considers comment on the sexual proclivities and problems of his subjects an important part of his task as a biographer. Jowett's sexlessness is obviously an important factor, to be weighed in any estimate of his personality. If, in his hypothesis of a traumatic experience the Master of Balliol may or may not have undergone at St. Paul's, just as in his interpretation of Newman's nightmare after over-indulgence in cheese at Brighton in the previous book, the author is skating on rather thin ice as far as the evidence is concerned, at least he is willing to go skating. We can applaud his efforts to probe the relation of emotional disposition to character and ideas. It is less easy to accept his passionate and at times almost petulant defense of Jowett's opinions and ideas on practically all subjects, because this defense tends to become part and parcel of Faber's treatment of Jowett throughout as a man of his time who had to make the best of it and deserves recognition for so doing. Someone of Jowett's influence and position, after all, helps to shape the moral and intellectual climate of his age at the same time that his actions may to some extent be its product. There is a delicate problem here. To weigh men and their thoughts out of the context of their time is patently dangerous and unfair. On the other hand, when motives, actions, and ideas are regarded primarily within their setting, judgment and critical evaluation are at a discount.

This problem is but another aspect of the difficulty of merging life and times, foreground and background, with no loss either of perspective or understanding; perhaps the greatest challenge facing the biographer today, when he is aware as never before of the extent to which circumstances help to shape personality and thought. It is a challenge which becomes particularly demanding when the biographer

tackles a man of ideas. He need not be either a Marxist or a Freudian, he must be a bit of both, to be properly conscious of the relation of life to thought. He need not be a professional philosopher, but he must have a certain proficiency in the anatomy of ideas. Should the ideal result be textual analysis tempered by anecdote? Or should he forego all claims to completeness, substantive critique, and originality in dealing with the thought of his subject, confining himself to the analysis of personality? And, if he adopts the latter course, is there not a perpetual danger of *Hamlet without the Prince*?

In his *The Life of John Stuart Mill* (London, 1954) Mr. Michael St. John Packe has not solved all these problems. The summaries of Mill's major writings give the reader an impression of the range of his thought. But more could perhaps have been done in the way of analyzing the interconnection between its political and philosophical aspects as well as the relation of both to Mill's active involvement in public affairs. Nonetheless, this is a notable book. For as the first to make full use of the Mill Papers, the author sets forth in detail as readable as it is scholarly the complete story of the friendship of Mill and Harriet Taylor, an account triply significant: as a human document of pathos, dignity, and passion; as a commentary on the totems and taboos of Victorian society; and as the record of an intellectual collaboration of unique and supreme importance. Here is compulsory supplementary reading for all readers of Mill's *Autobiography*; and an oasis for those who have tended to regard that work as a classic of desiccation as well as one of dedication.

In some ways Mr. Packe may be said to have deliberately sacrificed background to foreground. Noel Annan, in *Leslie Stephen, His Thought and Character in Relation to his Time* (London, 1951) proceeds in a precisely contrary manner, deliberately stressing background rather than personality in accordance with his view of the time that biography then suffered from an over-emphasis on personal relations to the detriment of their social and intellectual context.⁵ Having sketched out Stephen's life and achievements in the first two chapters, he devotes the

⁵ In this he was in accord with the late Humphry House who observed that the search for the ego had led to the neglect of the super-ego; and that this limitation of vision was the great danger facing the contemporary biographer. "Biography is being strangled by art; and we have to unwind the silken scarf from its throat" (Humphry House, "The Present Art of Biography," *All in Due Time* [London, 1955], p. 264). Actually, these fears have proved groundless. In fact, judging by recent evidence, historical background is not unlikely soon to gain a victory over preoccupation with personality, "Lives and Times" over "Lives."

remaining two-thirds of the book to placing him in his Victorian setting. The technique works, primarily because the background, far from being a mere "fill-in," constitutes in effect a highly original series of essays on the relation of Stephen's writings to Victorian modes of thought.

One might complain that the author has used Stephen the man primarily as a peg on which to hang these essays; but the complaint would be captious. For more light on Stephen's personality we can always turn to Maitland's *Life*, a masterpiece of its kind. But there is nowhere else to turn for such penetrating pages on topics like the continuing (and paradoxical) search for ultimate sanctions in Stephen's evolutionary ethics, the psychological basis of Victorian athleticism, and the exact route of the intellectual omnibus from Clapham to Bloomsbury. At the same time, the ideal blend of background and foreground — the Renaissance portrait in which the open window behind the seated figure leads the eye as if by an inevitable progress to distant mountains, castles, and rivers — that ideal has eluded Mr. Annan as it has eluded Sir Geoffrey and Mr. Packe. Perhaps it cannot be attained today. For the biographer, even when he possesses the two skills necessary for its attainment — ability to delve into the mysteries of the individual human personality and mastery of a large body of intellectual, social, or political history — must also be able in the writing to blend them in such a way that for the reader the transitions from one aspect to the other occur, as it were, with an ineluctable logic of their own. Two outstanding recent examples of political biography, Sir Philip Magnus' *Gladstone, A Biography* (London, 1954) and Lord David Cecil's *Lord M., or the Later Life of Lord Melbourne* (London, 1954), illustrate this problem of emphasis. Sir Philip paints Gladstone in frock coat and wing collar, addressing the House of Commons. Lord David gives us Melbourne in his dressing gown.

Any biographer of Gladstone, shadowed by Morley's Ghost and faced with the manuscript mountains of Hawarden and the British Museum, achieves heroic stature by definition. Sir Philip not only manages, in a reasonable amount of space, to depict the principal stages of Gladstone's political career clearly and dramatically. He is also that rare and refreshing phenomenon today, a biographer not afraid to make judgments, occasionally even adverse judgments, about his subject. He makes no bones about the high esteem in which he holds Gladstone's moral stature as well as his facility for never shutting the door on his mind. Nevertheless, he does not let this respect deter him from pointing out his blunders — his deportment in the American Civil War and in the

Gordon episode are two instances — nor does he refrain from suggesting that Gladstone might have acted with more acumen in his relations with Palmerston and with the Queen. Such knowledgeable hindsight is neither easy nor reprehensible.

Inevitably the continuous chronicle of public affairs can begin to weigh rather heavily on the reader. A. C. Kennedy, in his fine *Salisbury, 1830-1903, Portrait of a Statesman* (London, 1953) tried to avoid this effect by occasional variations; supplying, for example, a connected and complete discussion of Salisbury's religion early in the book, and later on imagining him in soliloquy after his Turkish mission. Sir Philip shuns such diversionary tactics and takes us over the course from start to finish, including, it is true, occasional rest periods for holidays and lighter moments as they occur. But his subject took appallingly few holidays, and the number of his lighter moments barely exceeds that of his Ministries. In his analysis of Gladstone's political behavior as a revelation of the way in which his mind worked, the author's seismic simile may be deemed causally true without being causally sufficient. Can the analogy of a series of earthquakes really catch the full complexity of this process? Involuntarily one's gaze wanders from Sir Philip's full-length portrait in oils to the pen-and-ink sketch Strachey drew in his Gordon essay, too unkind, perhaps, but still revealing by a line here, a bit of shading there, certain elements of the true likeness which have eluded the portrait painter.

The massive pomp of Sir Philip is apt to induce occasional longings for Strachey's subtlety. But lest we jump to the conclusion that long and solid biographies of Prime Ministers do not invite the essayist's flexible manner, born of more freedom and less responsibility, we need only turn to Lord David Cecil's volumes on Melbourne. His style, polished, urbane, slightly ironical throughout — in short, reminiscent of Strachey's, serves him supremely well as an instrument of character analysis and as a lens through which human passions and follies may be observed with Gibbonian detachment. *The Young Melbourne* (London, 1939) presented the subtly drawn picture of a young man whose own temperament, half animal vigor and hard common sense, half dreamy speculation and delicate sensibility, mirrored the transition from eighteenth- to nineteenth-century habits of thought and feeling. The second volume, in which politics begin to compete for attention with character, does not quite reach the superlative standard set by the first. Even the combination of Queen Victoria and Mrs. Norton cannot make up for the tempestuous Caroline Lamb. And Melbourne the Prime Minister does not hold the same psychological interest as Melbourne

the young man between two worlds. Lord David's artistry has fullest play wherever the human element rules supreme, as in his masterly treatment of the relationship between the young Queen and her first Prime Minister. And since this relationship happens to have been perhaps the most significant aspect of Melbourne's Premiership, the book qualifies as an outstanding political biography as well as a moving human portrait.

Literary biography, in the form of new full-length studies of major figures, continues to flourish alongside political biography. It is a special field, with problems of its own, and deserves separate treatment.⁶ But no essay concerned with recent Victorian biographies can omit mention of Edgar Johnson's *Charles Dickens, His Tragedy and Triumph* (New York, 1953), a magisterial treatment of the man and his work which might have restored even Strachey's faith in two-volume biographies. And to this must be added two other outstanding biographies of major literary figures, Charles Carrington's *Rudyard Kipling, His Life and Work* (London, 1955) and Sir Charles Tennyson's biography of his grandfather, *Alfred Tennyson* (London, 1950). What is perhaps most significant for the present purpose about all these books is that they deal sympathetically and respectfully with writers who have been underrated in the past, in part because one of the consequences of the reaction against Victorian values and standards was that the popular authors of the period were automatically assumed to have been in harmony with those values and standards, and therefore lacking in depth and complexity. Both these assumptions are now being widely questioned.

ALL THE BIOGRAPHIES hitherto mentioned have dealt with individuals, some great, others not so great; some primarily interesting in terms of character and personality, others more in reflecting the age. What of the genre of collective biography to which, after all, *Eminent Victorians* belonged? For though he called the choice of his four subjects "in one sense haphazard," it is quite clear that Strachey's four Victorians were in fact carefully (some might say maliciously) selected as outstanding examples of respectable achievement, moral earnestness, probity, and religious conviction. Some of the most striking biographical works of

⁶ See Edel, *Literary Biography*, for a shrewd discussion of this special form of biography. The present essay was completed before the appearance of the second volume of Gordon N. Ray's definitive *Thackeray* biography, *The Uses of Adversity, 1811-1846* (New York, 1955) and *The Age of Wisdom, 1847-1863* (New York, 1958, which should certainly be added to any list of outstanding recent Victorian biographies).

recent years also concern themselves with groups brought together by the biographer to point a moral or adorn a tale. Mrs. Woodham-Smith's *The Reason Why* (London, 1953) is one of these. A study in part of those institutional and administrative weaknesses of the British Army in the nineteenth century which contributed to the disaster of "The Charge of the Light Brigade," it is built around the lives and characters of three men, Lord Lucan, Lord Cardigan, and, to a lesser extent, Lord Raglan. But instead of writing biographies of these men — there would have been little point in doing so in the case of the former two — the author has crossed the threads of their lives with those of institutional history and has attempted to demonstrate how personal character, chance, and institutional pressures interact in the shaping of historical events.

Frances J. Woodward's *The Doctor's Disciples: A Study of Four Pupils of Arnold of Rugby* (London, 1954) is another kind of collective biography. Here the unifying factor is not, as in *The Reason Why*, a series of events, but the influence of a teacher on four of his students — Stanley, Gell, Clough, and his own son William Arnold — all of whom played significant parts in the drama of the age. The book is part of a tendency to turn from preceptors to disciples, to pursue Victorian ideas from closet and classroom to the world of action — or, indeed, as in the instance of Clough, to the world of inaction. Arnold did not always see where his ideas might lead others when carried to their logical conclusion. Mrs. Woodward shows that the quest for truth inculcated at Rugby could have unexpected results and makes good use of the biographical method in her demonstration.

Easily the most important of the collective biographies of recent years is Asa Briggs' *Victorian People: Some Reassessments of People, Institutions, Ideas, and Events, 1851-1867* (London, 1954) in which the author sets out to examine the unity of that period by studying selected people active in affairs at the time. These people, "specimens" as Strachey's characters were, include Roebuck, Bright, Lowe, Disraeli, Hughes, Trollope, Bagehot, Applegarth, and Smiles. The book is important for several reasons. First, in its supposition that it is possible to penetrate to the "mood" of a period by isolating certain expressed and unexpressed assumptions which underlie that mood. Secondly, because it does not merely list the components of that mood — the Gospel of Work, the Idea of the Gentleman, the concept of Self-Help — but also traces its cross-currents. Thirdly, because Professor Briggs leaves the beaten path to such advantage. Where countless others have studied the diplomacy of the Crimean War he probes its influence on domestic af-

fairs; where much has been said about economic class distinctions in the nineteenth century, he stresses the continuing strength of habits of deference and pro-aristocratic feelings in English society. Lastly, the book is important because it makes biography the vehicle for general ideas about the age. Here it is not entirely successful. The biographer tends to be submerged by the historian. And in spite of the title, Victorian people emerge far less vividly than Victorian institutions and habits of thought. The author has resisted the temptation to treat picturesque personalities like Smiles and Hughes as "characters." But the resultant gain in sympathetic understanding also brings with it a certain loss of liveliness. Moreover, the thought is never allowed to occur to the reader that some Victorian people, however socially significant, may have possessed amusing eccentricities and may even have made fools of themselves on occasion. The book could have done with a dash of Stracheyan bitters.

Strachey himself figures in yet another species of collective biography, that concerned with families rather than heterogeneous groups of individuals. C. R. Sanders' *The Strachey Family, History of a Family, 1588-1932* (Durham, N. C., 1953) attempts to find continuities and inherited characteristics in tracing the story of a distinguished English family which made great contributions to public and cultural life through the centuries. But neither this book nor Paul Bloomfield's *Uncommon People. A Study of England's Elite* (London, 1955) — concerned with the Wedgwood-Darwin, Barclay, and Villiers connections — really sustains the sociological note. For the most part, both these books supply what turns out in the main to be a mixture of genealogy and anecdote. Perhaps it is difficult to do much more than that in following a family through several centuries. External factors making for variety and differences tend, then, to outweigh common traits.

But that far more can be done within the limits of a shorter period has been proved by Noel Annan, who followed up his stimulating remarks on the English intellectual aristocracy of the nineteenth century in the Stephen biography by an article setting forth its ramifications in detail.⁷ Here, in what might be called an essay in intellectual prosopography, he shows how in the course of the century an aristocracy of intellect gradually spread over English intellectual life, criticizing the assumptions of the ruling class above it, and forming the opinions of the

⁷ "The Intellectual Aristocracy," in J. H. Plumb, ed., *Studies in Social History: A Tribute to G. M. Trevelyan* (London, 1955), pp. 243-287.

upper middle class. The families composing this new aristocracy were united by their emphasis on intellectual freedom, on a public service open to talent, on the improvement of society by an analysis of its needs and the calculation of the possible course of its development, and (on the negative side) by their limited aesthetic responses.

When E. M. Forster, at the end of the "domestic biography" of his great-aunt, *Marianne Thornton, 1797-1887* (London, 1956), remarks that the impressions he received at the Hertfordshire house where he spent his early years had given him a middle-class, atavistic slant upon society and history, he is really putting himself forward as a living example of family continuity. The book, based on the Thornton family papers, and written with grace, subtlety, and occasional playful irony, shows how in the course of almost a century, and in spite of vast changes in thought and activity in the outside world, a closely knit family may retain traits of thought and feeling as significant to the social historian as charts of prices and wages or files of long dead periodicals. One could hardly expect authors of similar books to have Mr. Forster's talents — when he writes about Henry Thornton that "he never pens a sentence that is clumsy or feeble, and he knows exactly what he wants to say," that applies equally to himself — but it is clear that the path of intellectual or domestic family biography is one that can lead to rewarding discoveries.

WHAT DOES ALL THIS add up to? Certain glimpses come to mind first of all, glimpses reminding one once again of the diversity and color the period holds: Salisbury testing the telephones at Hatfield by shouting nursery rhymes through them; Jowett and Tennyson tossing the two little Tennyson boys in a blanket; William Arnold's first reaction to the Himalayas — he was "reminded of Papa"; Lord Tankerville saying he liked a rainy Sunday because the people could not come out and enjoy themselves; Gladstone and his wife in front of the fire singing "A ragamuffin husband and a rantipoling wife, we'll fiddle it and scrape it through the ups and downs of life"; Swinburne reading *Les Noyades* at Fryston in the presence of the Archbishop of York; Monckton Milnes spraining his ankle at Bagnières dancing the cachuka down a mountainside; Macaulay running through the Athenaeum, shouting "It's out, it's out!" in reference to the coin lodged in Brunel's windpipe. An easy answer to the three questions raised earlier — regarding the proportions of background and foreground, analysis and exposition, praise and blame — would simply be to match the variety of the Victorian scene with a similar variety in biographical writing about its inhabitants. And

it would not be an incorrect answer. Yet beyond this undoubted variety certain tendencies, both in the art of biography and in the general view of the age, may perhaps be discerned.

First, it is probably fair to say that the approach to the period taken by most Victorian biographers writing today is sympathetic; and that this has as its corollary some abdication of critical judgment on their part. Things have indeed come round since Strachey wrote. No longer do we dare mock the Victorians or condescend to them. On the contrary, their struggles, their predicaments, their agonies have become paradigmatic of our own. And the fact that they were often able to surmount them without benefit of psychoanalysis has further enhanced their standing. Some writers relate Victorian problems directly to the twentieth century, either in intellectual terms, as when Basil Willey links *Essays and Reviews* with Bultmann's *Kerygma and Myth* to show the relevance of the former for contemporary liberalism and "demythologization";⁸ or, more frequently, in terms of the mutual perplexities which bind us together. Others prefer to see the age "as it saw itself," that is to say sociologically, and are thus bound by method rather than inclination to practice *Einfühlung*. As Sir Geoffrey Faber has put it: "Sympathy and respect are necessary conditions for the understanding of any ideas whatsoever" (*Oxford Apostles*, p. 13). And this dictum must certainly be applied in some degree to motive and action as well as thought. But the sociological approach has its perils. "*Tout comprendre*" can all too easily become not only "*tout pardonner*," but "*tout applaudir*." It is well to remember the injunction that "ideas must be viewed, not only as early or late, but also as sound or unsound."⁹

One danger signal is the readiness with which some recent writers seem to assume that the Victorian age in all its manifestations was pre-ordained; and that the people living it in could do no other than adjust themselves to the inevitable. This is a variant of the historicist fallacy, perhaps found in its most harmless and unavoidable form in statements such as Lord David Cecil's, to the effect that "the spirit of reform was out to make itself felt in every established department" (*Lord M.*, p. 144) — where a literary and space-saving device takes the place of historical analysis. A slightly different result ensues when Asa Briggs writes

⁸ *More Nineteenth Century Studies: A Group of Honest Doubters* (London, 1956), pp. 179-184.

⁹ Norman Foerster, "The Critical Study of the Victorian Age," in Joseph E. Baker, ed., *The Reinterpretation of Victorian Literature* (Princeton, 1950), p. 64.

(about *Tom Brown's Schooldays*): "It needed a jolly book to popularize the public school with the middle class, and later on with the working-class reading public, just as it needed a serious biography [of Arnold] to provide a convincing assessment for Christian intellectuals" (*Victorian People*, p. 158). No doubt. But seeing these books as sociological phenomena tends to preclude any value judgments about them. Sir Geoffrey Faber defends Jowett's subscription to the Articles as a sign of strength rather than weakness: "A strength which kept itself for a real occasion, and refused to be dispersed in useless friction with an imperfect, but not alterable environment."¹⁰ One need not quarrel so much with this view of Jowett as with the implication (1) that to accept one's environment is the path of virtue as well as wisdom, and (2) that Jowett's "strength" could somehow foresee the occasions upon which it must exert itself more fully.

Professor Willey performs yet another variation based on this theme of whatever must be, must be. In discussing the kinship between the Oxford Movement and Methodism he writes about the latter: "But occurring in the eighteenth century it had had other tasks to perform, and could melt the spiritual ice-pack by reaffirming the old Protestant certainties" (*Nineteenth Century Studies*, p. 74). The question of who decides what tasks are to be performed suggests itself. The implication that they *must* be performed at certain times makes critical evaluation difficult; since value judgments have already been weighed in advance, so to speak, by the taskmaster. In this particular instance, because Protestantism *needed* a deepened understanding of the grounds of faith and the nature of religious experience, the author claims for Newman "a place, not amongst the reactionaries or obscurantists, but amongst the light-bearers of the nineteenth century." Again, the question here is not so much whether he should or should not occupy such a place as whether a necessitarian interpretation such as this can allot him any other.

In short on the one hand sympathy growing out of our own inability to solve our problems any better than the Victorians did theirs, on the other the sociological approach which regards a society in its own terms without judging it, have combined to produce a phase of Victorian

¹⁰ Jowett, p. 153. And see the same book, p. 345, where Sir Geoffrey, referring to the time just before Jowett's ship came in, comments that Destiny began to take a hand: "He must not be allowed to spoil her plan by speaking his mind too fully on dangerous topics."

biography characterized by great good will and understanding. And if, to those still critical of some Victorian values, there is perhaps too much of a tendency to conduct the study of the age like a religious service, the silence in church is not being broken by Freudian firecrackers. Fears that the increasing emphasis on the psychological approach in many fields would have a deleterious effect on the writing of biography because it would lead to too much scientific or pseudo-scientific categorization have on the whole proved groundless. The best biographies of recent vintage show that their authors can and do use subtlety, tact, and at times almost excessive caution in their psychological analyses. They are, of course, preoccupied with childhood and adolescence. But none of them pretends to be writing case histories. Readers must not expect diagnosis, but the biographer ought to be able to raise the right questions when the facts warrant his doing so.

As for the view of the age as a whole that emerges from a reading of some recent biographies, granted that an arbitrary selection of books about diverse people makes it difficult to see the wood for the trees — and that there is always another part of the forest — one major point at least can be made. The old and simple categories which seemed to visualize Victorian England as an enormous playing-field, with a series of teams in distinctively colored jerseys engaged in fierce yet expertly refereed combats — Christians vs. Doubters, Liberals vs. Conservatives, Extroverts vs. Introverts, Optimists vs. Pessimists — these, it is clear, no longer apply. For one thing, they do not account for the fact, increasingly apparent, that so many of the players wore jerseys of clashing colors (which sometimes concealed hair shirts, underneath). Scratch a Victorian, and find a split personality? Reading some recent books on the period almost persuades one to answer in the affirmative.

Here are Monckton Milnes, at once philanthropist and Master of Aphrodisiopolis; "Mark Rutherford," the conscientious Civil Servant undergoing spiritual martyrdom; Florence Nightingale, outwardly the devoted daughter and young society lady, inwardly in secret turmoil through her mysterious "calls"; Melbourne, the gay and cynical man of the world, worried about ultimate problems, poring over his Greek Testament, his bland exterior concealing a troubled spirit; Leslie Stephen, at the same time James Russell Lowell's "lovable man" and egocentric family tyrant; Browning and Tennyson, torn between creative impulse and social conformity; Jowett and Brunel, incarnations of hard-headedness and self-confidence to the outside world, confiding their weaknesses and faults to private journals. The conflict of action and belief depicted in Clough's "Dipsychus"; that "clash between conventional

poise and secret catastrophe" observed by the late Michael Sadleir (quoted by Briggs, p. 105); the extent to which, as we have recently learned from Walter E. Houghton's *Victorian Frame of Mind, 1830-1870* (New Haven, 1957), the Victorian subconsciousness was haunted by fear and worry, by guilt, frustration, and loneliness — all these symptoms of the syndrome of the age duly make their appearance in the lives of its notable men and women. Perhaps this should occasion no surprise. A period which saw such immense changes as the growth of an industrial civilization, the development of a democratic society, and the decline of faith naturally left its marks on sensitive people living through it. And if it is foolish to expect to find no contradiction, no struggle, no complexity in the individual psyche, it is even more foolish to expect to be able to categorize the age as a whole in clearly distinct social and political terms, to choose obvious "teams."

A few examples, picked at random from books mentioned in this essay, should suffice to illustrate this point: Monckton Milnes wrote tracts in defense of the Oxford Movement as well as of the Revolution of 1848. The Christian Socialists requested permission to reprint the chapter on the future of the working classes from Mill's *Political Economy*. Leslie Stephen, the real founder of muscular Christianity, was not a Christian. Smiles' gospel of self-improvement was admired by the socialist Robert Blatchford; it was an outgrowth of Radicalism, not an antidote to it. Dr. Arnold was liberal in politics and theology, yet at the same time in favor of the old classical education. Lowe, on the other hand, supported progressive education while opposing the extension of the franchise. Carlyle and Sterling wrote for Mill's *Philosophical Radical* review. Conventional political nomenclature breaks down when one recalls that Bagehot and Trollope were Liberal Conservatives, Bright essentially conservative, and Disraeli something of a radical. And just as any simple generalization about Toryism vs. Democracy is put to flight by a mere glance at the life and career of Disraeli, so is any hasty ranging of Laissez-Faire vs. State Intervention placed in doubt by figures such as Chadwick and Shaftesbury, both in their different ways unwilling precursors of the Welfare State.

Tension is often not present where we might most expect to find it: the Balliol Common Room remained friendly throughout the Ward controversy; Carlyle was a regular visitor at Whig parties; Swinburne read Plato under Jowett as well as reading Sade under Monckton Milnes. "Influence" does not always flow in textbook channels, nor is the *Zeitgeist* evenly distributed: Chadwick took no direct impress from his non-conformist background; apart from the Bristol Riots of 1831, no single

historical event occurred that had any bearing on Brunel's life and work; there were even more than the usual worlds of difference between the intellectual atmospheres of Oxford and Cambridge during the years of theological strife.

All this does not add up to chaos, nor is it insusceptible of analysis. It constitutes, rather, the sort of complexity that demands new categories, emphasis on cross-currents, on unexpressed underlying assumptions, on hitherto unsuspected groupings and combinations. And we are beginning to get that new structuring of the age. Dr. Kitson Clark has shown, in the economic sphere, that all landlords did not necessarily oppose the repeal of the Corn Laws, that an explanation of English society purely in terms of industrial against agricultural interests breaks down on closer examination.¹¹ In the intellectual sphere Mr. Annan has stressed the parallel point that political alignments cut across religious as well as economic differences, and (following in the footsteps of A. V. Dicey and G. M. Young) has further pursued the variations and transpositions of the Evangelical theme in the Victorian symphony. Professors Houghton, Willey, and Briggs have begun the work of discarding the old labels and of devising a set of fresh ones capable of describing the complicated texture which recent biographers have helped to reveal.

It is apparent that the old periodization, roughly a sort of prolonged *accelerando* from eighteenth-century libertinism to progressively increasing respectability and reform, no longer holds water. On the one hand Regency Respectables, whether hailing from Edinburgh or Clapham, bid fair to outweigh Regency Bucks in number and significance. Some scholars even go so far as to see the high point of what used to be called "Victorianism" reached in the age of Bowdler and Mrs. Sherwood. On the other hand, the high moral tone of the Victorians themselves, their emphasis on family life and on proper deportment, has come to be understood more and more as a line of defense against the chasm perpetually threatening under the respectable crust.¹² Then, too, we are learning to beware of the linear fallacy, and beginning to regard political, social, and intellectual controversy in terms of the ebb and flow of

¹¹ G. S. R. Kitson Clark, "The Electorate and the Repeal of the Corn Laws," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th Series, I (1951), 109-126; "The Repeal of the Corn Laws and the Politics of the Forties," *Economic History Review*, 2nd Series, IV (1951-52), 1-13; and "Hunger and Politics in 1842," *Journal of Modern History*, XXV (1953), 355-374.

¹² See Asa Briggs' point in *Victorian People*, p. 153, that character must have been a scarce endowment in the fifties and sixties just because there was so much stress on it.

generations rather than in those of ineluctable progress. Certain families or groups may build nests of views and assumptions that maintain an existence over a long period of time, little or not at all affected by a supposedly dominant "climate." We still have too much of a tendency at times to think of nineteenth-century English opinion as an entirely passive substance, reacting to successive assaults made upon it by certain books — *On Liberty*, *Essays and Reviews*, *Robert Elsmere* — and to forget that the people who wrote these books were, after all, themselves shaped to some extent by the very atmosphere they are said to be "assaulting."

What is the biographer's future role to be in these new approaches to the Victorian age? The last few years have made it clear that excellent biographies of major figures, based on new materials, will continue to be written. It is to be hoped that Finer's *Chadwick* and Rolt's *Brunel* have set examples for equally instructive biographies of Victorian administrators, engineers, and businessmen. Much scope is offered by the genre of collective biography. There have been studies of groups of doubters and of groups of believers. Parliamentary history is increasingly being written in terms of the biographies of Members. And there will undoubtedly be more biographies of Victorian families and influential groups. Other themes suggest themselves: Victorians abroad and in the Colonies; their deathbeds; their illnesses; their successes and failures in academic examinations; their love of landscape; their conversions and mystical "moments of truth"; changes in their epistolary style and modes of humor; their school experiences; different kinds of provincialism; family rifts and emancipation from family influence; the effect of literary fashions on domestic life. A single remark of E. M. Forster's, to the effect that the gradual reduction in the intensity of mourning and deathbed emotionalism also implied a reduction in love and loyalty of soul (*Marianne Thornton*, p. 71), opens up a fertile field for psychological study through family biography. Is there any reason why the method and scope of contemporary sociological investigations like Riesman's *Lonely Crowd* should not be projected backwards? The Victorian age certainly offers a great deal of source material, in its literature, its diaries, its correspondence, its journals and autobiographies. It is up to the biographers to meet this challenge.

WE SEEM TO HAVE TRAVELED a long distance from Strachey's *Eminent Victorians*. And yet, have we really come as far as all that? It has been the fashion to damn Strachey with faint praise by expressing admiration for his style, his humor, his wit, his artistry — for everything except the

substance of what he said. He was capable of willful distortion; he mocked too much; he pitied too little. These are sins inexcusable in serious students of the past, and it is all to the good that they are not being committed today. But in re-reading *Eminent Victorians*, after reading some of the better biographies of Victorian figures that have appeared since the Second World War, one is struck by more than mockery and stylistic brilliance. In his four Victorian specimens Strachey saw contradiction and complexity — conflicts between religiosity and worldliness, belief and action, idealism and practice, self-love and self-sacrifice. We may not like his attitude towards what he found; we can certainly condemn him for too readily finding what he wanted to find. Yet the more we learn about the period, the more it becomes apparent that it was an age of strains and stresses — social and psychological — which often resulted in individual neurosis and confusion of purpose. Strachey put his finger on some of these strains and stresses. He also saw, though from the vantage point of the scoffer, that religion can probably serve as the best key to the period as-a whole. Furthermore, he passed the judgment that stupidity and vulgarity were part and parcel of the age. Our "present sympathy for the Victorians, combined with our tendency to "sociologize" them, threatens to rob us of a similar power of judgment.

No less a scholar than the late Humphry House warned that it would be disastrous if Victorian stupidity, failure, vulgarity, and unhappiness were all to be explained away, or minimized, or accepted as something else. "For many Victorians were in many respects stupid, vulgar, unhappy, and unsuccessful, and these aspects of the age remain visible in the objects, the buildings, the pictures, and the literature that have been left to us."¹⁸ I am not suggesting that we should again make a laughing stock of the Victorians, or denigrate their achievements. But, at a time when there is little danger of either contingency, it may not be totally inappropriate in this fortieth anniversary year of Strachey's book to remind ourselves that to think critically, to judge, and, once in a while, to be amused will not necessarily spell disaster for Victorian studies.

Harvard University

¹⁸ "Are the Victorians Coming Back?" *All in Due Time*, p. 79.

Oliver MacDonagh

DELEGATED LEGISLATION

AND ADMINISTRATIVE DISCRETIONS IN THE 1850'S:

A PARTICULAR STUDY



ADLY AS GOVERNMENT DISCHARGES its true duties," wrote Herbert Spencer in 1853,¹ "any other duties committed to it are likely to be still worse discharged. To guard its subjects against aggression, either individual or national, is a straightforward and tolerably simple matter; to regulate directly or indirectly, the personal actions of those subjects is an infinitely complicated matter. . . . To do the last

¹ "Over-Legislation," *Westminster Review*, LX (1853), 52-81. For Spencer's authorship, see *An Autobiography* (London, 1904), I, 421-423. In the following year an expanded version of this essay was published separately under Spencer's name as No. XI of John Chapman's Library for the People.

efficiently the State must become the ubiquitous worker, must know each man's needs better than he knows them himself — must, in short, possess superhuman power and intelligence." But this is an unnecessary phantasy. Just as individual desires, from food up to a piano, result in a complex of wants and their fulfilment, so also with social desires. If they truly require satisfaction, private enterprise or individual co-operation will satisfy them "by-and-by." "Until spontaneously fulfilled," concluded Spencer, "a public want should not be fulfilled at all."

This passage expresses well the common opinion of enfranchised Englishmen during the middle decades of the nineteenth century. A handful of paternalists like Bentinck, protestants like Carlyle, and bureaucrats like Chadwick might offer a scattered and mutually contradictory resistance. But by and large it was accepted dogma that competition, self-interest, and the profit-motive should be given as open a field for action as was compatible with the bare necessities of enforced contract and public order.² As to efficiency, celerity, and economy, individual and governmental activity were, simply, opposites. The antiseptic of competition kept the first in health. The other dragged its slow length along as it had always done, wastefully, slothfully, and by multiplying sinecures for aristocratic drones. It is true that many mid-Victorians believed or came gradually to believe that the executive might be regenerated. But even (or perhaps we should say particularly) they desired, not an enlargement of the state's functions or of public expenditure or of the number of public servants, but rather their diminution. For one great object of the "administrative reformers" was to infuse the civil administration with the principles of competition and self-help which had wrought such wonders in contemporary society. The ultimate aim of open entrance examinations, probation, and promotion by merit was to introduce a species of free trade in public servants, with the consequent expectation that the conduct of state business would be cheapened and expedited, and its volume possibly reduced.

Not only was there widespread agreement as to objects: there was also widespread agreement on the facts. Most mid-nineteenth-century Englishmen believed that the state was, if not withering away, at any rate shrinking rapidly to its due proportions. In the first decade and a half of the Victorian age, reform had seemed to consist essentially in sweeping away restrictive legislation and taxation, and in dismantling

² For a general review of mid-Victorian opinion on these points, see Asa Briggs, *Victorian People* (London, 1954), especially Chs. 2 and 7.

unnecessary government. With the final repeal of the navigation acts in 1849,³ the last of the great statutory brakes upon the free working of society appeared to have been removed. True, all allowed that further pruning and tidying were required, and that there could be no going back upon the recent factory and coal-mining legislation. True also — though this was not generally recognised in 1850 — the political veins of Peelism and Manchester radicalism had much still to yield: Gladstone's budgets of 1853 and 1860-61, the Anglo-French commercial treaty, and the legislative *annus mirabilis* of 1870 were later to reveal their hidden treasures. But by and large the electorate of the 1850's did sigh like Alexander for new worlds to conquer — or rather, being the men they were, congratulated themselves upon the evident fact that the power of the state had diminished, was diminishing, and must soon reach the *ne plus ultra* of its diminution.

The present paper is concerned with the extraordinary contrast between this appearance of a "free society" and the realities of the situation. In particular, taking delegated legislation and administrative discretions⁴ as criteria of a well developed state regulation, it is concerned with establishing the fact of their existence in the 1850's, and also with the much more complex problem of how and why they grew in such a climate. Half a century has passed since Dicey first sketched, in bold, sure strokes, the essential dichotomy between the political aspirations and the political performance of the period 1800-75.⁵ During the interval a great and valuable mass of detail has been added, and our perspective has been significantly corrected. But for all that has so far been accomplished, a very considerable proportion, perhaps a majority of the work, is still undone. Patently, this is true so far as the "area" of the subject is concerned. Indeed, the recent studies of Edwin Chadwick's career⁶ and of the Northcote-Trevelyan inquiries⁷ have not only added

³ Cf. Elie Halévy, *The Age of Peel and Cobden* (London, 1947), pp. 238-240.

⁴ Without entering on the difficult and controversial question of what are "good" and "bad" delegations and discretions, we may take delegated legislation to mean the statutory grant to specified persons or bodies, for specified purposes or fields, of powers to frame rules or ordinances which will have the binding force of statutes themselves; and we may take administrative discretions to mean the corresponding statutory grant of what amounts to judicial powers. Cf. G. W. Paton, *A Textbook of Jurisprudence* (Oxford, 1946), pp. 126-131.

⁵ A. V. Dicey, *Lectures upon the relation between Law and Public Opinion in England in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1905).

⁶ S. E. Finer, *The Life and Times of Sir Edwin Chadwick and the Public Health Movement* (London, 1952).

⁷ E. Hughes, "Sir Charles Trevelyan and Civil Service Reform," *English Historical Review*, LXIV (1949), 53-88, 206-234.

prodigiously to our knowledge. They have also pointed the way to a number of corresponding or inter-related investigations which need to be undertaken. But quite apart from advances in this direction, it may well be that there is a rich new harvest to be gathered by adopting a different method of approach. Many of the most important aspects of nineteenth-century government have never been subjected to a really close and consecutive analysis. Yet there is so much which a minute dissection of the particular may discover, but which no alternative method can extract.⁸ Certainly, delegated legislation and administrative discretions are aspects of nineteenth-century government which have received only the most cursory and generalized attention. Apart from a common if ill-grounded belief that modern delegated legislation originated "in the middle of the nineteenth century," the subject constitutes *terra incognita* for the historian.⁹

It is the ambition of the present paper to provide both a little of the missing evidence and an example of the fruits which detailed analysis may yield. The specific problem with which it deals is the safety of trans-Atlantic passenger or emigrant vessels in the late 1840's and the early 1850's. These years witnessed a revolutionary change in the scale of emigration from the United Kingdom. The exodus rose from an annual average of 75,000 during 1835-45 to one of more than 250,000 in the succeeding decade. Partly as a consequence of this, the passenger trade received unprecedented attention between 1847 and 1855. Parliamentary select committees inquired into Irish emigration in 1847 and again in 1848 and 1849, and into the regulation of emigrant ships in 1851

⁸ For elaboration and illustration of this argument, see O. MacDonagh, "The Nineteenth-Century Revolution in Government: A Reappraisal," *Historical Journal*, I (1958), 52-67, "Emigration and the State, 1833-55: an Essay in Administrative History," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., Vol. V (1955), 133-159.

⁹ This is the phrase used by the celebrated "Donoughmore Report," *Report of Committee on Ministers' Powers*, Cmd. 4060, 1932, pp. 21-22. The conclusion was probably a just one, but little or no evidence to support it was produced: indeed, the committee appears to have grounded its remarks on Dicey's *Law and Public Opinion*, although in fact Dicey did not deal directly with the question of delegated legislation at all in this work. Moreover, even if it is correct, the conclusion *per se* does little to illuminate the matter. The historian still does not know precisely when, why, or how modern delegated legislation came into being. He is given a broad—indeed a floating—target in time and, by and large, an argument from the general to the necessary existence of the particular. He is not told precisely what was done, or what else might have been done, or how men reasoned or reacted or were influenced in reaching the decisions which they did. On close examination, sticks and balls turn out to be but hedgehogs and flamingoes. Other literature on the subject includes C. T. Carr, *Delegated Legislation* (Cambridge, 1921), and J. Willis, *The Parliamentary Powers of English Government Departments* (Cambridge, Mass., 1933).

and again in 1854. New or amending passenger acts were passed in 1847, 1848, 1849, 1851, 1852, and 1855.¹⁰ Even before the rise of mass emigration with the great Irish famine of 1845-49, emigrants were protected and the trade was controlled in some degree. There existed, in 1845, a passenger act of 1842, which had consolidated and extended several earlier measures in this field; a permanent commission of three, set up in 1840 to deal with colonial lands and emigration, and subject to the colonial office;¹¹ and a small corps of executive officers, all half-pay naval men, stationed at the main British and Irish ports, under the commissioners' direction. This protective system was subjected to great stresses in 1845 and 1846, and it virtually collapsed under the strain of over 200,000 Irish refugees from famine and disaster in 1847. It is in the context of the subsequent efforts to replace this system with something more positive and appropriate, more exact and more effective, that the present paper fits, although the actual subject of regulation with which we are concerned was in essence new.

During the late 1840's and early 1850's the quantity of pig and bar iron exported in emigrant vessels from Liverpool, Glasgow, and to a small extent, the Irish ports,¹² increased enormously. The main reason was, of course, the sudden expansion in railroad building in the United States, but a secondary cause was the rise of steam vessels, which often captured the light cargoes hitherto carried by the emigrant ships, and thus forced them to turn to the iron trade. It soon became apparent that the carriage of iron was dangerous. It needed very careful stowage if the vessel were not to become either top-heavy or too low in the water; and it caused serious inaccuracies in the ordinary compasses. These dangers led American underwriters to impose special regulations upon

¹⁰ For a general background on the period 1845-55 see Oliver MacDonagh, "Irish Overseas Emigration during the Famine" in *The Great Famine* (Dublin, 1956; New York, 1957), a symposium, esp. secs. i, iii, and iv; and "The Regulation of the Emigrant Traffic from the United Kingdom, 1842-55," *Irish Historical Studies*, IX (1955), 162-189. For the pre-1845 emigration and legislation, see H. I. Cowan, *British Emigration to British North America, 1783-1837* (Toronto, 1928); W. F. Adams, *Ireland and Irish Emigration to the New World from 1815 to the Famine* (New Haven, 1932); and K. A. Walpole, "The Humanitarian Movement of the Early Nineteenth Century to Remedy Abuses on Emigrant Vessels to America," *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, 4th ser., XIV (1931), 197-224.

¹¹ F. H. Hitchens, *The Colonial Land and Emigration Commission* (Philadelphia, 1931), provides a valuable introduction to the history of the commission and to the collections of its official papers.

¹² Mainly from Derry and Sligo, after trans-shipment from Great Britain. But generally the Irish vessels carried no cargoes, which was said to account for the small number shipwrecked in contrast to the heavy losses amongst the much superior Liverpool ships (*2nd rep. select comm. emigrant ships*, 139, Q.5563-72, H. C. 1854, [349], xiii).

United States vessels carrying iron, and the United Kingdom emigration officers soon began to follow their example.¹³ Commander Patey of Glasgow, in particular, worked out a rough-and-ready rule of thumb, limiting the iron cargo on emigrant vessels to two-thirds of the registered tonnage.¹⁴ Whether these requirements were legally justified is very doubtful. Down to 1852, all that the officers could ground their actions on were the vague dispositions concerning "seaworthiness" and the "health and safety of passengers" which the passenger act of 1849 had granted them; and although the 1852 act did give the officers control over the *quantity* of iron cargoes, it made no provision for regulating the *mode of stowage*, except on the passenger deck itself.

The first serious difficulties arose in 1851 on Patey's appointment to Liverpool in place of a chief officer who had been dismissed for neglect of duties — one of the main omissions being the survey for seaworthiness. When Patey attempted to apply his rule at Liverpool there was a general revolt, especially on the part of the American masters. Supported by their consul at the port, the Americans proclaimed Patey's inspections "too troublesome" and "an annoyance" and in some cases even sailed without a clearance.¹⁵ These protests were soon supported by the Liverpool and Glasgow shippers generally when the new passenger bill of 1852, which gave the emigration officer powers over the "nature" and the "quantity" of cargoes, and over the stowage of cargo on the passenger deck, was introduced.¹⁶ Through all this, the commissioners loyally backed Patey, and consoled themselves that his rule was "acquiesced in, if not approved by, the principal shipowners." It is, however, quite safe to assume that it was "acquiesced in" simply because it was not seriously enforced after Patey's first tussle with the Americans, when the new broom was still sweeping clean. The very extent of the Liverpool trade, and the impossible and ever-growing burden of the emigration officers' duties, soon provided a "solution." In fact, the stowage was left (as it had been in former days) very largely to the stevedores, the emigration officers not having time to superintend.¹⁷

¹³ C. O. 384/92, 2188 Emigration, commissioners: Merivale, 8 Mar. 1854.

¹⁴ 1st rep. select comm. emigrant ships, 14, Q. 198, H. C. 1854, (163), xiii.

¹⁵ C. O. 384/88, 7161 Emigration, commissioners: Stanley, 20 Aug. 1851.

¹⁶ C. O. 384/89, 3302, 3379, 4336, 4537 North America, 17 and 23 Apr. and 17 and 21 May 1852. These protests were directed not merely against interference with stowage but against the whole corpus of the emigration officer's "discretions."

¹⁷ C. O. 384/90, 10929 Emigration, 10 Nov. 1853. Once the stowage was completed, it was impossible to tell exactly how the cargo had been stowed.

Towards the close of 1853, however, a number of shipwrecks among passenger vessels aroused considerable public attention. Two vessels in particular, the *Annie Jane* and the *Taylor*, suffered very heavy loss of life, and these were the subject of a board of trade inquiry.¹⁸ It was decided that the wreck of the *Annie Jane* was very probably caused by bad stowage; and the inter-related problems of stowage, of the effect of iron on compasses, and of the efficiency of crews, were brought to the surface. The evidence before the inquiry seemed to show that the two-thirds rule-of-thumb was insufficient, and that the actual stowage of cargo should be superintended. T. W. Murdoch, the chief emigration commissioner, himself attended the inquiry, and presumably reported back. At any rate, the commission took immediate measures to meet both difficulties. As to the first, they sent a circular to all officers warning them that Patey's rule, however useful for general guidance, should not be blindly followed. Even a very small quantity of iron, if stowed solidly on a ship's bottom, might make her unseaworthy. They themselves laid down no precise rules except that the weight should be distributed as much as possible along the length of the vessel: in other respects, they wrote, the emigration officer must judge each vessel as an individual.¹⁹ As to the second difficulty, they proposed a new officer for Liverpool whose sole duty was to be the superintendent of stowage. He was to supply the emigration officer with the facts, and the latter would then take whatever action was required. To this last T. F. Elliot, permanent assistant undersecretary of the colonial office and a much more influential public servant in this department than his superior, Herman Merivale, objected strenuously on general grounds. Though legislation such as the passenger acts, Elliot wrote, did tend to supersede private responsibility, "for that very reason they [the passenger acts] ought not to be carried farther than absolutely necessary." Ordinarily, emigration officers performed only those duties which were expressly laid upon them, to which category discretion over the "nature" and the "quantity" of cargo belonged. But the manner of stowing could not be so regarded except by "rather a circuitous mode of acquiring so large a power." Sir F. Peel, the parliamentary undersecretary, pointed out that the acts already gave the officer full powers over cargo stowed on the passenger

¹⁸ C. O. 384/91, 10416 Emigration, board of trade: Merivale.

¹⁹ Circular to emigration officers, 16 Nov. 1853. The officers were warned against (a) cargo being stowed too low in the vessel, which caused slowness; (b) cargo being stowed too high in the vessel, which caused top-heaviness; and (c) cargo being concentrated in any one place.

deck; and added that the commissioners' proposal to extend this to all cargo in the next passenger act was, in his opinion, not an undue invasion of individual liberty. Newcastle, the colonial secretary, thoroughly agreed with Peel, summing up the entire matter with his remark, "the whole spirit of the acts demands this extension."²⁰ Accordingly, the special officer was appointed in 1854, albeit on the understanding that this was an experiment.²¹

The commissioners soon reaped the harvest of their circular. When Commander Schomberg, the new chief officer at Liverpool who replaced Patey about this time, rejected the emigrant vessel *Militades* for being too low in the water, her owner instituted an action for £3,000 damages against the officer, upon the grounds that he had no authority over the mode of stowage.²² This was followed immediately in 1854 by another wave of protests from Liverpool, as, presumably, the second new broom attempted to sweep clean. The burden of these complaints was that shippers did not know beforehand what they had to conform to or how the officers would exercise their authority — the practice varying from port to port. This was a reasonable objection, but, as the commissioners pointed out, the nature of the business left them no alternative. Though they tried to make their regulations as uniform as possible, they had to leave the application to the discretion of the officer. Vessels varied so greatly in build and construction that the matter could not be reduced to a fixed ratio of the registered tonnage: what really mattered was the degree of immersion in the water, and this could only be decided by observation on the spot. No doubt, the consequent uncertainty caused inconvenience. But "inconvenience," the commissioners stoutly declared, "is not for a moment to be set against the risk of life of leaving the whole matter uncontrolled."²³

The problem was delicate and complicated. To prohibit iron cargoes altogether would have been the only sure solution. But this was impossible. Iron was an important export, and its prohibition might well have driven so many vessels out of the passenger trade that fares would

²⁰ C. O. 384/90, 10929 Emigration, 10 Nov. 1853.

²¹ C. O. 384/90, 12361 Emigration, 7 Jan. 1854. The treasury strenuously resisted the appointment of a special stowage officer, on the ground of the need for economy (C. O. 384/91, 12361 Emigration, 28 Dec. 1853). This was probably the reason why the appointment was labelled "experimental."

²² C. O. 384/90, 12165 Emigration, 20 Dec. 1853.

²³ C. O. 384/92, 2188 Emigration, commissioners: Merivale, 8 Mar. 1854.

have become prohibitive.²⁴ The commissioners believed that to attempt to regulate stowage by statute was equally out of the question. In the first place, as we have seen already, no precise regulation could have been satisfactory; and in the second, the effect of iron cargoes was still, so to speak, *sub judice*. Despite a strong presumption, a clear connection between iron cargoes and shipwrecks had not yet been scientifically established. So far as the officers themselves were concerned, the dilemma was this: as long as the discretion was general and vague, they were liable to prosecution for exorbitance²⁵ and their morale was correspondingly undermined; but to protect them by making their duty exact and statutory was impossible from the circumstances of the case. In this very difficult situation, the commissioners eventually decided that they should ask for statutory authority to regulate the matter by periodic orders-in-council which could easily be changed, if found to have been mistaken or out of step with the latest scientific discoveries.²⁶

There were at least three other schools of thought, each represented by one of their subordinate officers. Schomberg himself, who was then being sued, naturally thought that something more should be done to protect the officers; and he wished their powers to decide the matter to be rendered unambiguous.²⁷ But he recognized, too, that most of the recent ill-feeling sprang from the shippers' dislike of being at the mercy of a single man's "unpredictable" discretion. "I can only believe," he remarked, "that the point objected to is the despotic authority of one person." He therefore suggested arbitration (which was already used for the survey of passenger ships for seaworthiness) instead of a succession of orders-in-council which would leave the matter unsettled and uncertain.²⁸ This was doubtless the right answer psychologically: it would have given authority without the appearance of despotism. But it would also have caused serious delays and inconvenience. The survey for seaworthiness took place before any passengers were even accepted. But very probably they would have actually gone aboard by the time a dis-

²⁴ 2nd rep. select comm. emigrant ships, 49, Q. 3861-3, H. C. 1854, (349), xiii.

²⁵ Murdoch himself admitted that the general clause as to "promoting the health and safety of passengers" could not reasonably be construed as sanctioning interference with stowage (2nd rep. select comm. emigrant ships, 48, Q. 3852-3).

²⁶ 2nd rep. select comm. emigrant ships, 50, Q. 3873-8. See also 1st rep. select comm. emigrant ships, 15, Q. 201-10, H. C. 1854, (163), xiii.

²⁷ 2nd rep. select comm. emigrant ships, 14, 19-21, Q. 3422-4, 3488-511, H. C. 1854, (349), xiii. Schomberg was particularly concerned about an apparent contradiction between sections 26 and 70 of the 1852 Act.

²⁸ 2nd rep. select comm. emigrant ships, 19, Q. 3847.

pute arose about the method of stowage. Lieutenant Lean, the London officer, represented the Chadwickian extreme. He believed that the current dispositions were sufficient to justify almost any interference — the discretion as to “seaworthiness” would cover all — yet not too great to unman a sturdy officer.²⁹ “I think,” he said, “in the broad view which I take of this act of parliament that sufficient powers are vested in me. Of course I sometimes take the spirit of the law instead of taking the letter, and I take a responsibility upon myself in doing so, but I have never hesitated to do it.”³⁰ The third view, that of “playing safe” and of tightening the legislative screw continuously, was expressed by Lieutenant de Courcy, the officer at Cork. His wide experience of vessels putting back in distress at that port and at Belfast had led him to conclude, he said, that iron cargoes were the prime cause of disasters at sea; and he recommended a limit of one-third, or at most one-half, of the registered tonnage.³¹

All these opinions were considered by the select committee of 1854. Having first decided that the connection between shipwreck and iron cargoes was incontestable, their great fear was that the emigration officer’s discretion was too wide, not in the sense that he might apply the rule too harshly, but rather that he would not apply it with enough severity. Despite Lieutenant Lean’s boldness, the evidence as a whole suggested that the current uncertainty over the discretion caused officers to refrain from interfering where it was their clear duty to do so. Accordingly, the committee recommended de Courcy’s proposal that the ratio be reduced to one-half or even one-third on the grounds that it was better to err on the side of safety, and that security for human life must be placed clearly above every other consideration.³² The commissioners, however, held firm to their opinion that to regulate the matter by order-in-council was the only means of achieving uniformity of interpretation in the different ports, and of providing officers with the definite sanction which they needed;³³ and in the teeth of the select committee’s recommendation, this was their proposal for the passenger bill of 1855.³⁴ In the

²⁹ *1st rep. select comm. emigrant ships*, 106, 112, Q. 1844, 1950-1, H. C. 1854, (163), xiii.

³⁰ *1st rep. select comm. emigrant ships*, 116, Q. 2033-5.

³¹ *2nd rep. select comm. emigrant ships*, 153, Q. 5796-806, H. C. 1854, (349), xiii.

³² *2nd rep. select comm. emigrant ships*, 153, Q. 5796-806, H. C. 1854, (349), iv-v.

³³ The commissioners had been confirmed in their view by the advice of the board of trade experts who assured them that fixed proportions of the registered tonnage were bound to be unsatisfactory, so great was the variety of vessels (C. O. 384/93, 9074 *Emigration, board of trade*: Elliot, 4 Oct. 1854).

³⁴ C. O. 384/92, 11344 *Passenger Act*, 30 Dec. 1854.

event, however, the act made no mention of orders-in-council; instead, it simply forbade any method of stowage which, in the emigration officer's opinion, endangered the health or safety of passengers.³⁵ Thus, what happened was that the emigration officer's discretion over stowage was rendered certain and complete: it was to be the opinion of the man on the spot, not at all an expert in the matter, which decided each particular case.³⁶ Doubtless he was still open to prosecution for abusing his discretion, but this would have been extremely difficult to establish at law. For all practical purposes the emigration officer was now omnipotent.

Meanwhile, the commissioners had taken immediate action upon the two other problems raised by the *Annie Jane* and *Taylor* inquiries, the effect of iron on ships' compasses and the number and efficiency of a ship's crew. On 17 March 1854, they instructed all officers to insist that every emigrant vessel carry an azimuth compass, and at least four of a crew for every 100 registered tons.³⁷ Once again, Elliot was frightened by their audacity. "These are not the days," he wrote, "in which trade is willing to be interfered with more than can possibly be helped. In the matter of regulating the number of crews parliament has either shrunk from the task, or has not thought it advisable; and yet we might find persons ready enough to condemn very humble officers of the government if they did not enforce that which has not been attempted by the legislative." But, once again, Peel and Newcastle backed the commissioners, and told them to enforce their regulations, at any rate until the select committee had made its recommendations.³⁸ This time, however, the commissioners had acted rashly, not least in failing to consult either the crown lawyers or their own executive officers beforehand. The 1852 act had given officers a general discretion to see that the crews were "sufficient"; but no mention had been made of ships' instruments. Within a week the commissioners, threatened with legal proceedings, had to instruct officers *not* to refuse clearances to vessels without azimuth compasses, as the law was uncertain on the point, and they feared further actions for damages for delays.³⁹ They soon encountered a fur-

³⁵ 18 and 19 Vic. c. 119, sec. 29.

³⁶ C. O. 384/94, 362 Emigration, 13 Jan. 1855.

³⁷ Circular to emigration officers, 17 Mar. 1854.

³⁸ C. O. 384/92, 1986 Emigration, 3 Mar. 1854.

³⁹ C. O. 384/92, 2506 Emigration, commissioners: Merivale, 21 Mar. 1854. The commissioners, however, instructed their officers to warn masters of the very grave re-

ther difficulty: their officers had not the requisite scientific knowledge to examine, or "re-swing" when necessary, the ordinary ship's compasses. What was needed was a specialist,⁴⁰ a "scientific officer," as Schomberg put it.⁴¹ Here, however, the commissioners were getting into deep waters, and they expressed a hope that so technical a matter would be taken up by the board of trade. Elliot, who was now thoroughly alarmed by the growing demands, said firmly that the board must take up and, for that matter, be responsible for "the creation of any new powers and duties on the part of the executive government."⁴²

The instruction concerning ships' crews was equally ill-advised and unenforced. All the emigration officers and board of trade officials examined by the select committee of 1854 condemned it roundly. It was generally agreed that the present discretion was inadequate; that with rigging and construction varying so greatly, general directions were better than minute regulations; that the American vessels had lately introduced so many labour-saving mechanical devices that they must be treated differently; above all, that with Liverpool already short of seamen, and in the throes of trade union difficulties with the sailors, it would be madness to insist on four men for every 100 tons — and dangerous; too, as many incompetents would have to be recruited. Schomberg believed that two really active men per 100 tons would be adequate, particularly if the vessel drew 500 tons or more; and de Courcy thought that three (including cooks, stewards, and similar hands) was quite enough. Moreover, the suggestion of examinations for efficiency struck the emigration officers as silly and impracticable. They considered that they could tell whether a man was a seaman merely by looking at him in action, and that the masters equally knew their business. Again, what tests could be devised? To get every man to climb the rigging at a busy and crowded port like Liverpool would be quite impossible.⁴³

sponsibility they assumed if they sailed without azimuth compasses. It was T. W. Murdoch's opinion that the new act should "enjoin" officers in the matter of compasses and chronometers, as a "discretion" was both embarrassing to the officer and dangerously vague (*1st rep. select comm. emigrant ships*, 25, Q. 381-5, H. C. 1854, [163], xiii).

⁴⁰ *1st rep. select comm. emigrant ships*, 23, Q. 363-5, H. C. 1854, xii. Such examination and "swinging" were necessary both before an iron cargo was loaded and after one had been carried by a vessel.

⁴¹ *2nd rep. select comm. emigrant ships*, 15-16, Q. 3435-53, H. C. 1854, (349), xiii. He added that only Liverpool had an emigration sufficiently large to justify such an appointment, and that, in his opinion, the officers should be subject to the board of trade.

⁴² C. O. 384/92, 3573 Emigration, commissioners: Merivale, and endorsements, 25 Apr. 1854.

⁴³ *1st rep. select comm. emigrant ships*, 16-18, 130-1, 142-3, 179, Q. 229-69, 2425-8,

This was the state of things when the select committee of 1854 inquired into the matter. We may safely assume that the circular of 17 March had done nothing except to draw attention to the problems. The committee, however, came down strongly — we might even say recklessly — upon the side of regulation. It reported that although the exact effect of iron cargoes had not yet been scientifically decided, masters should be compelled by statute to follow the *latest* scientific opinion on the point. It was more difficult to be draconian about crews. The evidence before the committee was overwhelmingly in favour of leaving the question to the discretion, experience, and common sense of the officers and the masters themselves; and equally it was against the ratio of four per 100 tons.⁴⁴ Even so, the committee was most reluctant to surrender the latter check. In the face of the evidence, the report could scarcely recommend the 4:100 ratio absolutely, but it stressed “the great counterbalancing principle of increased security of human life” and proposed that masters be required to enter bonds engaging to return to port the moment that the vessel appeared to be unsafe.⁴⁵ Once again, however, the commissioners decided, in making their recommendations for the new passenger bill, that permission to issue orders-in-council for both crews and instruments was the best means of securing their objects.⁴⁶ But in the event the act simply made it obligatory for every passenger vessel to carry at least three steering compasses and one azimuth compass, as well as a number of other instruments, all of them working to the “satisfaction” of the emigration officer. As for the manning of the vessels, the emigration officer was left with his discretion as to a “sufficient” crew. But an appeal against his decision was allowed, in which case the commissioners were to appoint two other officers or other competent persons as arbitrators.⁴⁷

Thus we find that substantially the same pattern was followed in

2622-42, 3259-60, H. C. 1854, (163), xiii. On the other hand, it was admitted that as things stood there was no uniformity. The rule-of-thumb applied at Liverpool was three men for every 100 tons, at Glasgow even less, and so on. Nor was any serious attempt made to test efficiency. Very occasionally, a seaman was asked for his papers or asked a few questions about sailing, but that was all.

⁴⁴ Only one witness, Capt. Beechey of the board of trade, considered that the 4:100 ratio was desirable. Even he wanted no precise regulation, and believed that the emigration officer's discretion was ample.

⁴⁵ 2nd rep. select comm. emigrant ships, ix-x, H. C. 1854, (349), xiii.

⁴⁶ C. O. 384/92, 11344 Passenger Act, 30 Dec. 1854.

⁴⁷ 18 and 19 Vic., c. 119, secs. 27 and 28. If the arbitrators disagreed, the commissioners would presumably have appointed another pair.

each case. The commissioners asked for, and were refused, statutory authority to vary the regulations by periodic orders-in-council; instead the executive officer's opinion was made the sole, or almost the sole, criterion of sufficiency, of quantity, or of effectiveness. True, the question of the adequacy of crews followed a straightforward course. Like the seaworthiness of a vessel, the minimum number and the seamanship of a crew was a matter on which an experienced sailor might reasonably have been expected to deliver a sound judgment; and in each case human error was allowed for by the right of appeal to a small committee of other experienced sailors. But iron cargoes and ships' instruments were new and very different issues. Here the opinion of a half-pay naval officer was *prima facie* little better than that of any layman. Unquestionably, expert or professional knowledge was demanded.⁴⁸ But it had proved extremely difficult to wrest the salary of even one "scientific" officer for Liverpool from the treasury. It was hopeless to look for more. Hence the *emigration officer's* discretion: hence also, to cover his deficiencies and his hesitancy, the very wide, indeed absolute, character of that discretion, and the abundant indications of the select committee and of others in authority that he should err upon the side of safety and severity, whatever the commercial loss. As proved so commonly the case, the fanatical parsimony of the early and mid-Victorian state was the hinge on which even the mode of its government turned.

As to the form of the regulation, I have unfortunately found no evidence to illuminate the rejection of the orders-in-council proposal. I have not discovered whether it was the political or permanent heads of the colonial office, or the cabinet, or the parliamentary draughtsmen, who were responsible for the change; or whether or in what degree the change was made because statutory orders-in-council were seen to be delegated legislation — for such they undoubtedly were and are.⁴⁹ Nonetheless, two essentials of the matter are clear. First, that from a "watchdog-of-the-constitution" standpoint, the worse evil was preferred to the lesser. An unlimited discretion was awarded to a minor and (in the strict sense) incompetent official, while a delegation, which would have secured at least the publication of the rule which was being ap-

⁴⁸ The board of trade experts stated that iron cargoes were definitely a "specialist" matter (C. O. 384/93, 9074 Emigration, board of trade: Elliot, 4 Oct. 1854).

⁴⁹ Rep. Comm. Ministers' Powers, p. 25. The Donoughmore committee observed that statutory orders-in-council were a very important and "constantly growing" class of delegated legislation. It would be interesting to know whether the emigration commissioners were the pioneers in this field.

plied, was refused. Secondly, that this choice made, substantially speaking, little difference. In fact, what appears to have happened is that the commissioners circularized their executive officers with technical advice and instructions on iron and instruments from time to time. Had statutory orders-in-council been the solution, these would have been published, and possibly have been more cautious and less frequent — but that is all. In either case, the actual interpretation and application of the rule depended, or would have depended, altogether upon the executive officer himself: the nature of the business left no alternative.

Moreover, although there is no certain indication, it seems likely that the discretion was preferred to the delegated legislation simply because it was believed that an absolute discretion would lead the executive officer to act more boldly and more ruthlessly "in the interests of human life." It is significant that no right of appeal was given in the cases of iron cargoes and instruments, presumably upon the ground that such a right might lead to "weakness" in enforcement. The rejection of published orders from superiors was, in my view, very probably inspired by the same reasoning. For one of the most interesting aspects of the whole affair is the fact that the current dogmas of political and economic individualism, of free contract and free trade, offered such puny resistance. Apart from Elliot, all the various public servants and all the whigs, conservatives, Peelites and Irish members of parliament who were concerned in the matter through their connexions with the colonial office, the board of trade, or the select committee, simply took it for granted that the only proper consideration — public expenditure apart — was the most effective practicable means of preventing evils. To return to the common formula, human life outweighed all other interests. Nor is this reaction exceptional. Within the field of emigration and shipping, at least, there are many instances of such a neglect of "principle." In the colonial office papers over a period of some fifty years, we can find only half-a-dozen objections to measures of this type, whether upon the ground of political or economic theory, or of constitutionality, or even from a bureaucratic instinct of self-preservation from additional and vexatious duties.⁵⁰ The plain truth is that political persuasion or ideas counted for little and operated only occasionally in these cases. Doubt-

⁵⁰ T. F. Elliot's resistance may have been a compound of all three. As a young man in the 1830's he had been in contact with several of the philosophical radicals, and had accompanied Durham on his mission to Canada; and his first chief at the colonial office, upon his return from Canada, was James Stephen, whose discernment in constitutional matters was unsurpassed.

less, it is useful for historians of the nineteenth century to point to the "progressive" elements in the political programme of those who are conventionally pigeon-holed as conservative or reactionary — and *vice versa*; and doubtless it is still more useful to draw attention to the very frequent disparity between programme and concrete legislative and governmental achievement. But it is perhaps most useful of all to realize that it was, so to speak, only that portion of the iceberg showing above the surface which reflected the clash and glitter of political battle. Possibly for the most part, certainly for a great part, collectivist government moved silently but surely through the waters, unperceived.

To conclude, we have seen how a "despotic" form of administrative discretion came into being almost casually in the very hey-day of liberal individualism and laissez-faire. Stranger still, we have seen how factors which might be supposed to bar the way to such an outcome — the limitation of public expenditure, the want of experimentally established scientific certainty, the caution of the overworked executive officers — tended rather to promote it. More generally, we have seen something of the perennial character of English government, of the essentially practical reaction, the simple, quite undoctrinaire appraisal of the means to hand, and the unconscious (or at least unspoken) reliance upon the integrity, moderation, and common sense of the humble public servants upon whom powers were lavished. But, more important, we have also learnt something of the manner in which that government grew in both scope and scale. Cumulatively and in combination, the *ad hoc* devices of regulation which were thrown up so easily must have wrought significant changes in the very nature of the state. Dicey has well observed that no statute, whatever its authors or its advocates contend, is so "exceptional," so "isolated," so obscure, as not to form a precedent and an encouragement for other measures in the same strain (Dicey, pp. 44-47). The same is true, if anything *a fortiori*, of the day-to-day practices of government.

HARDY'S VIEW OF REALISM: A KEY TO THE RUSTIC CHARACTERS



RITICS OF THE PRESENT DAY have shown widespread disagreement on the subject of Hardy's rustics, some cautiously asserting, others emphatically denying their literal reality.¹ By his earliest critics, as by those today, Hardy's realism has been both eulogized and severely questioned, at times almost in the same breath, and with scarcely an attempt to reconcile contrasting critical opinions. A closer view of the conditions of peasant life as described by observers on the scene in Hardy's day may help to explain the seeming inconsistency of the literary critic, revealing substantial omissions in Hardy's generally truthful descriptions of the peasantry. What Hardy aimed to do with reality, however, can best be learned from Hardy himself, whose divergences from actuality in his novels reflect and confirm his ideas of the relationship of art to life. Here was a man whose experience had granted him

¹ Cf. Albert J. Guerard, *Thomas Hardy, The Novels and Stories* (Cambridge, Mass., 1949), p. 123: the peasants "are unmistakably brittle, decorative, fictitious, literary—as literary as Dogberry and Bottom"; and Lionel Johnson, *The Art of Thomas Hardy* (London, 1923), p. 146: "Read a page of rustic talk in Mr. Hardy, and you will think of Shakespeare: listen to an hour of rustic talk in Wessex, and you will think of Mr. Hardy." For further questioning of Hardy's realism, see H. C. Duffin, *Thomas Hardy, A Study of the Wessex Novels* (Publ. of the Univ. of Manchester, English Series No. VIII, 1916), pp. 22-24; Herbert B. Grimsditch, *Character and Environment in the Novels of Thomas Hardy* (London, 1925), pp. 63-64; Samuel C. Chew, *Thomas Hardy, Poet & Novelist* (New York, 1928), p. 98; and David Cecil, *Hardy the Novelist* (London, 1943), p. 92. Recent defense of his realism appears, too, in Harvey Curtis Webster, *On a Darkling Plain* (Chicago, 1947), p. 108; Desmond Hawkins, *Thomas Hardy* (London, 1950), pp. 50-57; Douglas Brown, *Thomas Hardy* (London, 1954), p. 49; and Evelyn Hardy, *Thomas Hardy* (London, 1954), pp. 124-125.

the opportunity to go as far as he wished with the details of a rural realism, yet who, it will appear, chose not to go all the way. A reconciliation of the real and the fictitious in the novels must return to Hardy's principles of fiction writing, for the rustics are both real and unreal by the author's design.

I

The present-day critic can scarcely expect to travel to the Wessex of mechanized farms and electrification, wireless sets, trains, and busses, and hope to verify details in Hardy's rustic portraits.² The nineteenth-century critic, however, often did travel to Wessex, more likely from sheer curiosity than from an urge to uncover the workings of any theory of the relationship of art to reality. What he found served largely to verify Hardy's accuracy, which was often praised far more lavishly than by the present-day critic who makes concessions to a dramatic truth.³ Nineteenth-century criticism, however, while not offering so complex an interpretation of Hardy as has been made in recent times, contains the basis of the paradox to come. Perhaps because of its simplicity, the older criticism more markedly underscores the contrary and seemingly inconsistent views that may be taken toward Hardy's employment of realism. Early reviewers are quick to point out that Hardy often goes astray, particularly in conversational effects. Even when the reality of the peasants' cleverness is admitted, it is feared that too often the very phrasing of the dialogue indicates that he is using his peasants as mouthpieces

² C. J. Weber, "Hardy: A Wessex Seesaw," *Saturday Review of Literature*, XXXIV (6 Jan. 1951), 24, believing as Johnson did that the rustics "seemed natural and real," asks: "Is it possible that we have to a large degree disqualified ourselves as critics of a rural writer like Hardy by our modern urbanization?"

³ See praises of the realistic rustic characters of *Desperate Remedies* in *Spectator*, XLIV (1871), 482, and *Saturday Review*, XXXII (1871), 441-442; of *Under the Greenwood Tree* in *Spect.*, XLV (1872), 1403, and [Horace Moule], SR, XXXIV (1872), 417: "Any one who knows tolerably well the remoter parts of the South-Western counties of England will be able to judge for himself of the power and truthfulness shown in these studies of the better class of rustics"; of *A Pair of Blue Eyes* in *Spect.*, XLVI (1873), 831; of *The Mayor of Casterbridge* in SR, LXI (1886), 757. See also acclaim of Hardy's truthful portraiture in [C. Kegan Paul], "Mr. Hardy's Novels," *British Quarterly Review*, LXXIII (1881), 349-350: "there is not in all Mr. Hardy's works one exaggerated or untrue word in his descriptions of those whom he knows so well"; J. M. Barrie, "Thomas Hardy: The Historian of Wessex," *Contemporary Review*, LVI (1889), 59; M. M. Turnbull, "Two Delineators of Wessex," *Gentleman's Magazine*, LXXI (1903), 475; and Edward Wright, "The Novels of Thomas Hardy," *Quarterly Review*, CXCIX (1904), 506. Hardy himself, in his General Preface in *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*, Wessex ed. (London, 1912), p. ix, believed that "at the dates represented in the various narrations things were like that in Wessex."

for his own words and tone if not his own opinions; there is "the introduction of a satiric vein belonging to the author's own mental plane into the language of a class very far removed from it."⁴ A reviewer in the *Westminster* has difficulty deciding whether the rustics are made to appear too clever or simply "too formal" when expressing their cleverness. However, the *Westminster* had once preferred the "more natural" talk of "Mr. Hardy's clowns" in *Ethelberta* to that in *Far from the Madding Crowd!* To the *Spectator* the Weatherbury rustics in the latter form an "incredible picture": "he has filled his canvas with an assemblage of . . . exceptional figures."⁵ In later novels, where the expressions of the rustic are more grimly infused with the somber bent of Hardy's reflection, the "incredible" appears to become decidedly unpleasant to some. To one reviewer of *Tess*, "there is not one touch of nature" in any character in the book, perhaps because there is "not a gleam of sunshine anywhere." To another, situations as well as sentiments prove ill-chosen: "the improbability of four milkmaids, all sleeping in one room, and all hopelessly in love with one blameless prig . . ." A third, concluding that Tess assuredly "never drew breath in any fields trod by human foot," adds that "Mr. Hardy's rustics have always . . . had a smack of caricature about them."⁶ Thus emphatic praise of Hardy's realism is balanced by reservations on the language, the wit, the situations, the dark point of view. In "A Study of Mr. Thomas Hardy" appearing in the *Westminster* late in the century, the issue of a twisting of reality is fully before us: Hardy is found to have created "an idealised Old England, peopled by an idyllic race of joyous peasants . . . [around whom he has thrown] an imaginative glamour, a poetical atmosphere, strangely precious in these days of realism."⁷ Here, then, is an author elsewhere commended for his accuracy in transcribing life, yet now praised for his unrealistic

⁴ See SR, XXXIX (1875), 57; *Spect.*, XLVII (1874), 1597-1598 (reviews of *Far from the Madding Crowd*). The latter admits that while the diction is wrong, the conversations seem to employ "first-rate materials derived from real observation." So, too, a reviewer of *The Woodlanders* in SR, LXIII (1887), 485, agrees that the "wit and ingenuity" of the countrymen's conversations are genuine but objects to the diction of "town talk" in which they are sometimes expressed. Barrie, p. 61, warns of "a tendency to spoil the rustics by putting clever sayings into their mouths," but this in novels later than *Far from the Madding Crowd*. In *Spect.*, LII (1879), 181, Hardy is found in *The Return of the Native* to mingle his own reflections with the rustics' dialogue so that the "Wessex peasantry . . . are never so presented that the reader is able to accept them as true pictures of rustic life."

⁵ *Westminster Review*, CXV (1881), 327; CVI (1876), 281 (on *Ethelberta*); *Spect.*, XLVII (1874), 1597.

⁶ SR, LXXIII (1892), 73-74; Francis Adams, "Some Recent Novels," *Fortnightly Review*, LVIII (1892), 20; *Quart. Rev.*, CLXXIV (1892), 323-324.

⁷ Janetta Newton-Robinson, "A Study of Mr. Thomas Hardy," *WR*, CXXXVII (1892), 153.

treatment, in which an "imaginative glamour" replaces the effects of stark reality.

Hardy's peasants are often thoughtful, clever, exceedingly articulate members of their community. "Joyous" may be an inappropriate epithet for them, but they rarely suffer severe physical hardships; their words exposing the grim ironies of fate would indicate their intellectual awareness of life's bitterness, while sufficient joyousness fills their physical lives in rounds of eating, drinking, and dancing. "Imaginative glamour," too, may sum up a misleading impression of the technique of their portraiture, for many contemporaries were agreed upon Hardy's absolute fidelity in reporting both the atmosphere and the activity to be found in actual peasant life. The apparent contradiction of accuracy and "glamour" must lie not in Hardy's untruthfulness but in his selectivity. Picturing "the better class of rustics," choosing "exceptional figures," he has eluded the critic with touches of emphasis, sometimes comic or idyllic, sometimes grim, that are verifiable in the real world, yet somehow do not compose a balanced picture of the commonplace peasant who could be seen in the fields in Hardy's day, read about in the newspapers, and studied in parliamentary reports.⁸ A survey of some of the social and economic history of nineteenth-century English rural life will at times confirm Hardy's observations but will at the same time suggest the "real" peasant beside whom Hardy's carefully chosen specimens must have appeared idealized to some of his contemporaries. Such a survey will encounter two major impressions that Hardy usually leaves out of focus: the animal nature of the peasant and the economic suffering of his lot.

Contradicting our impressions of Hardy's peasants stands the proverbial Hodge, "the Dorset farm labourer . . . a sturdy ill-lettered man, whose ideas seldom stray beyond his day's work."⁹ It was specimens of this character that T. E. Kebbel on his agricultural tours found gathered in village streets on Sundays, standing "like the cows" and "communicating to each other through some organs which, to ordinary mortals, are unintelligible."¹⁰ Among authors who were observers of the

⁸ Studies of the agricultural laborer and his family are most fully reported in House of Commons Papers, Session 1867-68, Vol. XVII; 1868-69, XIII; and 1893-94, XXXV. See also comments in *London Times*, e.g., 1872: 20 Apr., p. 12; 16 May, p. 6; 21 May, p. 7; 7 June, p. 12; 11 June, p. 5; 19 June, p. 5; discontent in Dorset: 5 Oct., p. 7, and 5 Dec., p. 6; exchanges of Richard Jefferies and "The Son of a Wiltshire Labourer": 14 Nov., p. 8; 25 Nov., p. 6; 27 Nov., p. 10; 3 Dec., p. 7.

⁹ M. V. Hughes, *About England* (London, 1927), p. 265.

¹⁰ T. E. Kebbel, *The Agricultural Labourer, A Short Summary of His Position* (London, 1893), p. 166. See also the *Athenaeum* review of *The Hand of Ethelberta*, 15 Apr. 1876, p. 523: "he does not seem to appreciate the exceeding scantiness of ideas in the

peasantry of Hardy's day, George Eliot had noted their "coarse apathy," Charles Kingsley, in his description of the pathetic Village Revel, their sodden profanity and surly discontent, and Richard Jefferies the routine of a mere "human animal."¹¹ Jefferies, who placed the journalist's interest in fact above the artist's concern for effects, has summed up the result of the many hardships of rural existence which his various essays describe: "the blunting of all the finer feelings, the total erasure of sensitiveness."¹² Except, perhaps, in his portrait of Arabella, Hardy has failed to testify to the "unrestrained animalism" of rustic life;¹³ even among the questionable figures gathered at the Peter's Finger in Mixen Lane, cleverness and geniality would seem to predominate.

Contrary evidence from other observers, nevertheless, suggests that Hardy's picture is not entirely false but rather a record of only a part of the truth. Richard Heath, touring rural England in late Victorian times, reports that "the love of joking, play of wit, and sharp but kindly repartee, the ready appreciation of irony and of principles conveyed or hinted in a playful manner, is quite a striking feature in Dorset character." Francis George Heath, a close observer of southwestern agricultural life in the seventies, quotes a Devonshire correspondent who, after living among the peasantry for fifty years, is "often amused at bright sallies of wit from them when I did not expect them." Even Kingsley, who had drawn some of the strongest pictures of squalor and dullness, was surprised by the typical peasant's deep and intelligent appreciation of fine music.¹⁴ To these samples of opinion can be added the praise lavished in many contemporary reviews upon Hardy's veracity (see n. 3 above and 28 below) and the reluctance, in the *Westminster*, to discover an unnatural cleverness in the dialogue of the rustics.

Clearly, if the contrary reports of rustic character are to be accepted, the penetrating wit of Hardy's rustics must, in actuality, have displayed itself only in some of the people and only part of the time. In

brain, and words in the mouth, of a modern rustic." Similarly, *Spect.*, XLVII (1874), 1597, questions the absence of the rural laborer's "average intelligence" and "heavy bovine character" in *Far from the Madding Crowd*.

¹¹ [George Eliot], "The Natural History of German Life," *WR*, LXVI (1856), 55; Charles Kingsley, *Yeast* (New York, 1899), Ch. XIII; Richard Jefferies, *The Open Air* (London, 1885), p. 101. See also *Charles Kingsley, His Letters and Memories of His Life*, ed. by his wife (London, 1877), I, 245.

¹² Richard Jefferies, *The Toilers of the Field* (New York, 1901), p. 95.

¹³ As noted in Grimsditch, p. 69.

¹⁴ Richard Heath, *The English Peasant* (London, [1893]), p. 128; Francis George Heath, *Peasant Life in the West of England* (London, 1880), p. 375; Kingsley, *Letters and Memories*, II, 232.

his famous defense of Hodge,¹⁵ Hardy indicates that this is so: that Hodge is an individual, a member of a class that ranges through all stages of character from stupidity and wantonness to the cleverness of genius, and that Hodge's individuality reveals itself, as it did gradually to Angel Clare, only among those who know him intimately. Hence, if the peasant is shy of revealing his cleverness, Hardy's accuracy in depicting the rural laborer must be credited to his proximity to and intimacy with peasant life as well as to a power of keen observation. The tourists and journalists who descended on the peasant in great numbers late in the century were strangers before whom he instinctively practiced concealment and was inevitably misunderstood and reported dull.¹⁶ If, however, only a portion of the peasantry is admitted to have a sharp wit and brightness of intellect, then Hardy reveals by his practice that his choice was not to present the whole varied range of peasant character from the brightness of genius to the wanton and the stupid. It is true that many of his rustics display sallies of wit and that Christian Cantle and Thomas Leaf, on the other hand, are "stupid," amusingly and almost proudly so. However, the wanton animal of Kingsley and Jefferies does not appear in Hardy's world. Admitting the potential range of character from highest to lowest, Hardy chose to make his selections chiefly from among the "aristocracy" of the peasant community; writing to Leslie Stephen about illustrations for *Far from the Madding Crowd*, he expressed "a hope that the rustics, although *quaint*, may be made to appear intelligent, and not boorish at all."¹⁷ Yet his argument that genius exists within the total range of peasant character might equally have been used to justify the presence of the boorish as well.

If Hardy excluded much of the sordid in his pictures of peasant life, he accordingly suppressed the economic distress in which much of that sordidness grew. Among novelists we have only to turn to Disraeli (*Sybil*), Charles Kingsley (*Yeast*), Mrs. Gaskell (*North and South*), or Mrs. Humphry Ward (*Marcella*) for stirring hints or an outright exposé of the peasant's scant and faulty food, clothing and shelter, his starvation wages and workhouse-confined old age, his nauseating standards of health and sanitation. In support of these dreary pictures are numerous

¹⁵ See *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*, Ch. XVIII, or "The Dorsetshire Labourer," *Longman's Magazine*, II (1883), 253-254.

¹⁶ Note the experience of "Orme Agnus" (John C. Higginbotham) in his *Jan Oxber* (Boston, 1902), pp. 17-18: "Open as the peasant's life is, he shuts himself up as a sensitive plant before the stranger . . . skilled investigators . . . can tell he wears a smock-frock, and has a sun-tanned face, but that is about all they know of him." Similarly, see George Ford, *Postle Farm* (New York, 1899), p. 241.

¹⁷ Florence Hardy, *The Early Life of Thomas Hardy* (London, 1928), p. 128.

official documents in addition to the reports of touring journalists.¹⁸ In 1830 William Cobbett states that for many years the chief food of a majority of laborers has been bread or potatoes. "They have eaten sheep or cattle that have died from illness; they have eaten garbage, such as a lord or a loan-jobber would not give to his dogs; children have been seen stealing the food out of hog-troughs; thousands of them have died for want of food."¹⁹ In January, 1846, the *Times* reports on a group of about a thousand starving Wiltshire laborers who met at a cross-roads by night to agitate for repeal of the Corn Laws. Here William Taylor testified to the predicament of low wages and high food prices: "Yes, I could not work because I was not strong enough; I could not get victuals to make me so; and my master . . . discharged me."²⁰ Later, in 1872, Canon Girdlestone of North Devon writes that "The cottages, as a rule, are not fit to house pigs in. The labourer breakfasts on teakettle broth, hot water poured on bread and flavoured with onions; dines on bread and hard cheese . . . and sups on potatoes or cabbage greased with a tiny bit of fat bacon."²¹ In the winter of 1871-72, Joseph Arch, founder of the first Agricultural Labourers' Union in the months following, reports of the men's desperation arising from "oppression, and hunger, and misery": "desperation was the mother of Union" (*The Story of His Life*, p. 67). And in 1880, F. G. Heath concludes: "In the western counties the peasant's frame is still enfeebled, and his movements are slow, from the effect of years of semi-starvation" (*Peasant Life in the West of England*, p. 388). The total picture, from which these fragments of testimony have been selected, is one of such poverty that Tess, sheltered and fed at the Flintcomb-Ash farm, would seem relatively comfortable.

Hardy's failure to present many of the details of this economic burden upon the peasant should not be charged wholly to ignorance or to unfeelingness. It need not be argued, for example, that imitating the moods of Shakespeare and William Barnes, Hardy saw nothing other

¹⁸ Among the most useful are William Cobbett, *Rural Rides*, 2 vols. (London, 1912); Francis George Heath, *The English Peasantry* (London, 1874); Joseph Arch, *The Story of His Life Told by Himself*, ed. the Countess of Warwick (London, 1898). See also n. 8 above.

¹⁹ William Cobbett, *Political Register*, Dec. [4], 1830, quoted in *Selections from Cobbett's Political Works*, ed. John M. Cobbett and James P. Cobbett (London, [1835]), VI, 580.

²⁰ "The Corn Laws. Meeting of Agricultural Labourers in North Wilts," *London Times*, 7 Jan. 1846, p. 5.

²¹ In F. G. Heath, *The English Peasantry*, p. 100. See also *London Times*, 11 June 1872, p. 5, the statement of Mr. Royce, chairman of a meeting to organize a union at Marlborough: "the labourers suffered profound misery; they never tasted meat for months, and if they did they ate what dogs would turn away from" (an observation that supplies irony to Hardy's anecdote of the gritty bacon in *Far from the Madding Crowd*, Ch. VIII). Cf. *Reports from Commissioners: Agriculture (Employment of Women and Children)*, House of Commons, Session 1868-69, XIII, Appendix Part ii, 9, 38.

than the merrier life of a bygone England.²² Hints of unemployment, many mouths, small potatoes, and mouldy bakery (which Cainy Ball purchased as a treat in the kingdom of Bath) appear in several of the novels, and traces of varying degrees of darkness add their tone to the total atmosphere, whether it is the Baptists in *A Laodicean* who have buried so many young children, Tess or Marty South exhausting herself for a small pittance to keep alive, or Haymoss Fry and William Worm helplessly undergoing the minor torments of rheumatic joints and "folk frying" in the head. Sometimes the economic ills are made very explicit: Hezzy Biles, skeptical of ghosts, explains, "I've not held out against the spectre o' starvation these five-and-twenty years on nine shillings a week, to be afeared of a walking vapour."²³ Sympathy as well as awareness reveals itself in Hardy's treatment of the peasant's life, although this sympathy is seldom linked explicitly to the peasant's economic plight. Pursuing his basic point of view that "Hodge" is an individual, not a type, Hardy sympathetically presents the peasant in all his novels as a distinct and interesting human being. Granted that the details of the peasant's life are usually brief among the "background" characters, we still have only to recall the emotions of the dairymaid companions of Tess or the loyal devotion of Charley to Eustacia to perceive what insight Hardy could demonstrate in locating the human element even in his minor characters. If we look to peasants assigned major roles in the novels, people like Henchard, Winterborne, Oak, Tess, or Marty, the theme of human dignity is clearly underscored, especially when each of these characters faces some period of economic distress. If we turn from fiction to essay, to a deliberate focus upon the social history of the peasant, we find Hardy sympathizing with rural changes late in the century, approving of economic betterment even while regretting the loss of old traditions, and distinctly admiring the work of Joseph Arch to raise wages ("The Dorsetshire Labourer," pp. 262-265).

Incidents could be multiplied to verify Hardy's awareness of at least a great part of the social and economic oppression of the peasant, yet it becomes necessary before long to correct the perspective, to deny that an over-all impression arises from the study of Hardy's novels to

²² Barnes did not always exclude the darker side of peasant life from his verse either. See his *Poems of Rural Life in the Dorset Dialect* (London, 1879), pp. 100-104, 127, 165.

²³ *Two on a Tower* (London, 1952), Ch. XXII. The average Dorset wage was 9s. 4d. in 1860, about the time of the above scene, but had been only 7s. 6d. just ten years previous. See averages in Lord Ernle, *English Farming Past and Present*, 5th ed. (London, 1936), pp. 524-526. Hardy appears generous by several pence, too, when he mentions wages in *Far from the Madding Crowd*, Ch. X. That he was quite aware of the low wages and hardships that his novels fail to stress, see his letter to Haggard in Florence Hardy, *The Later Years of Thomas Hardy* (London, 1930), p. 93.

match the impressions engendered by propaganda novelists, journalists, and parliamentary investigators. Even in the above-mentioned essay, where Hardy might have assumed but did not assume the position of an agitator, the pathetic pictures of unemployment and forced migration are alleviated by amusing accounts of the peasant's tastes in dress, cleanliness, and interior decoration, which an outsider is cautioned against taking too hastily for signs of discomfort.²⁴ In the novels, it is one thing for Haymoss Fry to complain humorously of rats gnawing in the joints of his knees, the result of long hours of work in the rain in his youth. It is quite another for a novelist to assert that "the bad sanitary conditions of their wretched cottage, and poor health had made their lives one long and sordid struggle."²⁵ Hardy, unlike Mrs. Ward, is unconscious of a duty to create propaganda for the laborer. He does not dwell seriously on his characters' discomforts. Those in lesser positions throughout the novels somehow get on; they may have had poor times but they are not starving, their lives are not sordid. The conflict in the novel simply is not focused upon them. And among the major characters, where a struggle is faced, the conflict is one that concerns them as sentient and emotional human beings, not as members of an economic class; economic misery, if present (and it often is), is a realistic attendant circumstance in a deeper struggle of life and death.²⁶ By and large, Hardy's rustics do not impress us with a sordid animal existence, nor are economic oppressions which would cause such an existence emphasized with any consistency. As a man, Hardy must have known many of the ugly details, but as an author he has passed over them.

II

What Hardy has created in his novels is a picture of human life deeply infused with the ways and work of an agricultural economy. His vivid-

²⁴ "The Dorsetshire Labourer," pp. 255-259. See Chew, p. 126: "He lays no stress upon their poverty."

²⁵ Mrs. Humphry Ward, *Marcella*, in *The Writings*, Westmoreland ed. (Boston, 1910), V, 154. Cf. F. G. Heath, *Peasant Life in the West of England*, pp. 80-81.

²⁶ Brown, in his recent *Thomas Hardy*, stresses the close dependence of the way of life in the novels upon the actual agricultural economy, yet admits that Jefferies offers more "rural truth" than Hardy, for Jefferies had "the more passionate sympathy with the labourers [i.e., with their discomforts], by far the surer grasp of rural economics" (pp. 142-143). See also W. E. Lunt, *History of England*, 3rd ed. (New York, 1947), p. 755 (Hardy's pessimism not associated with agricultural depression); Cecil, p. 35 (political and social struggles "insignificant" to Hardy beside man's "relation to the nature of the universe").

ness rests upon his truth, but it remains to be seen that his theories of fiction writing disallowed his recording every side of the truth or emphasizing a side unrelated to his purposes. Other sides of the truth could be seen in other English novelists who aimed at improving the peasant's economy and at times introduced some of the "unrestrained animalism" of rural life, a feature soon to be found treated unabashedly in Zola's *La Terre*, "with all its revolting coarseness of language, crudity of expression, and disgusting obscenities." It was undoubtedly unfair of Zola's reviewer, revolted by the details, to argue that the peasants of *La Terre* are imaginary characters, only "painted in defense of a theory." They are rather, as he further admits, but a part of the total reality, "but one side of human nature, and that the very worst."²⁷ The contrary side becomes evident whenever we consider Hardy's rustics, who, Havelock Ellis has stressed, "are never besotted, never coarse." Above the potentially crude details of eating and drinking, courting and sexual life, plays "a delicate and involved humour" which tempers the sordidness that not only a Zola but even Kingsley or Jefferies could suggest.²⁸ Hardy's view of reality aims to transcend that of the social propagandist.

If it might be asked whether two such methods as Zola and Hardy employed could ever be combined by one author to capture the antithetical extremes of reality in a single unified picture. Such a question must remain hypothetical; Hardy would have replied, no, for what the artist sees and uses is not an external mingling of extremes but a smaller unity selected according to his peculiar temperament. Again and again in his own criticism Hardy stresses the impossibility of recording the whole truth. The "truth" that the artist extracts from a scene turns out to be only the truth of the impression that the scene makes upon him, "the true thing in itself being still, as Kant shows, beyond our knowledge" (*Later Years*, p. 9). Furthermore, the truth of whatever tone or impression the artist credits to a scene results not from any uniform impression that the scene throws off but "varies with the minds of the

²⁷ W. H. Gleadell, "Zola and His Work," *WR*, CXL (1893), 621, 623, 624.

²⁸ [Havelock Ellis], "Thomas Hardy's Novels," *WR*, CXIX (1883), 336. That Hardy was not given to see with the same eyes as Zola, see *Early Life*, p. 216: "Rural low life may reveal coarseness of considerable leaven; but that libidinousness which makes the scum of cities so noxious is not usually there." C. Kegan Paul, an early defender of Hardy's realism, in "Mr. Hardy's Novels" (n. 3), p. 357, carries the point further: "it may be thought that he deliberately chooses only that which is fair and virtuous and pure for the sake of the picture he wishes to draw, and into the grace of which he will introduce no incongruous feature, that he has left out the most essential elements. This is not so. The English labourer is frank, but he is not coarse, save as Fielding's novels are coarse." But we shall note that Hardy laid no claim to objectivity and was not content to accept a precedence of "Nature" over art in his writing.

perceivers . . . [and] does not lie in the scene at all.”²⁹ Finally, as the artist works upon his impressions of reality, shaping them into some tangible piece of art, he must ever fall short of reproducing them as they originally existed in his perceptions: the final form “is but the last of a series of tentative and abandoned sketches each of which contained some particular feature nearer perfection than any part of the finished product.”³⁰ Dependent upon impressions of the artist which are always subjectively formed and then reshaped, “all art is approximative — not exact.” Complete reality is unattainable; realism in art becomes merely “an artificiality distilled from the fruits of closest observation.”³¹

Not only is a complete record of reality rendered impossible in Hardy’s view of art, but the pursuit of such an aim, supported by an attempt to collect and report all external details, is undesirable. Lionel Johnson understood, in Hardy’s rendering of dialect, for example, that “a novel is not a phonograph,” that the recorder must “reconcile the demands of truth with those of art.” To this assumption that art and complete objective reality are incompatible he adds the opinion that they should be so, that without the graces of art playing upon the lives of rustic characters, all that would remain to a report would be “the country in its mean dulness, or in the violence of its incivility,” the very features of the historian’s reality that Hardy did not stress. Nor is it simply fear on Johnson’s part, or on Hardy’s, that to include mean facts about country life would be to create unpleasantness; “to practice a mechanic and unimaginative fidelity, in transcribing every detail of life,” might or might not create a sordid picture — assuredly it would create a lifeless one.³²

It is clear that Hardy himself had no bent for “transcribing every detail of life” in the manner of a social historian. He himself had little relish for making an inventory of “manners” and even thought the skill a weakness on the part of Henry James (*Early Life*, pp. 137, 277). But beyond recognizing that the artist’s own temperament must, whether

²⁹ *Early Life*, p. 66. See also *Far from the Madding Crowd* (London, 1952), Ch. II: “In making even horizontal and clear inspections we colour and mould according to the wants within us whatever our eyes bring in.”

³⁰ *Early Life*, p. 62. Cf. p. 231, on publishing *The Mayor of Casterbridge*: “I fear it will not be so good as I meant”; *Later Years*, p. 41, on *Jude*: “You have hardly an idea how poor and feeble the book seems to me, as executed, beside the idea of it that I had formed in prospect.”

³¹ *Early Life*, p. 213; “The Science of Fiction,” in *Life and Art by Thomas Hardy*, ed. Ernest Brennecke, Jr. (New York, 1925), p. 87. Cf. *Later Years*, p. 174: “January 6 [1917]. I find I wrote in 1888 that ‘Art is concerned with seemings only’, which is true.”

³² Johnson, pp. 65, 110, 106.

or not it should, color all he can perceive, Hardy raises a Platonic objection to the realist, namely, that a passion for the details would override concern for "the substance of life," whereas "the material is not the real — only the visible, the real being invisible optically." The realist, the photographer of sociological minutiae, is faithful to "life garniture and not life."³³ Realism, when conceived to be a profusion of accurate details, is undesirable because it is content to center upon the external, the lifeless, and neglects that intangible part of reality in human nature which is grasped only by insight, the gift of "a sympathetic appreciativeness of life in all its manifestations." The "more accurate delineator of human nature," and indeed the best story-teller, may be expected to surpass one "with twice his powers and means of external observation" who, nevertheless, lacks this gift of grasping the life within his characters ("The Science of Fiction," p. 89). Such a grasp provides Hardy with a clue to the great appeal of Biblical narratives. Their very convincingness, at first a seeming proof of their precise concern for actuality, becomes upon reflection a proof of the contrary, of the selection and reshaping of the actual by "a consummate artist who was no more content with what Nature offered than Sophocles and Phleidias were content" (*Early Life*, p. 223). Similarly, we might add, when the tone and spirit of rustic life are grasped from within, when the humor and turn of thought are realized, the emotions and interests understood, then the details of the human animal's routine, which a Jefferies might supply, become of less consequence: "The exact truth as to material fact ceases to be of importance in art" (*Early Life*, p. 243).

Hardy's opposition to realism in art, to an objective and tangible realism which is in theory impossible to perfect and in practice undesirable for the artist to center upon, is qualified in his practice by an aim to surpass, not bypass, ordinary realism. Herein lies the critic's difficulty in assessing the reality and unreality of Hardy's characters, for a selective and discriminating use of the actual always forms the basis of his portraits. The artist should accurately record so much of external reality as makes clear the route to his inner meaning: "attention to accessories has its virtues . . . when it conduces to the elucidation of higher things" ("The Profitable Reading of Fiction," p. 67). If false steps are taken, if the writer, for example, attempts to invent a "perfect" character without regard to the world about him, he will destroy the interest of thoughtful readers who are "famishing for accuracy." Accuracy in the

³³ *Early Life*, p. 243; "The Profitable Reading of Fiction," *Life and Art*, p. 66.

sense of frankness was the keynote of Hardy's defense when he set out to write *Tess*, but much earlier he had pointed out to his sister Mary the great merit of Thackeray, who never defied reality by drawing a "perfect" character and so, while he failed to develop the "elevating tendency" of obvious moral instruction, achieved the central purpose of the novel, to create a picture of life.³⁴ Furthermore, if a novel is to create either pleasure or moral inspiration, it must first establish the reader's belief in its personages; to this end "a work of fiction should be a precise transcript of ordinary life" (*Early Life*, p. 193).

To grasp the inner, to him the substantial, life of his characters and to inspire the reader's belief in his interpretations, Hardy gave much attention to the "accessories," the realism of external details. He began, in *The Poor Man and the Lady*, with an imaginary set of circumstantial details in the manner of Defoe and was pleased that both Macmillan and Morley should be fooled by the "seeming actuality" (*Early Life*, p. 81). But such a pretense of realism was not to satisfy his own standards. Reflecting in later years upon *Under the Greenwood Tree*, he regretted that because he had never seen or heard the real choir of his grandfather's day, the "poetry and romance," to him the substantial reality of the choir, could not be conveyed clearly enough, lacking a basis of accurate detail (*Early Life*, p. 15). His concern for outward realism while writing *Far from the Madding Crowd* was made explicit in a letter to Stephen, in which he announced his decision to do the writing while living near the district where the story takes place: "I find it a great advantage to be actually among the people described at the time of describing them" (*Early Life*, p. 131). Although quick to deny autobiographical implications in his tales, Hardy was willing enough to admit the modeling of a number of his characters upon actual persons, characters like the dairymaid Marian, the Baptist minister in *A Laodicean*, and some members of the Mellstock choir. His close observation of the actual peasantry of Wessex must, if we knew all biographical minutiae, account for many specific features in the portraits of various rustic characters.³⁵ Viewing the rustics firsthand in his endeavor to employ the actual as a stimulus for his insight, Hardy must, too, at times have observed a sordidness which he was not rigidly committed to exclude from his writing *per se*. In many of his novels, par-

³⁴ "Candour in English Fiction," *Life and Art*, p. 77; *Early Life*, p. 53.

³⁵ *Quart. Rev.*, CXCIV (1901), 251: "of this class — the peasantry of the South of England — his knowledge is extraordinary." See also Randall Williams, *The Wessex Novels of Thomas Hardy* (London, 1924), pp. 104-105.

ticularly in *Tess* and *Jude* but noticeably elsewhere, the lives of the rustics touch upon those areas of sordidness which propagandists were busy exposing. To perceive how closely Hardy verged upon this part of life, one has only to imagine what Kingsley might have done with the drunken men at Troy's harvest dance or Mrs. Ward with the story of poor Fanny Robin. But a detailed picture of life's outward ugliness is not to Hardy an end in itself; as he confronts each scene with his sympathetic grasp of character, the realistic detail, even in the scene where Jude recites the Creed in Latin in a low Christminster tavern, loses its shocking significance as propaganda. In the presentation of the coarsest of all his rustic characters, Arabella, Hardy affirms that his interest in the "grimy" features of the story lay in their development of a contrast of the strands of real and unrealized ideal that form the paradox of Jude's life.³⁶

Although the novelist must give close attention to realistic details, complete accuracy is an unattainable goal. The painter, recognizing that he cannot reproduce in his picture all that lies before him in a subject, must create through his selected details "a something else which shall have upon the spectator an approximative effect to that of the real."³⁷ The means to this "something else" that painter or novelist creates lie in selection and emphasis, in what Hardy referred to as a "disproportioning" of reality so that "the features that matter" will stand out.³⁸ Hence in the portraits of the rustics, or of any characters in the novels, we can expect not a summary of the commonplace but rather a heightening, an exaggeration, of those features which afford the author his particular insight and create for him a pattern of comprehension and appreciation within the flux of external reality. The pattern, in the last analysis, the choice of "features that matter," is determined arbitrarily by the artist, who follows, as it were, one color in a many-colored

³⁶ *Later Years*, p. 41. On p. 42, Hardy defends his "coarse" scenes as in the spirit of Fielding: "I am read in Zola very little." Cf. n. 28.

³⁷ *Early Life*, p. 283, in reference to Turner. See also "The Profitable Reading of Fiction," p. 72: a novel is not "the thing" but "a view of the thing."

³⁸ *Early Life*, p. 299: "Art is a disproportioning — (*i.e.*, distorting, throwing out of proportion) — of realities, to show more clearly the features that matter in those realities, which, if merely copied or reported inventorially, might possibly be observed, but would more probably be overlooked. Hence 'realism' is not Art." Guerard, p. 83, cites this passage in the course of his explanation that Hardy is not an orthodox realist and emphasizes the important point that "Hardy both observes and re-creates his world" (p. 78). However, in attempting to establish Hardy's lack of rural realism, he broadly simplifies the economic picture, concluding that the worker's position was improving throughout the century while "Hardy's pessimism darkened" (p. 78), and later dismissing the rustic characters as "not Dorset workfolk of the nineteenth century, but relics of Wessex's still living past" (p. 123; see also n. 1 above).

carpet, choosing whatever design "his idiosyncrasy moves him to observe." The result is, in terms of the parts employed, a recording of actuality, yet "no mere photograph, but purely the product of the writer's own mind" (*Early Life*, p. 198). The value of the work produced rests only in part upon the accuracy of the observer; more important than his ability to transcribe details is the artist's genius to select them, choosing so that at the end he will have produced what is not just a counterpart or replacement of the actual but a heightening of it, an opening of it to reveal a newly discovered comprehension. Realism at its best is thus creative, dependent upon the artist's "imagination," yet, grounded upon use of the actual, it is not in a romantic sense a product of "invention." To label this power of the artist to *create* reality out of actuality, Hardy borrows Arnold's term, "the imaginative reason" (*Early Life*, p. 190).

Our clearest understanding of Hardy's realism comes from comparing, as he so often did, the work of a novelist with that of a painter. Because he did not photograph his subjects, Hardy's portraits of rural life do not possess the documentary interest of those of Jefferies, Kingsley, and other propaganda writers. But based as they are upon the integrity of his individual power of selection, they appear to go much deeper, revealing character, as a painting does, by the stressing of individual details. His characters are not typical dairymaids, shepherds, and labore's such as display themselves unimaginatively in the pages of parliamentary reports. Haymoss Fry, Grandfer Cumble, and Joseph Poorgrass are no more typical of the common undistinguished lot of peasantry than are Oak, Winterborne, or Tess. It is, however, from this common lot of contemporary peasantry that they derive, and the potentialities of their whole class come to life under the selective powers of Hardy's imaginative reason. When critics inform us that Hardy's rustics are not quite real, or that a poetic, idealizing glamor has been cast over them, what might be meant is that Hardy, following his deliberate plan of disproportioning, has reproduced what is essential to him in their reality: "This reproduction is achieved by seeing into the *heart of a thing*."³⁹

Wisconsin State College, La Crosse

³⁹ *Early Life*, p. 190; also pp. 231-232.



Behind the Veil:
A Distinction Between Poetic and Scientific Language
in Tennyson, Lyell, and Darwin

NO DOUBT HUXLEY was over-enthusiastic in his remark that "Tennyson was the first poet since Lucretius who understood the drift of science."¹ Still, Tennyson's confronting of the new science was real and to some degree successful, if by that we mean at least that he expressed in poetry a crucial Victorian intellectual dilemma. The fashion today of deplored the philosophical Tennyson in favor of the melancholic or the technically graceful Tennyson should not obscure for us the experience of reading lines that carry the most detailed response in nineteenth-century poetry to the great challenge

¹ Letter to John Tyndall dated 15 Oct. 1892, quoted in Leonard Huxley, *Life and Letters of Thomas Henry Huxley* (New York, 1901), II, 359.

of science. Indeed, the reader who deprecates Tennyson's mid-century cries of alarm had better have some better answers ready, for his own mid-century, to questions that remain not essentially different for us than they were for the Victorians.

"Tennyson was Darwin's exact contemporary," a recent writer points out, "and when *The Origin of Species* appeared at the end of 1859, the poet had been pondering the subject of Evolution as deeply and as long as the biologist himself, if not exactly from the same angle."² It will be the purpose of this paper to begin to lay out, in literary terms, the "angle" from which Tennyson pondered some of the new nineteenth-century science, and to distinguish this angle from that of the scientist.

We all know of Tennyson's wide reading and early interest in science. His progressive enthusiasms for the various scientific branches have frequently been summarized,³ and his solemn list of subjects to be studied during a single week in 1833 has often been quoted:

Monday. History, German.
Tuesday. Chemistry, German.
Wednesday. Botany, German.
Thursday. Electricity, German.
Friday. Animal Physiology, German.
Saturday. Mechanics.
Sunday. Theology.⁴

When the notorious *Vestiges of Creation* appeared in 1844 with its heady popularizations of recent discoveries, Tennyson had already been a reader and indeed a writer on scientific subjects for several years. "I want you," he wrote Edward Moxon immediately on the publication of *Vestiges*, "to get me a book which I see advertised in the Examiner; it seems to contain many speculations with which I have been familiar for years, and on which I have written more than one poem."⁵ His "more than one poem" evidently refers to, among other things, the scientific sections of *In Memoriam*, which was certainly well launched during the late thirties. "The sections of 'In Memoriam' about Evolution," stated his son, "had been read by his friends some years before the publication of *Vestiges of Creation* in 1844."⁶ "Unfortunately," A. C. Bradley has commented, "the sections are not specified; but CXVIII and CXIII are presumably among them."⁷

Let us inspect, then, one of these Evolutionary sections Bradley mentions, composed — "presumably" — some time before 1844. Our purpose will be to define the stance or "angle" from which the poet approached the experience of science:

² William R. Rutland, "Tennyson and the Theory of Evolution," *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association*, XXVI (1940), 8.

³ For example in Rutland, or in Lionel Stevenson, *Darwin Among the Poets* (Chicago, 1932), Ch. 2.

⁴ Hallam, Lord Tennyson, *Alfred Lord Tennyson: A Memoir* (New York, 1897), I, 124.

⁵ *Memoir*, I, 222-223.

⁶ *Memoir*, I, 223.

⁷ A. C. Bradley, *A Commentary on Tennyson's In Memoriam* (London, 1901), p. 15.

There rolls the deep where grew the tree.
 O earth, what changes hast thou seen!
 There where the long street roars hath been
 The stillness of the central sea.

The hills are shadows, and they flow
 From form to form, and nothing stands;
 They melt like mist, the solid lands,
 Like clouds they shape themselves and go.

But in my spirit will I dwell,
 And dream my dream, and hold it true;
 For tho' my lips may breathe adieu,
 I cannot think the thing farewell.

This is a poem about change in the earth's surface, and it clearly owes its origin to Tennyson's reading in the contemporary literature of geology. It is no great task to find passages from scientific writing of the time that suggest just this notion of geologic change. It is possible even to find appropriate passages that are known actually to have been read by Tennyson. The great *Principles of Geology* of Charles Lyell, for example, which appeared in 1830-33 and was read by Tennyson in 1837,⁸ contains the following paragraph:

I may here conclude my remarks on deltas, observing that, imperfect as is our information of the changes which they have undergone within the last 3000 years, they are sufficient to show how constant an interchange of sea and land is taking place on the face of our globe. In the Mediterranean alone, many flourishing inland towns, and a still greater number of ports, now stand where the sea rolled its waves since the era of the early civilization of Europe. If we could compare with equal accuracy the ancient and actual state of all the islands and continents, we should probably discover that millions of our race are now supported by lands situated where deep seas prevailed in earlier ages. In many districts not yet occupied by man, land animals and forests now abound where ships once sailed, and on the other hand, we shall find, on inquiry, that inroads of the ocean have been no less considerable. When to these revolutions, produced by aqueous causes, we add analogous changes wrought by igneous agency we shall, perhaps, acknowledge the justice of the conclusion of Aristotle, who declared that the whole land and sea on our globe periodically change places.⁹

What bears literary interest here is not so much that Tennyson should have responded to passages like this in order to write poems, but that his response included or accompanied or necessitated a shift in dramatic position, in "angle." We may understand this shift most easily if we first locate the

⁸ According to Stevenson, p. 60.

⁹ Charles Lyell, *Principles of Geology* (Philadelphia, 1837), I, 236-237.

position of the speaking voice in Lyell by examining some grammatical structures in his sentences. Who is this geological speaker — what does he do?

One test of who a speaker is and what he does is surely his choice of verbs. There are six main verbs in the five sentences of the paragraph, and four of these verbs point to the intellectual activity of human beings, with "I" or "we" as their subjects. I *may conclude*. We *should discover*. We *shall find*. We *shall acknowledge*. (The remaining two main verbs — towns *stand* and forests *abound* — appear in the second and fourth sentences, and have the effect of a kind of elegant variation in a context which perhaps might otherwise seem monotonously structured.) Several of the dependent verbs in the subordinate clauses similarly dramatize the speaker and his reader as intellectual observers of evidence and commentators thereon. "I may conclude my remarks, *observing*." "The changes *are sufficient to show how*." "If we *could compare*." "When we *add analogous changes*." This speaker, then, is consistently conscious of himself and his reader as engaged in an activity (observing present evidences of past change) which by its very nature separates him from the actual movement of the earth's surface. The tentative, cautious, distant quality of his voice may be illustrated by a slow reading of the third sentence: "If we could compare [which we can't] with equal accuracy the ancient and actual state of all the islands and continents, we *should probably discover* [main verb] that millions of our race *are now supported* [dependent verb to main clause] by lands situated where deep seas *prevailed* [dependent verb within dependent clause] in earlier ages." The description of the earlier ages in this sentence occurs, then, in the most subordinate position possible, a long way from the main activity of the sentence, the *should discover* conditional on the *if* clause. (And even that main activity was modified by a modest "probably.") Our separation from and our scientific caution about those deep seas *prevailing* in earlier ages are dramatized here by a perfectly appropriate organization of clauses. The speaker is a long way, both in time and space, *and grammar*, from those deep seas. Rather, he is at a desk, let us say, or on a lecturer's platform, concluding his careful remarks on deltas.

There rolls the deep where grew the tree.
O earth, what changes hast thou seen!
There where the long street roars hath been
The stillness of the central sea.

The hills are shadows, and they flow
From form to form, and nothing stands;
They melt like mist, the solid lands,
Like clouds they shape themselves and go.

The astonishing difference here will be plain to any reader. It is not a difference in "subject matter"; indeed some of the very same words are used: "there rolls the deep" and Lyell's "the sea rolled its waves." But though the two speakers are concerned with the same phenomena in nature, how different is their "angle"! "There rolls the deep" — a speaker at a desk? on a platform? Not at all: he is on a beach, perhaps, or a seaside cliff, and he points — "there!" Then he turns and addresses the whole world (O earth) and speculates on the changes the earth has witnessed. Then he glides, as if by magic carpet, off to

a city where again he points (there) to the long street roaring. In the second stanza this extraordinary speaker, who has been able to shift his physical position so abruptly, now actually becomes almost timeless as he assumes a state of being from which he can see hills as shadows: they *flow, melt, shape* themselves, and go through eons of geological time. All this activity takes place in main verbs and independent clauses; the activity described is not the speaker's, but the hills', the lands'. If Lyell had permitted himself a verb like "flow," he would hardly have placed it in an independent position, at least in his characteristic sentence. We can imagine him more moderately asserting that "we can perhaps observe from this evidence that the hills might be said to *flow* through unknown periods of geological change." The difference in grammar is crucial. The subjects of the verbs for Tennyson are not "I" and "we"—they are the very objects in nature that act before him: the deep, the street, the hills, the solid lands. There is no human intellectual activity expressed here at all, and the speaker is not observing evidences of change: he is *there*, and change takes place before his very eyes. With no effort at caution, no deliberate placing of these changes at a grammatical distance through a series of dependent clauses, Tennyson can utter sentences that are notable (in this instance) for their brevity and simplicity of structure. But finally, after his dizzy flights through time and space in the first eight lines, he can—he must—soar back into himself in the third stanza:

But in my spirit will I dwell,
And dream my dream, and hold it true;
For tho' my lips may breathe adieu,
I cannot think the thing farewell.

A consciousness of the self as a talker does enter into the expression here at the end, as Tennyson seems to dismiss his former stand as a kind of lip-service. He cannot (after all) think the thing farewell. But the damage has surely been done. As so often in Tennyson, it is ironic that the most memorable passages are those expressing the very wild unrest that he later seeks to repudiate.

IF WE ATTEMPT to apply the description outlined here to other "scientific" passages in *In Memoriam*, we discover a similar characteristic grammatical structure supporting the directness of a speaker who is on the spot. This is not to suggest that I am proposing a rigorous rule to distinguish Tennyson's voice from the scientist's at all times and places: obviously Tennyson (like all poets) occasionally *sees signs* that are interpreted intellectually in dependent clauses;¹⁰ obviously scientists occasionally take grammatical flyers. But there are variations of the poetic stance I have described again and again in

¹⁰ An example of such *seeing* may occur at the end of CXXVIII: "I see in part / That all, as in some piece of art, / Is coöperant to an end." Here it is most interesting to observe how an effort to be modest or "scientific" in the main clause ("I see in part") creates a logical difficulty in the dependent clause. How can one see *in part* that *all* is coöperant to an end is a poser: it has come about, one might say, because the speaker has uttered scientific and poetical language inside the same sentence. They do not easily mix. Note too that the simile—"as in some piece of art"—is peculiarly inappropriate to the main clause, though not to the dependent clause. The very significance of a piece of art is that we do *not* see it "in part"—we see it whole. That is what art is; that is why it is not life.

In Memoriam — for example, in the famous Evolutionary section, CXVIII, where he begins:

Contemplate all this work of Time,
The giant laboring in his youth;
Nor dream of human love and truth
As dying Nature's earth and lime.

Here the speaker is urging us to adopt the very dramatic posture he has elsewhere demonstrated himself. "Contemplate" here surely means more than simply "reflect on" — it means look upon, and if what we look upon is a giant laboring in his youth, we possess, of course, pretty extraordinary eyes, in which a metaphor for the whole progress of Time becomes for us a real event occurring in a form to be physically observed. The second stanza of this section begins the long sentence in which Tennyson summarizes conclusions of the scientists; it is amusing to notice how he has translated their manner of talk into his own manner of talk.

They say
The solid earth whereon we tread

In tracts of fluent heat began,
And grew to seeming-random forms,
The seeming prey of cyclic storms,
Till at the last arose the man;

Who threw and branch'd from clime to clime,
The herald of a higher race . . .

They — surely scientists — say what? The solid earth whereon we tread *began, grew, etc., till man arose, threw, branch'd, etc.* The grammatical structure of the scientists' statements (all, to be sure, dependent on "say") reflects, though in past tense, very much the sort of rhetoric that Tennyson himself uses when he waxes scientific in CXXIII. As a matter of fact (we might argue, after our reading of Lyell), *that's* not what scientists "say" at all. What they say is something like this: "We might conclude from the examination of certain geological evidence as well as from recent solar observations that the earth was originally composed of fluid material at a high temperature." After all, this was the nebular *hypothesis* Tennyson was referring to, not statements of fact. The distinction, of course, is one that scientists have sometimes been guilty of ignoring as blithely as if they were poets.

Section CXVIII and its central sentence proceed with a complexity of grammar that could equal the dependent clauses of any scientist, but in the great conclusion we return to the imperative mood and an invitation to the reader to assume again with the speaker his magical position:

Arise and fly
The reeling Faun, the sensual feast;
Move upward, working out the beast,
And let the ape and tiger die.

Here of course is science made moral: recapitulate Evolution within yourself and improve on it. The flight of imagination required for the reader to obey these precepts is obvious. To move upward working out the beast is to

become virtually immortal, like the speaker who watched the solid lands shape themselves and go. It is to be not a man, but Man.

In LV, another well-known scientific section, the speaker does actually observe signs and draw conclusions, seemingly like a scientist, and the subject of the verbs is "I." But the sentence structure is crucially different from what I take to be the "standard" sentence of the scientist:

Are God and Nature then at strife
That Nature lends such evil dreams?
So careful of the type she seems,
So careless of the single life,

That I, *considering* everywhere
Her secret meaning in her deeds,
And *finding* that of fifty seeds
She often brings but one to bear,

I falter where I firmly trod,
And falling with my weight of cares
Upon the great world's altar-stairs
That slope thro' darkness up to God,

I stretch lame hands of faith, and grope,
And gather dust and chaff, and call
To what I feel is Lord of all,
And faintly trust the larger hope.

The italicized verbs — or are they merely adjectives? — do point of course to intellectual activity not unlike that in the talk of scientists, but their grammatical subordination is plain. What the "I" does more importantly, once those intellectual participles are over and done with, is *falter*, *stretch* lame hands, *grope*, etc. These verbs, which technically speaking are dependent on "seems" two or three stanzas earlier, have by this time virtually acquired the force of independent verbs, and they certainly express the speaker's main activity. The point seems to be that when Tennyson does give us a locution in which "I" is the subject of a verb, that verb is less likely to be one of observing, concluding, or analyzing, and more likely to be a verb of action suggesting intense emotional response.

The speaker in *In Memoriam*, I have been arguing, is not a man who observes signs and makes conclusions about Nature therefrom; he is instead a spectator as Nature acts before his very eyes. Sometimes he simply has to listen while Nature obligingly makes a statement for him, as in the section following the one we have just been considering (LVI):

"So careful of the type?" but no.
From scarped cliff and quarried stone
She cries, "A thousand types are gone;
I care for nothing, all shall go."

The speaker responds by asking if Man, "who roll'd the psalm to wintry skies," shall "Be blown about the desert dust, / Or seal'd within the iron hills?" And he concludes the section with one of the most extreme confessions of mystification in the poem: "What hope of answer, or redress? / Behind the

veil, behind the veil." But we must remember that even here, where the speaker seems to be as far from answers as any mere mortal or modest scientist, his dramatic stance has actually taken him a long way from any such humble position. He has, after all, just been carrying on a conversation with Nature, and it is from Nature's own mouth that he has learned to take the view he presents to us. The information he gives us — namely, that further information is "behind the veil" — is conclusive, straight from the source, absolute. In the poem, we are taken right up to the veil, we almost see it; no scientist, I suppose, would want to claim even that there is any such thing as a "veil."

If one were to ask which of the two, the scientist or the poet, approaches the mysteries of Nature with the surer foot, the more positive voice, the more knowledgeable air, I think most of us might offhand answer the scientist. But if we consider their statements as dramatic expressions, especially in relation to their grammar, the answer might well be the other way around. Here are two kinds of statement: (1) I measure and relate these skeletons; I suggest that a number of forms of life have passed out of existence; the next step must await further study; (2) O Nature, you cry to me, "A thousand types are gone, I care for nothing, all shall go." The poet is far closer to penetrating "behind the veil" than the scientist is; he is in a position to get his information first-hand. It is the poet who *knows*, even when what he knows is a certainty of absolute ignorance; the scientist proposes (as indeed does the author of this paper). These are two ways of looking at the world, to repeat a platitude, and every one has his choice, from moment to moment. What I have offered here is an attempt to relate their differences to grammatical relations of words in sentences as actually composed by two great Victorian practitioners.

TENNYSON, THEN, READ LYELL in 1837 and may well have written CXXIII, more or less consciously, out of the experience of that very passage in the *Principles of Geology*. There seems to be no evidence that he read Darwin, however, before *The Origin of Species* appeared in 1859, nine years after the publication of *In Memoriam*. But there is a passage in *The Voyage of the Beagle* (1839) that expresses in the vividest terms a scientist's recognition of geological change, and whether it was ever seen by Tennyson or not, it displays for us once again the voice that a scientist can assume. At this point in the *Voyage*, Darwin was traveling through that part of mountainous South America called the Cordillera when he came upon a group of petrified trees embedded in volcanic sandstone. Immediately he went to work, reading the signs before him:

It required little geological practice to interpret the marvellous story which this scene at once unfolded: though I confess I was at first so much astonished, that I could scarcely believe the plainest evidence. I saw the spot where a cluster of fine trees once waved their branches on the shores of the Atlantic, when that ocean (now driven back 700 miles) came to the foot of the Andes. I saw that they had sprung from a volcanic soil which had been raised above the level of the sea, and that subsequently this dry land, with its upright trees, had been let down into the depths of the ocean. . . . Vast, and scarcely comprehensible as such changes must ever appear, yet they have all occurred within a period, recent when compared with the

history of the Cordillera; and the Cordillera itself is absolutely modern as compared with many of the fossiliferous strata of Europe and America.¹¹

In this wonderful piece of writing (which I have cut severely) we can see a scientist again facing a realization of change in the earth's surface. And it is not "feeling" or "emotion" that defines the difference between scientist and poet, for surely Darwin is moved here as he interprets "the marvellous story." The point is that he does dramatize himself as an interpreter, and again the verbs demonstrate his role. "The scene unfolded its story"; "I confess I was astonished"; "I could scarcely believe"; "I saw." The repeated main verb "saw" is followed in both second and third sentences by a description of past events in *dependent* constructions: "I saw where trees once waved," "I saw that they had sprung," etc. This is a speaker whose main activity is the observation of signs, *which* he interprets as signifying a story of change *that* took place in the past, and *that* is relegated accordingly to a clause *which* is dependent.

I submit, then, that Tennyson's "poetic imagination" can sometimes be examined in terms of his grammar. The poet reads a scientist's sentence, and *imagines himself*, not in the role of the scientist (I saw), but in the role of some magical mind who can experience directly the activity of the dependent clause. He renders the scientist's dependent verb independently, and lo! the hills flow. He approaches the absolute ultimate limits of knowledge as no scientist would pretend to do: he sees the veil, and he knows when he has reached the end. To do this, he projects himself into a position of observation that is, strictly speaking, impossible: he stands where no one can stand, unrestrained by space or time, and he watches things happen that no one can watch. The magic carpet of this rhetoric floats a good many poets besides Tennyson, of course, and indeed it may suggest another way of distinguishing what we mean by prose from what we mean by verse. But more immediately, it seems to suggest one method by which a great Victorian poet was able to use for his own purposes the disquieting new world of science.

WALKER GIBSON

New York University

¹¹ Charles Darwin, *Journal of Researches into the Natural History and Geology of the Countries Visited during the Voyage of the H. M. S. Beagle Round the World* (New York, 1846), II, 85-86.

- 70 *George W. Hilton* : Ricardian Economics by MARK BLAUG
: Robert Torrens and the Evolution of Classical Economics
by LIONEL ROBBINS
- 72 *Iain Fletcher* : The Variorum Edition of the Poems of W. B. Yeats
ed. ALLT AND ALSBACH
- 75 *M. H. Abrams* : Romantic Image by FRANK KERMODE
- 77 *Graham Hough* : The Poetry of Experience by ROBERT LANGBAUM
- 78 *D. C. Coleman* : A History of Industrial Chemistry by F. SHERWOOD TAYLOR
: The Chemical Industry During the Nineteenth Century
by L. F. HABER
- 80 *L. Gray Cowan* : David Livingstone by GEORGE SEAVER
: Livingstone the Doctor by MICHAEL GELFAND
: Livingstone in Africa by CECIL NORTHCOTT
- 82 *J. D. Fage* : Rhodes of Africa by FELIX GROSS
: Sir Harry Johnston and the Scramble for Africa
by ROLAND OLIVER
- 84 *George Nadel* : A Victorian Eminence by GILES ST. AUBYN
- 85 *William Irvine* : Letters of the Brownings to George Barrett
ed. LANDIS AND FREEMAN
- 87 *Elizabeth Sewell* : Gilbert: His Life and Strife by HESKETH PEARSON
- 88 *John Lewis Bradley* : The Diaries of John Ruskin, 1848-1873
ed. EVANS AND WHITEHOUSE
- 89 *Henry Pelling* : The Chartist Challenge by A. R. SCHUYEN
- 89 *Barbara Garlitz* : Poor Monkey by PETER COVENNEY

Ricardian Economics, by MARK BLAUG; pp. x + 269. Yale University Press: New Haven, Conn., 1958, \$5.00.

Robert Torrens and the Evolution of Classical Economics, by LIONEL ROBBINS; pp. xiii + 367. Macmillan: London, 1958, 36s.; New York: St. Martin's Press, 1958, \$7.50.

ECONOMISTS IN THEIR depressed phases often mention that David Ricardo, employing a conceptual scheme that was crude and inadequate, commanded an authority such as no subsequent economist has ever approached. For nearly a decade after his death in 1823, the ultimate appeal to authority in economic debate in Parliament was consistency with Ricardian principle. His epitaph might well have been "*Si monumentum requiris, vide Hansardum.*"

What was the source of this authority? Ricardo's classical system appeared to offer society a consistent, "scientific," rational approach to its economic problems, such as it had never had previously. The system was rooted in the principle of diminishing returns, which had the twin blessings of what appeared to be empirical verification and a strong appeal to intuition; one cannot really conceive of an order in which it does not prevail. Its principal conclusion, that the Corn Laws were impeding the growth of industry and the increase of well-being, was also intuitively correct. A conceptual scheme that could demonstrate this conclusion could, by implication, yield answers to other social questions, and nineteenth-century English society felt, as its Parliamentary enquiries demonstrate, that it had progressed enough to be able to deal with its problems in some systematic fashion. Furthermore, since dissension among economists themselves was at lower ebb during Ricardo's life than in most subsequent periods, the relative unanimity of the

Ricardians gave great weight to their words. Finally, they claimed not to be overthrowing the old economics of Adam Smith (save in monetary theory), but to be amplifying it and furnishing it with greater rigor. Since Smith had been accepted by the Benthamites, the Ricardians thus made themselves part of a movement — philosophical radicalism — that had already achieved considerable intellectual and political support.

Why did the Ricardian system decline? It is principally to this question that Mark Blaug's work is addressed. In part, the system suffered a series of defeats on questions of internal consistency. Notably, Lauderdale in 1819 and Bailey in 1825 attacked the use of labor as the invariable standard of value, and by 1831 the pure Ricardian value theory had been modified or even abandoned by Ricardo's several successors. Mainly, however, the system was rejected on the perfectly valid ground that it led to conclusions that were not verified empirically. Census data and statistics on agricultural output in the 1830's were inconsistent with the Malthusian population theory, which had been generally accepted by the Ricardians. There was never any evidence that money wages depended on the price of corn. The repeal of the Corn Laws stimulated British exports but otherwise had none of the principal consequences predicted by the Ricardian analysis: neither bread prices nor rents fell, nor did the area in cultivation decline.

Blaug argues that the Ricardian system survived as long as it did largely because it was integral with the argument for free trade; economists and political liberals felt that denunciation of it would weaken the case against the Corn Laws. After 1846 it had become non-functional, and it survived for another thirty years only because of its intellectual momentum and the palpable lack of an adequate substitute. John Stuart Mill provided most of the momentum in 1848 with his *Principles of Political Economy*, a book

written in Ricardian phraseology, but containing qualifications of Ricardian analysis at several important points. There were only two major treatises in the classical economics after Mill: Henry Fawcett's *Manual of Political Economy* in 1863 and John Elliot Cairnes' *Leading Principles of Political Economy Newly Expounded* in 1874. Fawcett was unoriginal, but Blaug considers it something of a mystery that a writer of Cairnes' originality and insight wrote in terms of the classical system as late as the middle 1870's. In 1871 Stanley Jevons killed the classical economics when he enunciated the marginal utility theory, and thereby provided a conceptual scheme for the problems of the post-Corn Law era.

Robert Torrens, Lionel Robbins' subject, was a figure of the second magnitude among the classical economists. As a writer, as a member of Parliament, and as a founder of the Political Economy Club, Torrens was at the center both of theoretical development and of policy polemics from the beginning of the Corn Law controversy to the late 1850's. In the course of fifty years of writing on economic subjects (1808-58), Torrens was variously a contributor to Ricardian orthodoxy and a source of heterodoxy. His principle theoretical contribution was enunciation of the principle of comparative advantage in his *Essay on the External Corn Trade* of 1815. In the same work he set forth the principle of diminishing returns which he, West, Ricardo, and Malthus derived simultaneously from evidence in recent Parliamentary enquiries into the domestic consequences of the Corn Laws. These discoveries did not lead him, as one might expect, to advocacy of unilateral adoption of free trade. He recognized that a country might, through the use of tariffs, turn the terms of trade in its own favor, and inflated this logical point far beyond its empirical significance. Accordingly, he emerged as the first major defender of reciprocal tariff reduction, and so established himself as a Ricardian heretic.

In monetary economics Torrens was successively a fount of classical error and a spring of classical orthodoxy. In the controversy concerning restoration of convertibility of the paper currency into gold following the Napoleonic wars, he appeared as a passionate anti-bullionist, arguing that the conse-

quences of returning to the pre-war gold content of the pound, the bullionists' position, would be deflation and depression, which must be avoided at all costs. Although this is a conclusion with which most economists of the past thirty years would agree, Torrens, in the process of reaching it, vigorously restated Adam Smith's fallacious argument that the issue of bank notes could never be excessive, provided only that the notes were based on short-term, self-liquidating commercial loans. This mischievous principle, the real-bills doctrine, was the very summit of classical heresy. Torrens did not even argue, as most later expositors of the doctrine did, that convertibility was a necessary safeguard against inflationary over-issue. Some six years of acquaintance with the bullionists, Ricardo and McCulloch, did nothing to divest him of these views, for he was still advancing them as late as 1821.

In 1833, after a twelve-year hiatus, Torrens plunged into the controversy between the banking and currency schools to begin defending a position that could not have been more inconsistent with his earlier writings. He became the leading exponent of the currency principle, that the domestic stock of money ought to be guided so as to conform to the behavior of an all-metallic currency — a principle which, during the bullionist controversy, Torrens had explicitly denied. Torrens came full circle by attacking Tooke and Fullarton for holding the real-bills doctrine, even though they held a milder version than he himself had formerly expounded. Never did he give a word of explanation for this remarkable *volte-face*. It is as a writer in the second monetary controversy that Torrens is most important as an historical figure, since he was principally responsible for the division of the Bank of England into separate deposit and issue departments through Peel's Bank Act of 1844, and thus largely responsible for the organization of the British monetary system for the remainder of the nineteenth century.

Torrens' final claim to historical notice is his tireless advocacy of colonization, and particularly of the development of Australia. Torrens looked upon emigration as the most important escape from population pressure, and in his writings gave it first place as a device for social betterment. Early in the 1830's

Torrens was converted to Edward Gibbon Wakefield's theories of systematic colonization, and was thereafter Wakefield's principal upholder among economic writers. Between 1835 and 1839 Torrens was chairman of the Colonization Commission for South Australia.

Both Blaug and Robbins have produced admirable pieces of scholarship. Blaug leads the reader carefully through the transmutations of the classical economics over its history, and stops to investigate the controversies as he passes. The book is likely to become the graduate student's handbook of classical disputation, and will provide many an incipient economist with reading on the night before the doctoral examination in the history of economic thought. Blaug's presentation of the controversy on gluts between Malthus and Ricardo is particularly to be recommended. For scholars outside of economics, the book is an attractive source for the study of classical economics, since the integration of its intellectual development with its historical context is more effective than in more orthodox histories of economic thought. Blaug gives one a more favorable impression of the Ricardian economics than authors who are oriented toward the pure intellectual history of economics, such as Frank H. Knight and Edwin Cannan, since the classical system, viewed as an effort to arrive at answers to specific policy problems, gets considerably higher marks than it does as an abstract logical system. Blaug does not deal, however, except very incidentally, with monetary problems. Given the abundant literature on the monetary controversies of the period, he has ample justification for avoiding them, but his book thus lacks material on the area in which the Ricardians' theorizing and advocacy of policy was, by modern standards, most advanced.

Torrens was not a genius, but his long life, his energy, and his eclecticism offer a broader window upon the world of nineteenth-century economics than any other figure provides. Robbins makes use of his window brilliantly. His text and his bibliographical summaries are models of brevity, precision, and lucidity — all qualities that Torrens lacked completely. If only because Torrens' works are so rare, a study of them was badly needed. It is fortunate that the project was undertaken by an

economist of the first rank; in consequence, the book is the best monograph on a classical economist yet produced.

GEORGE W. HILTON

Stanford University

The Variorum Edition of the Poems of W. B. Yeats, edited by PETER ALLT and RUSSELL K. ALSPACH; pp. xxxv + 884. Macmillan: New York 1957, \$18.50; London, 1957, 126s.

IT IS NOT UNUSUAL for a poet to act as his own conjectural reader: sometimes like Tasso revising stringently under external pressure; sometimes like Wordsworth falsifying the record of earlier feelings in the gloom of later convictions. Yeats himself never accepted the common symbolist view that the poem, as soon as it was written, belonged to everyone but the poet. Revision for him was a continuous re-creation; a constant attempt to construct an *œuvre*: "It is myself that I remake," was his answer to friends, anxiously watching poems that had grown to be part of their interior lives hardening into sharper, unfamiliar shapes.

The present volume records a series of self-transformations. It comprises the poems of the 1949 definitive edition; those not included in that edition; poems from plays when they do not form an integral part of their context; notes to individual poems; and prefaces and dedications to individual volumes. Apart from the bibliographical and critical service the Variorum performs, it is highly convenient to possess early fugitive texts such as "Mosada" and "The Island of Statues" and two of the three versions of "The Shadowy Waters." This strenuously accurate job of editing takes its place beside the *Letters* and Allan Wade's bibliography of Yeats as an essential text.

One turns to it to discover precisely how Yeats remade himself and whether the two broad groups of revisions (those in the collections of 1895, 1899, 1901 and 1904, and the collections of early poems after 1925) can be related to different images of his past self at different times. The first group of revisions culminate at a period when Yeats was virtually abandoning lyric for drama, transforming himself into a practical public man, and writing heroic moralities for a nation. The second group were made when, as recorded in the *Autobiographies*, he had al-

ready established his earlier self among a series of mythologised fellow artists and occultists. The revisions are concerned not so much with purifying diction and making syntax more direct, as with radically imposing his later on his earlier self, an innocent variant of Orwell's Ministry of Truth, or Pope's self-doctored correspondence. Often an early poem is too fragile to bear the weight of the later manner and a new line strains to free itself from its milder context, or a totally new poem results, as in "The Lament of the Old Pensioner," who in the revision of 1925 is no longer resigned, "the fret lying on him," but looks out of the eyes of Yeats' wild old age: "I spit into the face of Time / That has transfigured me."

Yet one volume is barely touched by the series of revisions: *The Wind Among The Reeds* (1899), where Yeats achieved the perfection of *fin de siècle* manner. Here he embodied the first satisfactory image of himself. The early contours of this image emerge in the revisions made for "The Rose" in the collection of 1895. These and more decisively the 1899 volume are the direct result of his associations with The Rhymers' Club, for it was in the London of the 1890's that Yeats discovered himself; discovered an aesthetic; and grasped the role of the poet in the modern world, an aesthetic and a role that were to be elaborated, but not fundamentally altered.

We must turn from Yeats' position in 1898 to his position ten years before if we are to understand the importance of the 1890's in his development. By 1898 Yeats believed that "all art that is not mere storytelling, or mere portraiture, is symbolic . . . for it entangles in complex colours and forms, a part of the divine essence," a proposition clearly in line with the Neo-Platonist and mystical universe of hieroglyphs. By 1898 Yeats was confident that the symbol as it appears in poetry or the visual arts was not distinguishable from the symbol as it appears in religion or magic; that art is non-discursive; that the symbol is grounded on the Divine: he had arrived at a religious aesthetic; though, indeed, an unorthodox one. But in 1888 his position was virtually unformed. He had grown to early manhood in reaction to his father, John Butler Yeats, whose personality and ideas were the first dominant influence

on the poet. When J. B. Yeats started out to become a painter in the 1860's he came under Pre-Raphaelite influence, in particular the influence of Rossetti; came under the influence of an art that rejected realism, sought to express the truths of the imagination and emphasised the connexion between poetry and painting. In this *ambiance* the young poet grew up, admiring the poets admired by the Pre-Raphaelites: Spenser and Shelley, both Platonizers, and Blake, rediscovered by Rossetti's circle. But though his son remained "in all things Pre-Raphaelite," J. B. Yeats changed his creed. By the late 1880's J. B. Yeats had come to represent all that his son hated most and that seemed most destructive of imaginative truth. There is a phrase that reverberates through this section of the *Autobiographies* like some liturgy of commination. It consists simply of four names: Huxley, Tyndall, Carolus Duran, Bastien-Lapage. Here Yeats is summing up the hostile forces to which his father has submitted: the world of natural science, of positivism, of naturalism in painting. J. B. Yeats was now painting in the manner of Bastien-Lapage and Duran, once fashionable, now forgotten painters, who provided the counterpart of Huxley and Tyndall's rationalism and agnosticism: Bastien-Lapage with the photographic realism of his landscapes; Duran with his portraits, a dilute Manet.

Robbed of his imaginative and spiritual birthright, W. B. Yeats began consciously to search for a new religion, to search for what he termed "the great procession of symbols." The artists and poets of the past had provided him with fragmentary words: it was the language he needed. In 1891 he had joined a syncretic Rosicrucian Society which as late as "Byzantium" was to provide him with a stock of symbols. The Golden Dawn assisted his search, admitting all Gods, Egyptian, Irish, Greek, or Christian, into one pantheon as images from the divine ground. But Yeats, as a poet, was primarily interested in seeing how symbols could be mediated in poetry. It was in the early 1890's, too, that he worked on an elaborate commentary on Blake's prophetic books. Yeats found in Blake one who had made order out of his symbols and, furthermore, found that the symbols of Blake were related to those he was finding in his occult studies. Blake, too, was a man who

had accomplished a union of the arts of poetry and design in terms of the symbol.

It is just in the symbol that the arts are united, and Yeats, like most of his contemporaries in France and England, was much concerned with the question of the union of the arts. Yet, for Yeats, the symbol was not simply a trophy of individual conquest, nor simply the possession of the artist. The artist remained only a special manifestation of the visionary capacity latent in all men, manifested in all religion and mythology. The symbol, therefore, was a means of communication, referring as it did to shared experience (the source of symbols is in *Anima Mundi*, the Great Memory) and transcending differences between culture and culture, man and man (though each culture has its own peculiar and appropriate set of symbols). And it is in terms of such congeries of symbols that a culture achieves unity. Yeats was not the only poet to be aware that his society was fragmented, and that the artist, isolated from the groups in which he lived, was in danger of the alienation from himself that must follow from his failure to communicate (the lives and work of The Rhymers' Club poets were, for Yeats, exemplary). What Yeats aspired to was nothing less than the re-creation of a unity of culture. He was Irish, and deeply involved from boyhood in the struggle for liberation from England. During the 1890's he was continuously active, speaking, writing, organizing; and the second phase of his career, seeking for a wider audience through his plays, with its tonic effect on his language, is a fulfilment of his work during the 1890's, not a repudiation.

All his life Yeats exhibited a masterful tact in submitting to the right mentors at the right moments. His mentors during the 1890's were Lionel Johnson and Arthur Symons. It was from Symons that Yeats learned that the symbolist movement was international, in which Irish literature had its part to play: more than a purely literary movement it was in some vague way to transform life. Yeats had little directly to do with Symons' historically important *Symbolist Movement in Literature* (1899); but he clarified Symons' ideas in one particular. Symons was an impressionist critic of Pater's school, without philosophic capacity; a truly systematic account of the French movement was not to be

expected from him, and he never completed the studies of individual practitioners of the arts (he wrote extensively on music, painting, architecture, and the drama) which, he announced, would constitute an aesthetic. Yeats supplemented Symons' slender knowledge and interest in the magical aspect of symbolism, and Symons' dedicatory letter to *The Symbolist Movement* represents the fruit of their discussions as to how to organize symbolism into a coherent aesthetic. In one important respect, though, Yeats' view of the symbol differed from that of French practitioners: his symbols he believed were derived from a divine ground, while theirs remained verbal alchemy, a term loosely used to cover the mysterious energies of artistic creation. Yeats had the example of Pater, who had termed music the archetype of arts, remotest from discourse, form and content fused. Yet Yeats' own poems admit symbols that derive their power from association: The Rose or The Crown of Thorns in earlier work, and between the powerful symbolic assertions of, say, "Among School Children," there is much discourse, much dependence on rhetoric.

The Rhymers' Club poets, particularly Johnson, exercised an influence as decisive as Symons', though more subtle. Yeats' association with "The Tragic Generation" seems local and temporary, confined to the muted triumphs of *The Wind Among The Reeds*: the common mood of wistfulness, indirect longing, a self-conscious preoccupation with technique, a direct syntax, the rejection of the discursive ("generalisation," the Rhymers called it), the modulation of the Alexandrine pursued by Johnson and Dowson, that characteristic metre of *The Wind Among The Reeds*. But Johnson's importance for Yeats was as a symbolic personality. A. H. Hallam's essay on the lyrical poems of Tennyson, republished in 1893, had crystallized the Rhymers' protest against discourse (an opposition conducted rather raggedly in practice). Hallam spoke also of a certain class of poets in terms that Yeats himself was to make use of in formulating his notion of "The Tragic Generation": poets who did not "seek for images to illustrate their conceptions; these men had no need to seek; they lived in a world of images, for the most extensive portion of their lives consisted in those emotions which are immediately conversant with sen-

sations." Arthur Symons' tragedy, in Yeats' eyes, was that he lived on: Johnson and Dowson's triumph and their tragedy lay in consuming their lives in art, their early deaths, their joy in immolation. In 1900 Yeats wrote of Johnson that he had "renounced the world. . . . As Axel chose to die, he has chosen to live among his books and between two memories — the religious tradition of the Church of Rome and the political tradition of Ireland." And in a lecture of 1910 Yeats was sufficiently detached from his past self in the 1890's to impose a mythological pattern on himself and his associates, seeing them as men sacrificed to the impossible demands of the Poetic Image, its destructive wisdom, in a society that had no place for them. And it is significant that Yeats should compare Johnson with Axel, setting him in the Tower of pride, isolation, and renouncement: the archetype of the poet in the modern world. The exemplary lives of Johnson and Dowson provided Yeats with his philosophy of Mask and Image: the poet in the modern world escaping the self-destructive solitude that follows his failure to communicate, creating the antithetical Mask, and so returning to the Image and subduing it.

All through his life Yeats continued to submit to mentors: in matters of art, Charles Ricketts; Synge, Pound, F. R. Higgins, in literature; but none had the decisive importance of Symons and Johnson. His later literary mentors led him away to some extent from the position attained in 1898, but to the end of his life, his view of poetry and the poet, his vocabulary of symbols, remained fixed. Cuchulain, Axel's Tower and the Birds of the Golden Dawn are familiar inhabitants of the later poetry. The final dignity of "The Tragic Generation" was not only to be nobly commemorated in the poetry and in the *Autobiographies*, but to be taken up into Yeats' catastrophic vision of history: "After Stéphane Mallarmé, after Paul Verlaine, after Gustave Moreau, after Puvis de Chavannes, after our own verse . . . what more is possible? After us the Savage God." Criticism has tended perhaps to stress the radical nature of Yeats' development; but the element of continuity is equally important. Even in style we encounter anticipations of a later manner. A line such as "Rages at his own image in the enamelled sea," belongs to 1886. Yeats found

his mentors where and whenever he needed them: it was himself that he remade.

IAIN FLETCHER

University of Reading

Romantic Image, by FRANK KERMODE; pp. xi + 171. Macmillan: New York, 1957, \$3.75; Routledge and Kegan Paul: London, 1957, 18s.

MR. KERMODE TAKES for his province two of the great *topoi* of nineteenth- and twentieth-century English literature and literary criticism. One of these is the necessary estrangement of the poet in an unpropitious time. "Each dull revolution of the world," as Rilke put it, has its *Enterbte*, its disinherited: "Denen das Frühere nicht und noch nicht das Nächste gehört" — a statement which can be translated by Arnold's "Wandering between two worlds, one dead,/The other powerless to be born." The second commonplace is that the poem is primarily an image, "self-begotten," as Yeats said, timeless and deathless, insulated from social and human concerns, and having as its sole end its own being and perfection. Kermode's point is that, as commonly formulated, the concept of the insulated image entails the concept of the isolated artist. The poet's image, an uncomposite fusion of form and content, is available only to an imaginative vision which is radically distinct from the ordinary discourse of reason and which yields a truth independent both of the author's intention and of social utility. As such it is achievable, in our positivistic and utilitarian society, only by an artist who is at odds both with himself and with his world, and only at the cost of a painful self-immolation. The "dear addicted artist" of W. H. Auden's elegy on Henry James yields up the world of action for a creative joy which is also an agonized renunciation. The writer — the phrasing comes readily in dealing with an aesthetic which is patently a theology transformed — must lose his life in order to find his art.

Kermode traces these ideas from Yeats, Joyce, Pound, Eliot, Hulme, and some of the New Critics back through Symons, Wilde, Pater, to the French Symbolists, to Matthew Arnold ("Empedocles on Etna" is analyzed at length as the completest Victorian rendering of the isolated and self-destructive poet),

and eventually to their origin in the Romantic poets. The image of the modern Symbolists, he maintains, is the "Romantic Image," and the aesthetic of the poet-apart is inherited not only from Blake, but from the whole generation of poets whom many modern theorists, in their anti-Romantic rage, attack by concepts which the poets had themselves invented.

This is an interesting and profitable book, and not the least of its functions is to correct popular historical categories by emphasizing the continuity of current literary ideas, not only with the poetics of the 1890's, but with central tendencies of the last century and a half. As a history of critical theory, however, *Romantic Image* must be read with caution. In the zeal and specialty of his interest the author sometimes converts his working hypothesis into a thesis for special pleading. Undoubtedly modern theory has parallels with single concepts in the English Romantic writers, but it is a fallacy to identify the product with its origins. Taken in their totality, in fact, the major Romantic theories of poetry are at the opposite pole from contemporary notions of the alien poet and the autonomous image. Kermode represents Moneta, in Keats' *The Fall of Hyperion*, as a prototype of the present concept of the poetic endowment and the poetic vision. He ignores, however, her message that "None can usurp this height . . . But those to whom the miseries of the world/Are misery," her consent to the claim that "a poet is a sage;/A humanist, physician to all men," and her pronouncement that "The poet and the dreamer are distinct,/Diverse, sheer opposite, antipodes." Coleridge's "Dejection" is offered as a major early example of the idea that creative suffering is inseparable from creative joy. But surely the explicit point of the poem is the opposite one, that joy is essential to creativity and that personal afflictions suspend the "shaping spirit of imagination." Wordsworth's "Leech Gatherer" is held to be "the archetypal Romantic poem of meditation," demonstrating "trust in the image, to weld joy and misery together." Yet the specific function of the indomitable old leech gatherer is to teach the poet the lesson of human endurance. In his critical writings Wordsworth insisted that the poet is himself a "teacher" and undertook above all else to break down the inherited critical distinctions between the

nature and language of the poet and those of man in general, including peasants, peddlers, children, and leech gatherers. In the key terms in which the historical issue was fought out, Wordsworth (like a number of his contemporaries) staked everything on "nature" as against "art"; the Symbolist aesthetic since Baudelaire, on the contrary, in deliberate opposition to Romanticism, has declared entirely for "art," in all the senses in which art is "unnatural," from a Daedalian or Byzantine artifice to the preference for masks and cosmetics over the natural features and the living hue.

It would, I think, be much nearer the historical truth to claim that the theory of the autonomous symbol goes back, not to Wordsworth's naturalism or Coleridge's vitalism, but to the German concept of the self-sufficient aesthetic object established by Baumgarten and Kant; and that the idea of the alienated artist, "sick by his division from his time," owes a good deal more to the lives than to the theories of the English Romantics. The many poets, from Chatterton on, who died young, Coleridge's taking of drugs, Wordsworth's elected solitariness, the social ostracism and exile of Shelley and Byron—these became paradigms for the late-Victorian notion of the artist, and for the theory and practice of the many exiles, spiritual and physical, who set up Bohemian enclaves in bourgeois cities, devoted themselves to drug, drink, deviation, and disease, and died as young as their constitutions would permit.

In one of his best chapters Kermode describes the revisionist literary history which was developed, he says, for "the support of the Image." The pattern is one of catastrophe—the fall of poetry from that paradisal state when the undissociated imagination, intellect, and sensibility manifested itself in the integrity of myth and symbol; a fall in which science constituted the tree of forbidden knowledge and Bacon (or Descartes, Hobbes, Newton, Locke) played the role of the devil. There are many variations in dating and detail, but the general outline is common to Yeats, Hulme, T. S. Eliot, many New Critics, and some nineteenth-century Symbolists, as well as to Coleridge and Blake. Yeats' lines epitomize the view: "Locke sank into a swoon/The Garden died . . ."

The sufficient image, the alien artist, and the dissociation of sensibility are among the

ground-myths of recent literary theory; and as Kermode points out, though they have produced "false categories," thereby distorting both literary heroes like Donne and literary villains like Milton, they have also supported a great literature. But these myths are now running out of fuel. All have lost the power of their novelty, and one has been largely invalidated by its own success. The concept of the dedicated, doomed, and inescapably isolated artist, inherited from "the tragic generation" of the 1890's, became the preoccupation of writers, from Yeats through Gide and Mann, who, having enjoyed long, productive, and tolerably healthy lives, achieved popular success and the Nobel prize.

For the future of literary theory Kermode voices a hope and a program. The age dominated by the concept of the dissociation of sensibility "must end"; the long poem must be restored "to the centre of activity" and Milton to the peak of Parnassus (although without displacing Donne from the somewhat lower reaches). And all this will come about if the Symbolist poetic is supplemented by an adequate semantics which will recognize the role of reason in ordering poetry and will establish a valid place for poems that "tend to 'say' something." One may concur in the hope while remaining dubious about the program. Criticism has been engrossed with the linguistic aspect of poetry since the beginning of the nineteenth century, and since the early writings of Richards and Eliot it has been semantic in its very essentials. Remedy would appear to lie, not in more of the same, but in a new departure. It is unlikely that Milton and the long poem will get their due except by a return, in some form, to the central tradition of poetics in which Milton himself was immersed, which looked upon a poem not as a verbal structure, nor (in C. Day Lewis' phrase) as an image composed of images, but as a verbal representation, artistically ordered, of thinking, feeling, and acting human beings.

M. H. ABRAMS

Cornell University

The Poetry of Experience: The Dramatic Monologue in Modern Literary Tradition, by ROBERT LANGBAUM; pp. 246. Random House: New York, 1957, \$4.50; Chatto and Windus: London, 1957, 21s.

THIS IS AN extremely thoughtful and valuable study. Mr. Langbaum's aim is to isolate a form that has been of considerable importance in modern literature. It has never been adequately studied, and probably most people who have had to deal with the dramatic monologue have felt a certain sense of bafflement and inadequacy. This book plunges far more deeply into its nature than any previous enquiry, and incidentally makes many illuminating observations on the nature of Romantic and post-Romantic poetry in general.

An admirable first chapter discusses the spiritual crises that seem to have been almost obligatory for nineteenth-century intellectuals, and the re-establishment of a sense of order on a radically subjective basis. This sense of an order that can only be validated in experience is seen by Mr. Langbaum as the essence of Romanticism; and among the many shrewd remarks in these pages is the one that finds this state of mind still active in our own day: "Are not, after all, even our new classicisms and new Christian dogmatisms really romanticisms in an age which simply cannot supply the world-views such doctrines depend on, so that they become, for all their claims to objectivity, merely another opinion, the objectification of somebody's personal view?"

Subjectivity has been an essential condition of post-enlightenment poetry, and the effort, in the nineteenth century no less than in our own, has been constantly to transcend it. A poetry of art, equally romantic, must succeed a poetry of artlessness, spontaneity, sincerity. An objective and rational form is to be imposed on a basically subjective experience. Value is transferred to the object. The moment when Hopkins is most aware of the windhover's outer life is also the moment when he is most aware of his own inner life.

The dramatic monologue is for Mr. Langbaum the form in which this union has been most characteristically achieved. Certainly it has a continuing vitality. Tennyson, Browning, Yeats, Eliot, Frost, and many others have each employed it. Originally it was a reaction against the romantic "confessional" style. Sympathy and identification are its keynotes. Judgment becomes largely psychologised and historicised; and this is a highly appropriate form for an empirical and relativist

and eventually to their origin in the Romantic poets. The image of the modern Symbolists, he maintains, is the "Romantic Image," and the aesthetic of the poet-apart is inherited not only from Blake, but from the whole generation of poets whom many modern theorists, in their anti-Romantic rage, attack by concepts which the poets had themselves invented.

This is an interesting and profitable book, and not the least of its functions is to correct popular historical categories by emphasizing the continuity of current literary ideas, not only with the poetics of the 1890's, but with central tendencies of the last century and a half. As a history of critical theory, however, *Romantic Image* must be read with caution. In the zeal and specialty of his interest the author sometimes converts his working hypothesis into a thesis for special pleading. Undoubtedly modern theory has parallels with single concepts in the English Romantic writers, but it is a fallacy to identify the product with its origins. Taken in their totality, in fact, the major Romantic theories of poetry are at the opposite pole from contemporary notions of the alien poet and the autonomous image. Kermode represents Moneta, in Keats' *The Fall of Hyperion*, as a prototype of the present concept of the poetic endowment and the poetic vision. He ignores, however, her message that "None can usurp this height . . . But those to whom the miseries of the world/Are misery," her consent to the claim that "a poet is a sage;/A humanist, physician to all men," and her pronouncement that "The poet and the dreamer are distinct,/Diverse, sheer opposite, antipodes." Coleridge's "Dejection" is offered as a major early example of the idea that creative suffering is inseparable from creative joy. But surely the explicit point of the poem is the opposite one, that joy is essential to creativity and that personal afflictions suspend the "shaping spirit of imagination." Wordsworth's "Leech Gatherer" is held to be "the archetypal Romantic poem of meditation," demonstrating "trust in the image, to weld joy and misery together." Yet the specific function of the indomitable old leech gatherer is to teach the poet the lesson of human endurance. In his critical writings Wordsworth insisted that the poet is himself a "teacher" and undertook above all else to break down the inherited critical distinctions between the

nature and language of the poet and those of man in general, including peasants, peddlers, children, and leech gatherers. In the key terms in which the historical issue was fought out, Wordsworth (like a number of his contemporaries) staked everything on "nature" as against "art"; the Symbolist aesthetic since Baudelaire, on the contrary, in deliberate opposition to Romanticism, has declared entirely for "art," in all the senses in which art is "unnatural," from a Daedalian or Byzantine artifice to the preference for masks and cosmetics over the natural features and the living hue.

It would, I think, be much nearer the historical truth to claim that the theory of the autonomous symbol goes back, not to Wordsworth's naturalism or Coleridge's vitalism, but to the German concept of the self-sufficient aesthetic object established by Baumgarten and Kant; and that the idea of the alienated artist, "sick by his division from his time," owes a good deal more to the lives than to the theories of the English Romantics. The many poets, from Chatterton on, who died young, Coleridge's taking of drugs, Wordsworth's elected solitariness, the social ostracism and exile of Shelley and Byron — these became paradigms for the late-Victorian notion of the artist, and for the theory and practice of the many exiles, spiritual and physical, who set up Bohemian enclaves in bourgeois cities, devoted themselves to drug, drink, deviation, and disease, and died as young as their constitutions would permit.

In one of his best chapters Kermode describes the revisionist literary history which was developed, he says, for "the support of the Image." The pattern is one of catastrophe — the fall of poetry from that paradisal state when the undissociated imagination, intellect, and sensibility manifested itself in the integrity of myth and symbol; a fall in which science constituted the tree of forbidden knowledge and Bacon (or Descartes, Hobbes, Newton, Locke) played the role of the devil. There are many variations in dating and detail, but the general outline is common to Yeats, Hulme, T. S. Eliot, many New Critics, and some nineteenth-century Symbolists, as well as to Coleridge and Blake. Yeats' lines epitomize the view: "Locke sank into a swoon/The Garden died. . . ."

The sufficient image, the alien artist, and the dissociation of sensibility are among the

ground-myths of recent literary theory; and as Kermode points out, though they have produced "false categories," thereby distorting both literary heroes like Donne and literary villains like Milton, they have also supported a great literature. But these myths are now running out of fuel. All have lost the power of their novelty, and one has been largely invalidated by its own success. The concept of the dedicated, doomed, and inescapably isolated artist, inherited from "the tragic generation" of the 1890's, became the preoccupation of writers, from Yeats through Gide and Mann, who, having enjoyed long, productive, and tolerably healthy lives, achieved popular success and the Nobel prize.

For the future of literary theory Kermode voices a hope and a program. The age dominated by the concept of the dissociation of sensibility "must end"; the long poem must be restored "to the centre of activity" and Milton to the peak of Parnassus (although without displacing Donne from the somewhat lower reaches). And all this will come about if the Symbolist poetic is supplemented by an adequate semantics which will recognize the role of reason in ordering poetry and will establish a valid place for poems that "tend to 'say' something." One may concur in the hope while remaining dubious about the program. Criticism has been engrossed with the linguistic aspect of poetry since the beginning of the nineteenth century, and since the early writings of Richards and Eliot it has been semantic in its very essentials. Remedy would appear to lie, not in more of the same, but in a new departure. It is unlikely that Milton and the long poem will get their due except by a return, in some form, to the central tradition of poetics in which Milton himself was immersed, which looked upon a poem not as a verbal structure, nor (in C. Day Lewis' phrase) as an image composed of images, but as a verbal representation, artistically ordered, of thinking, feeling, and acting human beings.

M. H. ABRAMS

Cornell University

The Poetry of Experience: The Dramatic Monologue in Modern Literary Tradition, by ROBERT LANGBAUM; pp. 246. Random House: New York, 1957, \$4.50; Chatto and Windus: London, 1957, 21s.

THIS IS AN extremely thoughtful and valuable study. Mr. Langbaum's aim is to isolate a form that has been of considerable importance in modern literature. It has never been adequately studied, and probably most people who have had to deal with the dramatic monologue have felt a certain sense of bafflement and inadequacy. This book plunges far more deeply into its nature than any previous enquiry, and incidentally makes many illuminating observations on the nature of Romantic and post-Romantic poetry in general.

An admirable first chapter discusses the spiritual crises that seem to have been almost obligatory for nineteenth-century intellectuals, and the re-establishment of a sense of order on a radically subjective basis. This sense of an order that can only be validated in experience is seen by Mr. Langbaum as the essence of Romanticism; and among the many shrewd remarks in these pages is the one that finds this state of mind still active in our own day: "Are not, after all, even our new classicisms and new Christian dogmatisms really romanticisms in an age which simply cannot supply the world-views such doctrines depend on, so that they become, for all their claims to objectivity, merely another opinion, the objectification of somebody's personal view?"

Subjectivity has been an essential condition of post-enlightenment poetry, and the effort, in the nineteenth century no less than in our own, has been constantly to transcend it. A poetry of art, equally romantic, must succeed a poetry of artlessness, spontaneity, sincerity. An objective and rational form is to be imposed on a basically subjective experience. Value is transferred to the object. The moment when Hopkins is most aware of the windhover's outer life is also the moment when he is most aware of his own inner life.

The dramatic monologue is for Mr. Langbaum the form in which this union has been most characteristically achieved. Certainly it has a continuing vitality. Tennyson, Browning, Yeats, Eliot, Frost, and many others have each employed it. Originally it was a reaction against the romantic "confessional" style. Sympathy and identification are its keynotes. Judgment becomes largely psychologised and historicised; and this is a highly appropriate form for an empirical and relativist

age. A longish examination of *The Ring and the Book* occupies the central place in this discussion; but there is plenty of specific reference to a wide range of other poems, especially Browning's shorter pieces. These are all characterised by a projective leap, exhibited most dramatically when we are forced to enter into the attitude of an obviously reprehensible speaker, such as Caliban, Mr. Sludge, or the duke who murdered his last duchess. In all these cases we are made to realise the existential virtues of characters dramatically conceived, quite apart from any moral purpose towards which the character as a whole is moving. Falstaff is discussed from this point of view, and Mr. Langbaum very plausibly suggests that the psychological interpretation of characters in drama, which begins with Morgann and runs through the whole nineteenth century, leads to the isolation of character from plot, and so creates conditions in which the dramatic monologue is likely to arise.

Perhaps the most striking chapter is that on the lyrical element in the monologue. The peculiar quality of the utterance in the dramatic monologue — and it is this which distinguishes it from a speech in a play — is that it is insufficiently motivated by the occasion. It is in some sense gratuitous, and this kind of gratuitous utterance is antithetical to full drama; the substance of the monologue is really lyrical. Whoever the supposed interlocutor, the speaker is really talking to himself. And here we remember, though Mr. Langbaum does not really recall it to us, that a tentative definition of the lyric in Mr. Eliot's *Three Voices of Poetry* was that it is the voice of the poet talking to himself.

One of the most interesting features of this deeply interesting book is that it manages to talk of the poetry of the nineteenth century and that of the twentieth in the same terms and by using the same critical categories. This is another step in the now general recognition that the contrast between the last century's poetry and our own has been greatly overstressed. The supposed "classicism" of modern poetry, which it was once fashionable to contrast with Victorian romanticism, can only be believed in if classicism is given a very partial and specialised sense. This admirable study of an important poetic form is perhaps one sign among several that yet an-

other rewriting of our literary history — an enterprise that has to be undertaken anew every other generation — is just around the corner.

GRAHAM HOUGH

Christ's College, Cambridge

A History of Industrial Chemistry, by F. SHERWOOD TAYLOR; pp. xvi + 467. Abelard-Schuman: New York, 1956, \$7.50; Heinemann: London, 1957, 30s.

The Chemical Industry During the Nineteenth Century: A Study of the Economic Aspects of Applied Chemistry in Europe and North America, by L. F. HABER; pp. x + 292. Oxford University Press: New York, 1958, \$7.20; Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1958, 42s.

THE VICTORIAN INDUSTRIAL world, as seen through popular eyes, was a world of textile mills, of iron, steel, and steam, and the puffing, smoky triumph of the railways. If gaslight also belongs to that picture, its inclusion rarely leads the beholder to ponder upon such a thing as a Victorian chemical industry. The notion of Britain as "the workshop of the world" is a familiar enough cliché. But to how many do the exported products of that workshop include alkalis and bleaching materials? And how often does gaslight illuminate the path from coal-gas to coal-tar distillates and the momentous achievement of Perkin in 1856 in producing a synthetic mauve dye — the beginning of industrial organic chemistry? Do we always remember that Victoria was still on the British throne in the exciting years of international scientific discovery, linked with such names as Röntgen and the Curies, William Crookes and J. J. Thomson? If we become too obsessed by the traditional content of the nineteenth century, we would do well to consider the significance of Dr. Taylor's remark, in his chapter called "The Road to Nuclear Power," that the Russian scientist Mendelejef's discovery of the Periodic Law (1869) was "perhaps the most pregnant single achievement of the century."

Of the two books under review, that by the late Dr. F. Sherwood Taylor is the more successful. His task was in its nature easier; he was able to bring to it a wide experience of the exposition of chemistry and of inquiry into the earlier history of science. His book

is one which the general reader, the informed layman, or the economic historian, wishing to know more of the general course of industrial chemistry, could read with much profit and some pleasure. The range is wide: industrial chemistry has been interpreted to cover "all modifications of the composition of matter that have been undertaken for profit or use." Part I, dealing with pre-scientific industrial chemistry from the earliest times to approximately the eighteenth century, occupies over one-third of the book. The style is generally lucid: if in the later chapters the going is heavier, it is less the fault of the author than a reflection of the extreme difficulty of explaining the problems of modern chemistry to the layman. The non-scientific reader may well find himself stumbling unhappily in that dark terrain peopled by such monsters as: "The substances now known as nylon are polyamides, and the one almost invariably used is made from hexamethylene-diamine and adipic acid. The latter compound is made by oxidation of cyclohexanol, which is hydrogenated phenol." But he should press forward; there is light ahead.

Dr. Haber in his book is grappling with an exceedingly difficult problem. As he himself very reasonably observes, "economic historians have frequently described the development of technology in industries in which change was simple and have neglected the more complex, but equally important, development of chemical manufacture." Studies of the former type remain the basis of most of our knowledge of Victorian industrial history. Even here, however, there is still need for much detailed analysis of the relations between science and technical change, on the one hand, and economic and social change on the other. But in the history of the chemical industry (as opposed to the history of industrial chemistry) the historian is faced with three difficult and inter-connected obstacles. First, he must make clear to the lay reader the nature of the chemical processes involved; second, he must deal somehow with the problems of exposition created by the increasingly complex interrelationships, both technical and economic, between many different substances, the production of which enters into what is vaguely called "the chemical industry"; and third, and most important, he has to examine and assess the importance

of economic forces in the invention of chemical processes and their application to industry.

These obstacles have been tackled by Dr. Haber with varying degrees of success. With the first he has been moderately successful. The second obstacle has been sensibly approached by the usual method of narrowing one's attack. His book is in fact about only two branches of the chemical industry — the manufacture of soda by the Leblanc process and of dyestuffs by the distillation of coal-tar. Geographically, however, the attack is on a very wide front: Britain, Continental Europe, and North America. This geographical dispersal of resources contributes to the author's failure — if that is not too strong a word — effectively to grapple with the third problem. Despite the wide reading and technical knowledge which has gone into this book, despite all the tables and graphs, there is a certain unscholarly and slapdash quality about its economic generalizations and deductions.

This can be illustrated in various ways. We are told that the slow development of the chemical industry in the early nineteenth century in Britain was mainly due to the very high salt excise, and that its rapid growth from the late 1820's onwards was largely the result of the repeal of that excise and the abolition of import duties on sulphur and saltpetre. In thus following this old argument, Dr. Haber ignores the findings of Messrs. Barker, Dickinson, and Hardie ("The Origins of the Synthetic Alkali Industry in Britain," *Economica*, 1956), in spite of having included their article in his bibliography. One wonders if he read it. Changes in taxation are too often assumed, without further analysis, to be the causes of industrial changes. "The repeal of the British paper excise led to a sharp increase in paper consumption." It did not, as Dr. Haber could have discovered if he had consulted the relevant authorities. Or again, he maintains that the fall in British alkali exports to the U. S. A. was "due solely" to American tariffs protecting the U. S. industry, particularly the Dingley tariff of 1897. But the figures which Dr. Haber himself quotes do not suggest quite so simple a cause, for they show that the exports had already fallen by 47% between 1890 and 1896, despite the fact that during this time the tariff

on soda ash, the main constituent of the exports, remained unchanged. The phrase "no doubt" is too often used as a substitute for reasoning or evidence. The prices of sulphuric acid in Germany tended to rise after 1887, "no doubt because the German manufacturers succeeded in forming a cartel"; the appearance of loan capital in German company information in the 1880's was "the result, no doubt, of unsatisfactory business conditions and the need to carry larger stocks in the mid-eighties." When combined with circular reasoning the result is peculiarly unimpressive. Why did the French chemical industry grow more slowly than the German in the later nineteenth century? "The relatively slower industrialization of the country was, no doubt, the main cause, but there were contributory factors: the decline of the dyestuffs industry and the loss of Alsace Lorraine."

If these examples lead one to think that there is a lack of penetrative power in Dr. Haber's economic analysis, what is one to make of the liberties he takes with geography? To a table purporting to show the distribution of British alkali production as between Lancashire and Tyneside at three dates in the nineteenth century, he has appended a note which says, oddly enough, "Lancashire includes the Midlands, Wales, southern England, and Ireland. Tyneside includes Scotland."

There is much in Dr. Haber's book which is useful; it draws together a great deal of information hitherto dispersed; there is no other book on the subject which combines comparable coverage with his high standard of erudition; his chapters on technical advance and education in chemistry and the comparison between Britain and Germany are particularly interesting. But it is not a satisfactory history of "the chemical industry"—if such an entity exists. There is too much careless reasoning and not enough careful analysis. But can one really hope to write an adequate history of an industry, covering Europe and America and a whole century, without using any private business records at all?

D. C. COLEMAN

London School of Economics

David Livingstone: His Life and Letters, by

GEORGE SEAVER; pp. 650. Harper: New York, 1957, \$6.95; Lutterworth: London, 1957, 35s.

Livingstone the Doctor: His Life and Travels, a Study in Medical History, by MICHAEL GELFAND; pp. xix + 333. Basil Blackwell: Oxford, 1957, 42s.

Livingstone in Africa, by CECIL NORTHCOTT; pp. 83. Lutterworth Press: London, 1957; 2s. 6d.; Association Press: New York, 1957, \$1.25.

AMONG THE GREAT Victorian explorers of central Africa, David Livingstone stands pre-eminent. His own accounts of his solitary travels fired the imagination of England in the mid-nineteenth century, and even today it is impossible to read his journals without feeling something of the same enthusiasm that inspired the students of Oxford and Cambridge to volunteer for the Universities Mission to Central Africa. But in a century that has passed since Livingstone's expeditions there has grown up about the man and his work an image which stands in need of correction. The re-evaluation of Livingstone which emerges from these volumes admirably fills this need.

Dr. Seaver's lengthy biography undoubtedly deserves a high place among the works on the African explorers. It is a calm and objective judgment of Livingstone, showing not only his greatness as a man and as a Christian but his weaknesses as well. To draw a detailed portrait the author has used hitherto unexplored manuscript sources, and the result is the clearest presentation that has yet been made of Livingstone's character. Dr. Gelfand's volume, subtitled, "A Study in Medical History," is an appreciation of Livingstone the doctor, and, despite its specialist interest, it is an absorbing, if somewhat depressing, account of Livingstone's physical sufferings and of his efforts to combat tropical diseases with which the medical skills of the day were scarcely able to cope. The Reverend Northcott's little book, no more than an introduction to Livingstone's travels, nevertheless provides new insights into the motives which drove the explorer to seek fulfillment of his life in the almost superhuman trials which he underwent in the African bush.

The Livingstone who emerges from the pages of these volumes is attractive, but at times there appears a curiously repellent side

to his nature — a side which can be seen in his relationship to those who accompanied him on his Zambesi expedition and even in his attitude toward his wife and children. His single-mindedness of purpose and his inability to compromise were, in Dr. Seaver's words, "the radical defects of a strong character. . . . This uncompromising outlook was doubtless a factor which goes far to explain the secret of his moral strength, enabling him to ride rough-shod over the susceptibilities and frailties of lesser men, but it also accounts for his own prejudices and misjudgements." The Zambesi expedition clearly demonstrated that Livingstone was not a leader of men; he alienated most of his close associates because he was unable to comprehend that the moral and physical courage he possessed was not given to ordinary men.

The aspect of Livingstone's character which emerges most clearly from all three accounts of his life is his unshakable determination to accomplish what he saw as the divine mission entrusted to him. His interest in the advancement of scientific and medical knowledge was always secondary to the higher duty of bringing the word of God to the African heathen. There runs through many of the entries in his journals a curious mixture of idealism, divine inspiration, and a practical brand of Victorian piety. Growing up as he did in the rigidity of early nineteenth-century Presbyterianism in a small Scottish town, Livingstone was inclined to view his work in Africa as a task imposed on him by the Lord. But, as Dr. Seaver observes, Livingstone was neither a mystic nor a martyr. Unlike Père de Foucauld in North Africa, Livingstone was never led on by an inner beatific vision. Above and before all else, he was a "practical idealist," who "felt a beckoning from beyond rather than an illumination from within." He died before he had fulfilled the goal he believed had been set down for him, but there is nothing to indicate that he deliberately sought a martyr's end. It is quite possible that, had he accepted Stanley's advice to interrupt his trek to return for medical treatment, he might have lived many years longer. He believed, however, quite sincerely that God would give him strength to complete his journey, if He so willed it, and even at the very end, he was actively making plans for his return journey to England.

Livingstone's faith that he was the instrument of divine will never for a moment wavered. At the time of his greatest trial, the death of his wife Mary at Shupanga, his journals reveal, even in his grief, the conviction that this was only a part of the price he must pay to carry on God's work. In this attitude he was, of course, not alone. The letters of his mother-in-law, Mary Moffatt, herself a missionary in South Africa, show this characteristic trait of Victorian Presbyterianism; human love and emotion were not to be disregarded but, "the cause, the proclamation of the gospel, transcended any earthly relationships."

It is somewhat ironic that with his dedication to the spreading of the gospel, Livingstone should have been much more effective as a doctor than he was as a missionary. Dr. Gelfand, a doctor with many years of experience in the parts of Africa explored by Livingstone, has gathered the facts about Livingstone's medical work with skill and authority. Never a successful preacher, Livingstone was able to make converts readily as a result of medical knowledge. He was interested in the new diseases he encountered, describing them in his journals in detail and outlining the treatment he employed. It is significant, however, that he did not discount native medical practices. Repeatedly in the journals he states that he undertook to treat illnesses only at the request of the sufferers or their families, and then only when he was certain that the consent of the tribal medicine man had been obtained. Often he went far out of his way to examine plants which he had heard were used in native medicine.

Dr. Gelfand points out that Livingstone's observations on tropical diseases were an important contribution to the medical lore of his time. He paid special attention to malaria, and, in a note reprinted in the appendix to Dr. Gelfand's volume, Livingstone notes in detail the medicines he tried, first experimentally on himself, and later on the Europeans in the Zambesi expedition. He fully realized the value of quinine in the treatment of malaria, although he insisted, "The daily use of quinine is no preventive." Although he observed malarial attacks for many years, he never appears to have connected the disease with mosquitoes. Dr. Gelfand also draws the reader's attention to the

many observations in the journals in the fields of botany, geology, and astronomy, particularly during the arduous expedition to Lulanda.

Dr. Gelfand has succeeded in painting, often by quoting Livingstone's own words, a vivid picture of the sufferings and hardship which were the lot of the European missionaries in Africa at this time. Whole families of these pioneers were wiped out within a few days — often through lack of the most elementary knowledge of how to treat tropical diseases. At times the physical disabilities endured by Livingstone himself seem incredible. During his last journey he was in constant pain for days on end; weakened by loss of blood from acute dysentery and fatigued by recurring attacks of malaria, he struggled on until at last their combined assault broke even his iron will. But his interest in his surroundings never flagged until the very end, as one of the last entries in the journal shows: "I am excessively weak . . . it is not all pleasure this exploration. The Lavusi hills are a relief to the eye in this flat upland . . . Their form shows an igneous origin . . . No observations now . . . I can scarcely hold the pencil."

Dr. Seaver's biography and Dr. Gelfand's study are important and valuable contributions not only to Livingstoniana but to the history of the early missionaries in central Africa. The Gelfand volume would have been improved if repetitive passages had been cut out, but this defect does not mar the overall impression of the book. It is to be hoped that the appearance of these works will induce others to take a fresh look at the lives of Victorian explorers of Africa. With the rise of new states in central Africa, the attention of the world is once again turned toward those territories which less than a century ago had scarcely been seen by Europeans. The early explorers today assume a new importance if one reflects that, without their insatiable thirst to seek out the unknown, the history of central and east Africa over the past fifty years would have been vastly different. Livingstone's own words, "Gentlemen . . . I beg to direct your attention to Africa," are as meaningful today as when he uttered them in 1857.

L. GRAY COWAN

Columbia University

Rhodes of Africa, by FELIX GROSS; pp. xi + 433. Frederick A. Praeger: New York, 1957, \$6.75; Cassell: London, 1956, 25s.

Sir Harry Johnston and the Scramble for Africa, by ROLAND OLIVER; pp. xv + 368. Chatto and Windus: London, 1957, 30s.

NO TWO INDIVIDUALS played larger parts than Cecil Rhodes and Harry Johnston in the expansion of British rule in Africa in the 1880's and 1890's. Rhodes' activities occasioned the two territories that bear his name, and he had a hand also in the acquisition of Bechuanaland and Nyasaland. Johnston had a decisive part in the establishment of British rule in southern Nigeria, Nyasaland, and Uganda. But these two men have received very unequal treatments from history. There can hardly be a British school-boy who has not heard of Rhodes, in particular perhaps of his precocious ambition to paint a British red on the map of Africa from the Cape to Cairo, a theme which is perhaps more an obsession of Mr. Gross' biography than it may have been in Rhodes' own mind. But before Dr. Oliver reproduced two of Johnston's sketch-maps of 1886 and 1888, hardly anyone knew that Johnston, perhaps an even more precocious contemporary, had just as grandiose plans for the political future of Africa, and only the specialist in imperial history had any idea of the position which Johnston, while a junior consular official in his thirties, occupied as a confidential adviser for the African policies of Lord Salisbury. As Dr. Oliver shows, Johnston can even claim to be the inventor of "Cape to Cairo," a phrase more usually associated with Rhodes and his engineer, Sir Charles Metcalfe. Rhodes, whose characteristic writings are telegrams, checks, and enigmatic, hastily scrawled notes, has had a good half-dozen biographers before Mr. Gross. But Johnston, whose own literary output was enormous — it includes accounts of the Congo, Nyasaland, Uganda, and Liberia which may still claim to rank among the standard works; a considerable number of books and articles on the British empire and on African history, natural history, anthropology, and languages, which in their day were original, indeed pioneering, contributions to knowledge; and half a dozen novels — was, until Dr. Oliver appeared on the scene, commemorated only in an auto-

biographical sketch and in a memoir written by a brother.

Much of this contrast can be explained in terms of the circumstances of their work in Africa, though the origins of their careers are similar. Rhodes, one of seven sons of an English country vicarage, left his grammar school for Africa with a suspect chest when only seventeen, and the years which he afterwards spent at Oxford between 1873 and 1881 appear as strange, albeit significant, interludes in a period primarily concerned with the Kimberly diamond mines and the beginnings of his vast fortune. Johnston, one of fourteen children from a middle-class home in the London suburbs, a five-foot, three-inch shrimp with a tendency to hypochondria and a voice even squeakier than that which issued from Rhodes' incongruous corpulence, received, for all his lively intellectual and artistic talents, even less formal education following his grammar school, and was still only twenty-one when he first touched African soil in 1879, nine years after Rhodes. For both young men, African adventure was sought as a panacea for early difficulties of health and environment. But thereafter the manners of their adventuring were very different. Rhodes grew rapidly into the colossus of South Africa, prime minister of the Cape, virtual dictator of the diamond fields and of Rhodesia, master of a personal income touching £1,000,000 a year. This almost limitless power was ended by the disaster and tragedy of the Jameson Raid in 1896, but the size of the man and his vision remained until the day of his death six years later. Poor little Johnston slaved out his heart and ruined his constitution between 1885 and 1901 in the employ of the Foreign Office, astounding staid superiors by his knack of creating colonies as concrete realities in regions of which they often had but the vaguest comprehension. And then he found that the new colonies were to be governed by Joseph Chamberlain's new Colonial Service, and that there was no further use for such "a resolute but singularly lawless personage," so that his last twenty-six years were lived in an increasing obscurity, illuminated only by the respect of a few specialists in the African studies he had done so much to initiate.

In Mr. Gross and Dr. Oliver, each man has an appropriate biographer. Anyone who

wishes to compare both the men and the biographies cannot do better than to start with the two accounts of the relations between Rhodes and Johnston, an intriguing subject to which Oliver gives some thirty pages and to which Gross, obsessed by Rhodes' personality, gives only two. Mr. Gross, a journalist by profession, applies himself to Rhodes with immense gusto, building up a picture of his hero-villain from a patch-work of anecdotes and intuitive surmises. The result is fascinatingly alive, but apt sometimes to surprise even those already attuned to the contrasting treatments and estimates of Rhodes offered by such eminent biographers as Basil Williams and Mrs. S. G. Millin. In the circumstances it is much to be regretted that Mr. Gross has been unable to print the detailed references to sources which would enable some of his more remarkable details to be checked. His bibliographical material has been deposited in four major libraries, thus leaving the ordinary reader sometimes in doubt as to whether Mr. Gross possesses new evidence or whether he has made a slip such as that which would seem to appear when we are told that to buy the shares of Kimberley Central Mines cost Rhodes £3,000,000, but find, four pages earlier, a photograph of a check for £5,338,- 6s.

Dr. Oliver, a professional historian, pursues a more orthodox path through the Foreign Office records and the formal collections of the papers of Johnston and the other principal actors in his story. He draws also on Johnston's own published works, which, by their very bulk, tend to discourage all but the devoutest of Africanists. He is concerned, far more than Mr. Gross, to place his subject in the perspective of the African scramble, and although his account of this may sometimes be partial, it is none the less valuable because the subject has as yet occasioned surprisingly few comprehensive studies of depth. Yet nothing masks the many-faceted fascination of Harry Johnston — empire-builder, explorer, painter, naturalist, linguist, historian, novelist. It is not unfitting that, if Rhodes should have given his name to a new country, Johnston's should be preserved for posterity (as is appropriately conveyed in Oliver's frontispiece reproducing Johnston's painting of the okapi) in the name of a rare and

beautiful African mammal, *Ocipia Johnstoni*.

J. D. FAGE

University College of Ghana

A Victorian Eminence: The Life and Works of Henry Thomas Buckle, by GILES ST. AUBYN; pp. ix + 229. Barrie: London, 1958, 25s.

SANTAYANA'S DICTUM that great works like high mountains become more obvious with distance does not seem to apply to the work of Buckle. At least not yet. Misunderstood and misrepresented by most of his contemporaries, his historical work has now come to suffer the final indignity, that of almost total neglect. Giles St. Aubyn is to be congratulated, not indeed for attempting to redress the verdict of time, but for retelling the Buckle story and thus leading others to read Buckle for themselves.

Henry Thomas Buckle, self-taught, immensely learned, and arrogant, set out to write a sixteen-volume *History of Civilization*. Its purpose was to raise history to the rank of a science by proving, with an astonishing wealth of examples, that "the actions of men, and therefore of societies, [are] governed by fixed laws" and are not "the result either of chance or of supernatural interference." To this task he brought a rare skill, an inimitably lucid style (Darwin called him "the very best writer of the English language that ever lived"), and the handicap of frail health. The projected work soon had to be reduced to a *History of Civilization in England* and finally to merely an introduction to it. The first volume was published in 1857, the second four years later. In 1862, aged forty, Buckle died at Damascus while on a tour of the Middle East.

St. Aubyn must have found Buckle a biographer's dream. He was a *homo unius libri*: besides the two-volume history, there are no other works, only notes, commonplace books, a lecture, and a political letter, all duly published by Mill's stepdaughter, Helen Taylor. Alfred Henry Huth published the exhaustive *Life and Writings of Henry Thomas Buckle* in 1880; fifteen years later John Mackinnon Robertson definitively surveyed the attacks on Buckle in his *Buckle and His Critics. A Study in Sociology*; and in 1956 G. A. Wells' "The Critics of Buckle" in *Past and Present* brought the survey up to date. There are some letters about Buckle in the Mill-Taylor Collection,

and the letters Huth used or failed to use in his memoir are in the author's possession. Except for this last item, then, everything Buckle wrote or said and almost everything that was written or said about him can be found in the volumes of Huth and Robertson, and in Helen Taylor's edition of the *Works*. This convenient compactness of the ground to be surveyed is not without its drawbacks. What, if anything, can be said about Buckle that has not already been said?

Whatever the answer to this question, it is clear that St. Aubyn has not found it. He patiently transcribes lengthy passages from the Huth memoir, often citing page-long excerpts, and thus in four well-arranged chapters tells of the life of Buckle. All the tales about the fussy bachelor's cigar-smoking and tea-making habits are represented, his skill as a chess-player, his reading habits, and his desire to instruct his hearers on any subject under the sun, especially if they were lady admirers. Everything is taken at face value, errors and exaggerations as well as irrelevant facts. We are told that the eighteen languages Buckle taught himself included "Manorian" (one wonders what there was available in that language in 1850); and that the enormous number of tomes he read in a single month included Blackstone's *Commentaries on the English Law* [sic]. We are told of a certain John Dickinson, who is merely introduced because he made a remark about Buckle's unmarked grave, that his "father had patented a process of manufacturing paper of an indefinite length," yet we are not told anything about such things as the relation of Buckle's trusted friend and mentor, Mrs. Huth, with Thackeray and Leslie Stephen. We are not told why Buckle refrained from associating with the man he most admired, John Stuart Mill. We are not told the significance of a lengthy quotation in which the impact of the Exhibition of 1851 on Buckle's optimism is described; the quotation just stands there. None of the categories of the Victorian mind, recently so admirably laid out in Walter Houghton's *The Victorian Frame of Mind*, is invoked to explain anything very much about Buckle's attitudes and beliefs.

The fifth chapter in the book is a condensation of the important passages in the *History*. It is well done — out of some four

score citations only one, the second, is wrongly used — and Buckle's own words are quite sufficient to establish him as a historian to whom "tendencies perceived by the mind" are causal, and not, as Bagehot and other critics claimed, always "climate." The sixth and last chapter bears the same title as Robertson's book mentioned earlier. Robertson uncovered many criticisms and defenses of Buckle's work, and St. Aubyn cites almost all of these. The latter is almost as angry as his predecessor that so many eminent Victorians — Mill and Lecky alone excepted — poured scorn on a work which made intellectual history an anagram of natural and social science. Indeed, Stubbs' and Froude's asides on the philosophy of history were often silly, and Acton's obloquy of the "English Comte" was intellectually vulgar, as Wells has already shown.

The lack of originality should not indict the book or discourage readers. Huth and Robertson are difficult to obtain and therefore this modern version serves to fulfil a need. Besides, from the letters in his possession, the author has uncovered one new item of importance. Buckle evidently had a mistress, a Mrs. Faunch, about whom unfortunately little more than her address is known. This discovery, which is only slightly marred by an erroneous reference, is redeemed by the conclusion that the affair could not have been too bad: respectable contemporaries, like John Stuart Mill, showed continued interest in Buckle's work, and therefore, the author reasons, "must have decided that the discovery of particular moral defects did not imply complete depravity."

The only serious fault, and even this hardly detracts from a book whose chief purpose, it must be gathered, is to stimulate an interest in Buckle among a wider public, is the author's inability to grasp the import of Buckle's philosophy of history. It is safe to predict that few will care for the facts Buckle narrates and about which we know more today. Yet his notion of a range of historical laws, from an (evidently) *a priori* "natural law" at the top down to the lesser empirical laws which describe its variables, represents a lasting contribution — at least to the study of historical method, as Buckle had hoped it would. But an analysis of these concepts is hardly the task of a biographer, unless he

happens to have philosophic training or has read a more recent philosophy of history than Bradley's.

There are some lesser faults. Buckle's use of statistics should have been referred to the history of the transfer of probabilistic assumptions from mathematics (Pascal, Fermat) and physics (Gauss) to society (Quetelet's *l'homme moyen*). Venn does not make the point alleged in the eighteenth chapter of his *Logic* (1866) — a work of fifteen chapters — or anywhere else. "Birbeck" is George Birkbeck. The claim to have used the 1872 edition of the *History* is confused by making all references to that of 1899, probably a reprint. The bibliography does not observe conventional scholarly standards. Yet it omits little, and what it does omit (e.g., Helmecke, Brisbane, Tocqueville) is of slight interest only. And despite these flaws St. Aubyn's book is certainly of more than slight interest.

GEORGE NADEL
Harvard University

Letters of the Brownings to George Barrett,
edited by PAUL LANDIS with the assistance of
RONALD E. FREEMAN; pp. iii + 392. University of Illinois Press: Urbana, Ill., 1958, \$6.50.

THIS IS AN excellent edition of the important and interesting half of a long correspondence. The approximate dating of doubtful letters is resourceful and convincing. The notes are helpful and informative, identifying large numbers of Victorians more or less eminent, elucidating references to historical events, and relating significant passages to the Brownings' poems and their other published letters. Mr. Landis' introduction is the sort of thing one is very glad to find at the head of a collection of letters — an essay of genuine insight and literary finish, though occasionally so emphatic and strongminded as to be somewhat partisan and paradoxical.

Mr. Landis is certainly right that the Brownings' poems are of late less generally read than their letters. He may even be right that "the heart of the Browning story is the family of the Barrett." But Mr. Landis seems to carry the whole discussion to the verge of paradox and editor's fallacy: "Altogether it may be said that if the interest in Robert Browning's poetry should fade as far as that in his wife's already has, the 'family of the

Barrett' will assure him a permanent place in the imagination of men." The statement is qualified and may be true, but it seems to recommend the letters — valuable as they are — too highly, and even to imply that interest has shifted not only from the poetry to the romance, but from the fiery lover and his enchanted princess to the ogre and the ogre's relatives.

On Browning's personal character, Mr. Landis is severe but illuminating. He writes firmly and vividly of Browning's sense of elderly harassment in a hostile world of hacks and charlatans, of his stern reluctance to forgive his own faults in his son — on a deeper level, of his fearful and angry sense of privacy, his capacity for injured honor and ferocious verbal retaliation. The letter ridiculing Alfred Austin strikes one as a horrifying exposure not of physical deformity in the victim, but of inward deformity in the attacker. Mr. Landis continues: "The obvious delight which Browning took in abuse suggests forcibly the frustration of a man who all his life admired and praised action, and all his life did nothing except put words on paper." One can hardly quarrel with this statement, yet in applying his interpretation of Browning's character to Browning's romance, Mr. Landis goes a little far: "If, as the commentators are fond of pointing out, Browning saw in Caponsacchi, himself rescuing Elizabeth Barrett from the prison of Wimpole Street, he certainly failed to see that all the real courage, physical as well as spiritual, was hers." Certainly Elizabeth showed remarkable courage in facing realities and acting on them, yet Robert had day by day patiently confronted her with those realities, and even — in part by his own example — step by step built up the will to act. To fall in love with a woman apparently so ill, to win her from a profoundly morbid state, and at the risk of her life and one's own happiness and peace of mind, to elope with her to a distant country, required courage as well as determination, insight, and resource. Browning must not be denied his one Browningesque exploit, even though it may seem a rather unspectacular exploit at an invalid's bedside.

Mr. Landis has so vigorously corrected the sentimental cliché of the impetuous lover and the frail, ethereal lady that he approaches the opposite error of allowing the lover no

strength and the lady no weakness. He steadily minimizes any egotism or morbidity in Elizabeth. George Barrett was a barrister ten years Elizabeth's junior — a grave, warm-hearted person full of heavy commonsense and even heavier suspicion of folly in women. According, Elizabeth's letters to him are as clear and simple as elsewhere they are often florid and "poetic." In the most loving, inoffensive manner in the world, she is constantly pricking the bubble of George's dullness, twitting him with legal terms, and disarming him with exhibitions of commonsense — particularly about her health, on which he holds sensible opinions. Her early letters mark the first stage in her recovery from the state of suspended spiritual animation in which she had lived for months after the death of her favorite brother, Bro. Against her father's dispensation, she had insisted Bro stay on with her at Torquay. He did so — and was drowned in a boat accident. Instantly her proud selfishness became an offense against the universe. Fear of retribution, in long and intricate vistas of horror, opened out on every side. She resolved to will no more, lest she will further evil. But will returned with returning physical health. With all of her father's strength of mind, she willed to rejoin her family, and to keep her family in Wimpole Street. She discusses Papa's whims as anxiously as a sailor might discuss the weather, and schemes to mould them as a courtier might scheme to mould a monarch's. The letter in which she justifies her elopement is as good as anything she wrote. She feels that she has acted within her rights, even that she has done her duty — and she pleads her cause with all the eloquence of a gifted and passionate woman deeply in love. At the same time, she knows she has transgressed against the Jehovah of Wimpole Street. She feels guilty, and George finds her guilty. So effectually had Papa created a mores around his egotism. But after five years George relents. Soon he is defending himself with might and main against spiritualism and Napoleonism. Sludge and Napoleon III became formidable opponents in Elizabeth's hands. She is eloquent, elusive, resourcefully logical, and fully aware that a woman's best argument is a long one. George and Robert take refuge in numbers and masculinity.

Mr. Landis analyzes Robert's letters admir-

ably. The great poet declines into the father of Pen, the guardian of his own and Elizabeth's privacy. The appendices contain a number of interesting documents—in particular, three letters from doctors on Elizabeth's health and one from her grandmother, reprobating the little girl for fighting with Bro. Altogether, Mr. Landis and Mr. Freeman have invaded Robert Browning's privacy to notable effect.

WILLIAM IRVINE

Stanford University

Gilbert: His Life and Strife, by HESKETH PEARSON; pp. 276. Harper: New York, 1957, \$4.50; Methuen: London, 1957, 25s.

W. S. GILBERT is almost certainly a more important figure in the English literary scene of the later nineteenth century than we at present realize. We tend to be hampered, in criticism, by a concept of literature as a "Fine Art." Poetry, drama, novels, yes, if eminent enough; children's books, scientific discourses, newspaper reporting, comic opera and verse, no; and so Bab of the Bab Ballads and Gilbert of the Savoy go by default. Yet these "Applied Arts" convey much, and there are times when it is here that the true currents of a country's imaginative life are running rather than in the supposedly higher forms of literary expression. And they may be the more important to the student because of their literary un-self-consciousness.

Certainly Gilbert was unconscious of where his own genius lay, as Mr. Hesketh Pearson points out in this new or renewed biography of him. In a letter of 1907, part of the new material which Mr. Pearson has added to this study, we find Gilbert speaking of "the easy trivialities of the Savoy *libretti*." He wanted to be considered a serious dramatic writer, on the merit of dozens of plays now deservedly forgotten. Yet the fact remains that this man did produce, by some chance or inspired dream, a set of verses and a series of operas (for they are best thought of together) whose popularity continues unabated after eighty years. Why? Their significance lies, I believe, in their peculiarly English tissue of dream and humour (perhaps in the Freudian collocation of wit and dream-work), encompassing the whole of public life—the Houses of Parliament, the police, the navy, British justice, our dearest idols—in an

imaginative topsy-turvydom, now pastoral, now exotic, now legendary, laced with a cruelty quite different from the cheerful knock-about which prevails in pure Nonsense, almost wholly devoid of love, wholly devoid of sex, their language a voluble and apparently inexhaustible virtuosity shot through every so often with poetry in the form of exquisite laments for the transitoriness of all things lovely. It would be hard to find more revealing later nineteenth-century documents on the nature of the Anglo-Saxon organism. Mr. Pearson has then an admirably enigmatic subject, a genius *malgré lui*. It is the more disappointing that his book should on the whole yield us so little.

It is not the writer's first work on the subject. In 1935 he published a book on Gilbert and Sullivan together which was called *A Biography*, as if of a double entity, and that is reasonable enough—we certainly need not follow the two Savoyards in their depressing and protracted wrangles for precedence. That biography was two life stories intertwined; in the present volume Gilbert's thread is disengaged and spun out on its own. Much of the matter is direct repetition of the earlier work, and this must have affected the freshness of approach. The new material in the later book consists of all Gilbert's private papers, to which the author had access for the first time, including diaries and much hitherto unpublished correspondence. These, however, add little of interest. Gilbert's private life as his diaries and letters exhibit it is banal, his public life a monotonous succession of supposed affronts, of law-suits, and of verbal exchanges that range from the clever to the revolting. Gilbert as we see him here seems remarkably barren material for the biographer, and not even so practised a one as Mr. Pearson can do much more with him than provide us with a series of anecdotes, sometimes not without letting the effort show. "Let us glance at the diaries for the year 1905-10 and see what we can glean," we find him saying. Clean perhaps—but where is the harvest gone?

The biography makes suggestions for interpreting the strange being it presents: his need to score off everybody, his tantrums at any thwarting however slight, his sentiment and sentimentality, his tetchy vanity. The suggestions include a desire for power, gout, hasty temper, failure to appreciate his own

bent, the aftermath of an insecure childhood, excessive Victorian moral rectitude. But surely something more is needed. That this being should have produced what he did suggests something less like psychology and more like inspiration. This is the enigma, and it is not going to be solved for us by a study which, however competent, is as uninspired as this one.

ELIZABETH SEWELL.

The Diaries of John Ruskin, 1848-1873, edited by JOAN EVANS and JOHN HOWARD WHITEHOUSE; pp. x + 405 [365-770]. Oxford University Press: New York, 1958, \$11.20; London, 1958, 70s.

THE SECOND VOLUME of the diaries of John Ruskin, extending from 1848 until 1873, deals with the most significant years of his life. For it was during this quarter century that Ruskin wrote and published, among other works, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, the three volumes of *The Stones of Venice*, the concluding volumes of *Modern Painters*, *Unto This Last*, *Sesame and Lilies*, *The Crown of Wild Olive*, and a host of lectures, pamphlets, and communications to newspapers about myriad subjects. It was during this time, too, that his personal life, which rarely approached emotional equilibrium, became acutely disturbed. For he married Euphemia Chalmers Gray in 1848 only to experience the embarrassment of annulment in 1854 and her marriage to Millais the following year. Later in the 1850's he met the child, Rose LaTouche, who ultimately kindled within him the passion so painfully confided in letters to Mrs. Cowper-Temple. These years, then, appear to be, both personally and artistically, the most important in Ruskin's curiously poignant life, a life which he describes as "an exquisite piece of Tragedy."

The entries in the diaries, as one would expect from Ruskin's fluent pen, range from superb natural descriptions of clouds, of geological formations, of fish and of entomological subjects to descriptions of German paintings, services in Rouen cathedral, and the architecture of Venice. In later entries (commencing in the late 1860's), he describes in detail his horrible dreams — so often serpentine in nature — and tersely indicates the course of his relationship with Rose La-

Touche. In fact, despite his earlier determination to keep "one part of diary for intellect and another for feeling" (the latter apparently destroyed), Ruskin reveals with singular clarity the tortuous route taken by his emotional life in the 1860's and 1870's. Page after page contains brief notes or symbols suggestive of the painful drama enacted by Ruskin, Rose, Mr. and Mrs. La'Touche, and Mrs. Cowper-Temple (as intermediary). It is not without interest, either, that the entries, as the years pass, become shorter and shorter, the colorful prose passages less and less evident, as "feeling" constantly breaks through the external "intellect." It is a distressing emotional regression that one witnesses in the latter half of this volume.

Unfortunately, the standard of editing is here on the same inferior level as in the first volume [Rev. VS I, p. 100]. While an unobtrusive editor is always welcome, it is quite another matter to be confronted with an editor who is inconsistent in procedure and frequently careless in annotation. Of the numerous editorial lapses in this volume, perhaps the most astonishing is Miss Evans' failure to inform the reader that she is constantly referring to the Cook and Wedderburn edition of Ruskin's works. Among other slips is, for instance, a reference in the text on page 469 (volume II is paged continuously with the first volume) to the well-known Charles Newton; rather than annotate him, Miss Evans refers the reader forward, for no apparent reason, to page 523, where he is inadequately mentioned in a footnote. Similarly, Crawley, Ruskin's valet, passes unnoticed on page 556, but is annotated on page 569. And on page 666 Rawdon Brown, a figure known to many distinguished Victorians, is dismissed as "the writer on Venice." Furthermore, a number of persons pass through this text without any annotation at all. Perhaps, though, the oddest unannotated entry occurs on page 588; it runs as follows: "May 23rd. Wednesday. Interlachen. Shop-lifting all day; spoons &c." One wishes Miss Evans had at least endeavored to explain that for the baffled reader. While the diaries are of inestimable use to future Ruskin biographers and editors, because of the slipshod editing they must be used with extreme care and discretion.

JOHN LEWIS BRADLEY
Mount Holyoke College

The Chartist Challenge: A Portrait of George Julian Harney, by A. R. SCHOYEN; pp. viii + 300. Heinemann: London, 1958, 25s.; Macmillan: New York, 1958, \$5.50.

THE HISTORY of the Chartist movement, in all its various phases and aspects, has never been satisfactorily described in the compass of one volume. Mark Hovell's *Chartist Movement*, still widely used as a textbook, is now out of date, and in any case fails to deal adequately with the later years. The hopes raised by the main title of Dr. Schoyen's work are momentarily dashed, at first perusal, by the discovery that this is not a general account but the biography of one Chartist leader, George Julian Harney.

Nevertheless, Harney was a key figure in the Chartist movement, and one who richly deserves a biography of his own. He was much the ablest leader produced in the period from the ranks of the British working class itself. He first achieved prominence in the late 1830's as a member of the London Democratic Association — a group considerably more radical than the mild-mannered constitutionalists of the London Working Men's Association — and in 1839 he went to Northumberland to mobilise the strength of the colliers and ironworkers there, whose enthusiasm much exceeded that of the London *lumpenproletariat*. Dr. Schoyen has a keen eye for the local variations of political behaviour, and from the Home Office papers he throws much new light on the threatened violence of the period. Harney himself, who was only twenty-two in 1839, was at first as violent as any of the leaders, but his conception of revolution gradually matured to a more calculated preparation of political strength, using the forces of organised labour as his successors in Keir Hardie's generation were to do. This development was assisted by the influence of the Continental Socialist exiles of 1848-49. Dr. Schoyen shows how Harney took the lead in establishing links with the exiles, and how he himself embraced a creed of radical internationalism. The author comments sensibly on Harney's relations with Marx and Engels, who for all their penetrating analysis of the British scene displayed much of the petty intolerance customary among revolutionary exiles.

By 1853 Harney had been driven out of

the dying Chartist movement after a quarrel with Ernest Jones. He was still only thirty-six years old, but his public life was virtually over. After a few years editing a newspaper in the Channel Isles, where politics assumed a comic-opera aspect for him, he emigrated to America and worked quietly as a clerk in the Massachusetts State House until retirement at sixty. Disillusioned with the commercialism of both the United States and England, he spent his last years in a haze of melancholy reminiscence.

Dr. Schoyen's reconstruction of Harney's career, dramatic as that career was in the main period of Chartist struggle, is so full and rich that the work acquires considerable value as a general history of the period, and the title thus seems to be justified after all. The book is both readable and scholarly. The principal omission — a surprising one — is the failure to use the large collection of letters by Harney in the library of the International Institute of Social History at Amsterdam, where the Marx-Engels papers are housed. These may well throw a good deal of further light on the later years of Chartism, as well as on the career of this unique figure of British social history.

HENRY PELLING

The Queen's College, Oxford

Poor Monkey: The Child in Literature, by PETER COVENEY; pp. xiv + 297. Rockliff: London, 1957, 30s.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY indulged in a worship of childhood which to us seems fantastic. Who of us would now "hold it a religious duty, 'To love and worship children's beauty,'" or would insist that children's souls are "as pure . . . And crystalline as rays of light"? Such effusions were not the lapses of a small group of sentimentalists. The child became, to use Watts-Dunton's phrase, the new hero in literature. Nevertheless, this cult of childhood has rarely been studied. We are, therefore, grateful for Mr. Coveney's survey of the child in literature, roughly from Rousseau through D. H. Lawrence.

Mr. Coveney has shown us the development, from eighteenth-century literature, of the Romantic child (the child who symbolizes joy, imagination, innocence, feeling); the sentimentalizing of childhood in popular Vic-

torian literature; and the emancipation from innocence effected by Freud's essay on infantile sexuality. Mr. Coveney had an enormous amount of material to draw from, and he has justifiably been highly selective, limiting himself to major writers and obvious cases. However, he would have been able to deal with more writers, and more of their subtleties, if he had devoted less space to long extracts and to irrelevant *explications de texte*.

A more serious deficiency is his socio-biographical approach to the material, which allows him to divide authors into two neat groups: those who used the child figure to point up social abuses, and those who used childhood as an Eden-retreat from maturity. Blake, Wordsworth, Dickens (in part), and Lawrence used the child as a means of social protest; George Eliot, Mrs. Henry Wood, James Barrie succumbed to neurotic nostalgia. This evaluative classification is useful but at times arbitrary: Charlotte Bronte's interest in the lonely child (*Jane Eyre*) is neurotic, but the lonely child in Dickens is "the essential concomitant of the megalopolitan age." Certainly we cannot deny that Dickens used the child as an agent for social reform and that Barrie created Peter Pan at least in part

because he could not untie himself from mamma's apron strings. But the problem is not so simple, for Dickens' children have too much in common with Barrie's. Too many authors wrote about childhood in a similar way for us to be able fully to account for their treatment either by a desire for social reform or by a private neurosis.

Mr. Coveney's focus on biography probably accounts for his failure to mention, or his passing mention of, such important influences on nineteenth-century attitudes toward children as the breakdown of the belief in original sin, meliorism, and Darwinism (the title of Mr. Coveney's book is from *Macbeth*). The biographical approach is especially limiting in studying an interest which had such widespread extra-literary manifestations: aesthetics, ethics, and religion exalted the childlike mind; biographers insisted that their subjects loved and "were loved by children"; Barnum, his finger on the pulse of public sentiment, instituted baby shows. The nineteenth century's interest in childhood will be more profitably studied as a phenomenon in the history of ideas.

BARBARA GABITZ
Wheaton College (Mass.)

THE ROMANTIC ASSERTION

R. A. FOAKES

Reviewing the language of 19th-century poetry Mr. Foakes shows that it has its own set of images—rooted in man's common experience rather than an individual vision—and a related set of "value words." He sees the decay of Romantic verse as a weakening of this relation, with the "value words" declining into empty rhetoric.

\$4.00

ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE—Journeys to England and Ireland *edited by J. P. MAYER*

Impressions and conversations that Alexis de Tocqueville recorded from visits made in 1833, 1855, and 1857—describing the social, economic, and political problems of Reform Age England with incomparable pertinence and prophetic insight. Many of the comments remain relevant today. *October publication.* \$4.50

Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut



Patrick Brontë, father of the sister novelists Emily and Charlotte Brontë, figured so prominently in the lives and writings of his daughters that he has been the subject of much attention in literary history. An early biography of Charlotte distorted her father's character beyond recognition. This sensational and inaccurate characterization became legendary as it grew and became more and more distorted. As a result, much of what has been written about the Brontë sisters has been based on the assumption that Patrick Brontë was an eccentric, tyrannical, possessive master who warped the minds of his

THE FATHER OF THE BRONTËS

ANNETTE B. HOPKINS

daughters. Miss Hopkins has shed new light on this misunderstood man and proves that the freedom he fostered in the Brontë home was extraordinary for the early 19th century. One result of this illuminating study will be a reexamination of the Brontë sisters' works, not as the products of domestic oppression, but as works of art executed in unusual freedom.

Miss Hopkins is Professor Emeritus of English, Goucher College.

200 pages \$4.50

**THE JOHNS HOPKINS PRESS
BALTIMORE 18, MARYLAND**

ANTHONY TROLLOPE: Aspects of His Life and Art

BRADFORD A. BOOTH

Was Trollope an enduring creative artist or merely a talented entertainer? These lucid essays analyze the novels and take issue with Trollope's critics.

"A lively volume . . . excellent reading."—VINCENT STARRETT in the *Chicago Tribune Magazine of Books*. \$6.00

THE ASTOR PLACE RIOT

RICHARD MOODY

An exciting account of the bloodiest night in New York theatrical history: May 10, 1849—with sidelights on Dickens, Bulwer-Lytton, Forster, and other notables of the period.

"A bad night, but a good book, which is the important thing."—JOHN K. HUTCHENS in the *New York Herald Tribune*. ILLUSTRATED. \$5.00

at your bookseller, or order from

INDIANA UNIVERSITY PRESS • BLOOMINGTON

RUSKIN AND THE ECONOMISTS

John Tyree Fain

"Professor Fain has put economists in his debt by a short, packed, perceptive work which should be published over here. We have had a bit too much lately of other aspects of Ruskin . . . and Professor Fain's book is an eminently readable corrective."

—*The Economist* (London). \$4.00

VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY PRESS

NASHVILLE 5, TENNESSEE



ONE of America's foremost Darwin scholars discusses the theory of evolution: what its components are, how it affected man's view of himself in the 19th-century, and what men and discoveries prepared the way for Darwin's great work. A volume of major importance for this, the centennial year of the publication of Darwin's classic study. By the author of *The Immense Journey*.

DARWIN'S CENTURY

Evolution and the Men Who Discovered It

by **LOREN EISELEY**, University of Pennsylvania

Cloth-bound, 378 pages, index, suggested readings, illustrated end-sheets
\$5.00 at all booksellers

DOUBLEDAY & COMPANY, INC. • Garden City, New York



LARGER JOURNAL . . . GREATER COVERAGE

NINETEENTH-CENTURY FICTION has increased in size by 20% to permit expanded coverage under Bradford A. Booth's editorship of the great flowering period of the novel. Consider the result:

CONTENTS, SEPTEMBER ISSUE

- George Eliot and the Omniscient Author Convention, by W. J. HARVEY
Henry James's Reconciliation of Free Will and Fatalism, by ARNOLD L. GOLDSMITH
Dickens and the Sense of Time, by JOHN HENRY RALEIGH
Sun and Fire in Melville's *Moby Dick*, by PAUL W. MILLER
An Allusion to Tasso in Conrad's *Chance*, by GERALD H. LEVIN
Notes and Reviews, by various distinguished scholars.

NINETEENTH-CENTURY FICTION

University of California Press

BERKELEY 4, CALIFORNIA

\$4.00 (or 30s.) a year • Special student rate: \$3.00 a year.

NEW ADVISERS AND CONTRIBUTORS



JOHN ALFORD, formerly Professor of Fine Arts at the University of Toronto, then Professor of the History of Art and Head of the Department at the Rhode Island School of Design; now retired. Author of many articles on aesthetics and on nineteenth- and twentieth-century art.

R. K. WEBB, Assistant Professor of History, Columbia University. Author of *The British Working Class Reader, 1790-1848: Literacy and Social Tension*. His historical study of Harriet Martineau is forthcoming.

JOHN CLIVE, Assistant Professor of History and General Education, Harvard University. Author of *Scotch Reviewers: The Edinburgh Review, 1802-1815*. Guggenheim scholar for

1957-58; now studying the transition from eighteenth to nineteenth century modes of thought in England.

WALKER GIBSON, recently appointed Director of Freshman English courses at New York University. Has published one book of verse, *The Reckless Spenders*, and has another, *Come As You Are*, forthcoming.

WILLIAM J. HYDE, Assistant Professor of English at Wisconsin State College, La Crosse. Has written articles on George Eliot, Richard Jefferies, and H. G. Wells. At present concerned with realism and the rural Victorian novel.

OLIVER MAC DONAGH, Fellow and Director of Studies in History at St. Catharine's College, Cambridge. Contributed to *The Great Famine* and has articles in several historical journals. Now working on a book on the growth of government and law in the United Kingdom in the nineteenth century.



ADVICE TO CONTRIBUTORS

VICTORIAN STUDIES encourages contributors always to state or clearly imply the relevance of their work not just to a particular branch of knowledge but to the whole Victorian age. Such a statement or implication need not involve a concession in depth or detail, but it does require a deliberate attempt to "place" the article in its Victorian context and so to give a clear sense of its likely significance to a given reader of VICTORIAN STUDIES.

Manuscripts should be styled to accord with the *MLA Style Sheet* (copies of which can be had from the Treasurer, Modern Language Association, 6 Washington Square North, New York 3, N. Y., for 50¢). All matter should be double-spaced and footnotes should be typed together at the end of the article. An editorial decision can usually be reached more quickly if two copies are submitted. A stamped, self-addressed envelope should accompany all manuscripts. Authors should, of course, retain a copy for themselves.

97 *Cyril Bibby* : THOMAS HENRY HUXLEY AND UNIVERSITY
DEVELOPMENT

117 *Y. V. Kovalev* : THE LITERATURE OF CHARTISM
(Introductory note by W. H. Chaloner)

139 *E. D. H. Johnson* : IN MEMORIAM: THE WAY OF A POET

149 *Charles T. Dougherty*
Homer C. Welsh : WISEMAN ON THE OXFORD MOVEMENT:
AN EARLY REPORT TO THE VATICAN

155 *J. B. Conacher* : A VISIT TO THE GLADSTONES IN 1891

161 : BOOK REVIEWS

186 : ADVERTISEMENTS

188 : COMMENTS AND QUERIES

190 : CONTRIBUTORS

editors Philip Appleman William A. Madden Michael Wolff

book review editor Donald J. Gray

associate editor (England) G. F. A. Best

executive secretary Kay Dinsmoor *editorial assistant* Joseph Yocom

advisory board John Alford Richard D. Altick Noel Annan William O. Aydelotte

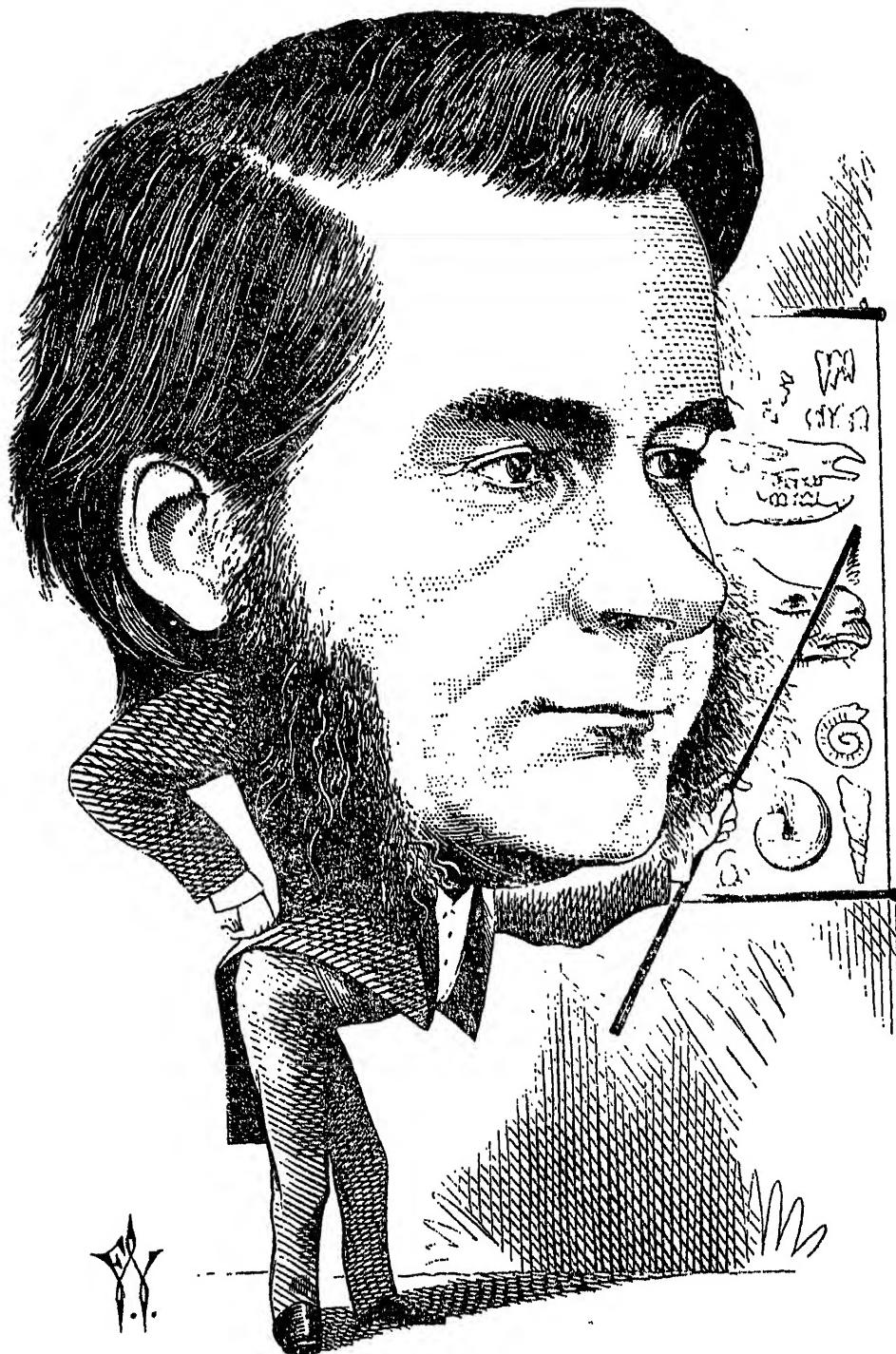
Asa Briggs Jerome H. Buckley Leon Edel Gordon S. Haight

T. W. Hutchison Howard Mumford Jones Henri Peyre Anthony Quinton

Gordon N. Ray Donald Smalley Geoffrey Tillotson R. K. Webb

editorial consultant William Riley Parker

design consultant William Friedman



BONES AND STONES, AND SUCH-LIKE THINGS.

Cyril Bibby

THOMAS HENRY HUXLEY

AND UNIVERSITY DEVELOPMENT*



WHEN ONE THINKS of British universities in Victorian times, the names which immediately come to mind are Newman and Jowett and Mark Pattison — all Oxford classicists. Yet this was a time when the three most significant facts in university life were the intervention of the state, the increase of scientific studies, and the foundation of those colleges which have grown into the great civic uni-

* This paper is based on work carried out in the Advanced Studies Department of the University of London Institute of Education.

opposite:

"Professor Huxley" by Frederick Waddy, from *Cartoon Portraits . . . of Men of the Day* (1873)

versities of the metropolis and the provinces. *Prima facie*, therefore, one might expect that an eminent scientist, with considerable influence in governmental circles and a deep interest in higher education, would have played an important part in university development, and such was the case with Thomas Henry Huxley.

The elegance and coherence of Newman's discourses sometimes so enchant the mind as to make one forget that the picture he painted was rather an inspiration for future generations than a blueprint for his own, and the common English preoccupation with Oxbridge runs the risk of overlooking the ultimately more important Victorian origins of Redbrick. Most of the great names usually associated with nineteenth-century university reform are those of men who had trod the traditional upper-class pathway through public school and wealthy residential college — and who, despite their discontent with the existing state of things, were so conditioned as to be incapable of a completely fresh outlook. Huxley had the advantage of freedom from such conditioning, and in some ways his idea of a university¹ was much more in tune with the needs of the times than was the case with most of his contemporaries.

The son of an unsuccessful schoolmaster whose personality eventually quite disintegrated, Huxley had as a boy but two brief years of formal schooling, from the age of eight to ten. During adolescence he educated himself by voracious reading, and then at seventeen he secured a Free Scholarship, for "young Gentlemen of respectable but unfortunate families," at the Charing Cross Hospital Medical School. As a young apprentice to an East End doctor, he used to wonder why the miserably undernourished people of the squalid streets did not sally out and plunder the food shops, and he never lost this early impress of poverty amidst plenty. Whereas Newman was thankful to have at his Dublin University "the French Vicomte, the Irish Baronet, and our own Lord R. Kerr,"² Huxley declared, "I am a plebeian and I stand by my order."³ There were many in those days anxious to open the universities more widely to the middle classes, but Huxley urged their opening also to "the sons of the masses of the people whose daily labour just suffices

¹ See Cyril Bibby, "T. H. Huxley's Idea of a University," *Universities Quarterly*, XI (1956), 377-389.

² Quoted by Fergal McGrath in *Newman's University: Idea and Reality* (London, 1951), p. 347.

³ Quoted by G. W. Smalley in *Anglo-American Memories*, 2nd Ser. (London, 1912), p. 19.

to meet their daily wants." He spoke scathingly of "the host of pleasant, moneyed, well-bred young gentlemen, who do a little learning and much boating by Cam and Isis," and he congratulated Aberdeen that its university had not become "a school of manners for the rich; of sports for the athletic; or a hot-bed of high-fed, hypercritical refinement."⁴

It is impossible to understand the great influence of Huxley in Victorian England without first appreciating his enormous prestige in the increasingly influential world of science. At the age of twenty, with no higher qualifications than the First M.B.⁵ of London University, he decided to earn his daily bread as assistant-surgeon in the Royal Navy, which in those days was not very particular about the competence of its sawbones. Roughing it around the world in the cockroach-ridden frigate *H.M.S. Rattlesnake*, converting a wire-mesh meat safe into a dredge and examining the delicate creatures brought in from the surface areas, he packeted back home a series of research papers of peculiar brilliance. When he returned to England in 1850 there were many eminent scientists most anxious to make the acquaintance of the unknown young investigator, and within a few months of landing he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. Strings were pulled to release him from normal naval duties so that he could devote his whole time to research, and it was quickly clear that a nova of the first order had flamed up in the sphere of biology. He was one of the select little band taken into Darwin's confidence prior to the publication of *The Origin of Species*; before long he was the government's maid-of-all-work in science; and his genius for behind-the-scenes lobbying gave him an influence in English public life such as no scientist has exerted before or since.

Coming to maturity just when the Great Exhibition of 1851 had pointed England's need for scientific and technological education, and afraid of no one, Huxley set about seeing that science was represented in the ancient universities by men of high quality. In his youth, both Oxford and Cambridge were still governed academically and socially by what Robert Lowe once called "a clerical gerontocracy";⁶ and, when

⁴ T. H. Huxley, *Collected Essays* (hereafter referred to as CE) (London, 1893), III, 202, 203.

⁵ Huxley never passed any final degree examination, although of course he received many honorary degrees.

⁶ A. P. Martin, *Life and Letters of . . . Robert Lowe, Viscount Sherbrooke etc.* (London, 1893), I, 27.

the Linacre Chair of Physiology was instituted following the first Oxford Commission, Huxley felt unable to apply for a post which might seem to commit him to theological beliefs of which he was already becoming doubtful. However, he helped to secure the chair for the young physician George Rolleston,⁷ and it is interesting that at this early date he already had sufficient influence to do so. In 1868 he was asked who should be appointed to Oxford's Chair of Botany,⁸ in 1870 he sent Michael Foster to Cambridge as Trinity's Praelector in Physiology,⁹ in 1872 he was concerned in the election of Ray Lankester as Fellow of Exeter,¹⁰ and in succeeding years he advised University and Merton Colleges in their choice of biology Fellows.¹¹ At Oxford also at a later date he secured the Linacre Chair for Lankester (against the wishes of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who wanted the post for his own cousin¹²); he helped E. B. Poulton to gain the Hope Chair of Zoology,¹³ and he was one of those who brought J. J. Sylvester back from America to be Savilian Professor of Geometry when the religious test which excluded Jews was abolished.¹⁴ At Cambridge he chose the brilliant young biologist F. M. Balfour to be Fellow of Trinity in 1874¹⁵ and Adam Sedgwick as Fellow of the same College in 1880,¹⁶ and later he was an elector to the Chairs of Physiology, Anatomy, and Zoology and Comparative Anatomy. It would be difficult to exaggerate the extent of the influence which Huxley exerted on the development of the sciences in the ancient universities by this careful planting through the years of *protégés* who could be relied on to promote his educational methods and ideas.

It was clear to Huxley that the times required a major expansion of scientific education at all levels, but he did not suffer from Herbert Spencer's delusion that natural science was the answer to every educa-

⁷ Rolleston to H., [May] 1860, Huxley Papers (in the archives of the Imperial College of Science and Technology; hereafter referred to as HP), 25.48. Gratitude is expressed to those who have kindly permitted the perusal and publication of relevant materials.

⁸ Rolleston to H., 26 Jan. 1868, HP, 25.183.

⁹ W. G. Clark to H., 2 Apr. [1870], HP, 4.172.

¹⁰ H. to Anton Dohrn, 20 June 1872, HP, 13.222.

¹¹ Rolleston to H., [P1881], HP, 30.117; and G. C. Brodrick to H., 5 Dec. 1893, HP, 11.88.

¹² Lankester to H., 2 July 1889, HP, 21.133; and M. Foster to H., 9 Dec. 1888, HP, 4.338.

¹³ Poulton to H., 16 Jan. 1893, HP, 24.177.

¹⁴ Sylvester to H., 20 Dec. 1883, HP, 27.152.

¹⁵ J. W. Clark, *Old Friends at Cambridge and Elsewhere* (London, 1900), p. 285.

¹⁶ H. to W. H. Thompson, 19 Dec. 1880, HP, 30.119.

tional problem. Indeed, despite their fundamental difference in matters theological, Huxley's views on university education were in some ways remarkably similar to those of Newman. Not only the general line of thought, but in places the very words, of Huxley's 1874 Rectorial Address at Aberdeen remind us of Newman's Dublin Discourses:

In an ideal University, as I conceive it, a man should be able to obtain instruction in all forms of knowledge, and discipline in the use of all methods by which knowledge is obtained. In such a University, the force of living example should fire the students with a noble ambition to emulate the learning of learned men, and to follow in the footsteps of the explorers of new fields of knowledge. And the very air he breathes should be charged with that enthusiasm for truth, that fanaticism of veracity, which is a greater possession than much learning; a nobler gift than the power of increasing knowledge; by so much greater and nobler than these, as the moral nature of man is greater than the intellectual; for veracity is the heart of morality.

(*CE*, III, 204-205)

To Huxley, as to Newman, the university was a place for teaching universal knowledge, and, at the official opening of Johns Hopkins University at Baltimore in 1876, he remarked that "University education should not be something distinct from elementary education, but should be the natural outgrowth and development of the latter. . . . The university can add no new departments of knowledge, can offer no new fields of mental activity; but what it can do is to intensify and specialise the instruction in each department. . . . The primary school and the university are the alpha and omega of education" (*CE*, III, 237ff.). But, while acknowledging the traditional teaching function of the university and doing his best to develop it, Huxley was more vividly aware than Newman of the need to develop research. "The mediaeval university," he wrote, "looked backwards: it professed to be a storehouse of old knowledge, and except in the way of dialectical cobweb-spinning, its professors had nothing to do with novelties. . . . The modern university looks forward, and is a factory of new knowledge: its professors have to be at the top of the wave of progress. Research and criticism must be the breath of their nostrils."¹⁷

It was his awareness of the needs of the modern world, a sort of sixth sense for the underswell of social change, which enabled Huxley so often to select precisely the right moment and manner for bringing educational issues to a head. The hurly-burly of an expanding and increasingly democratic society suited his vigorous nature to perfection,

¹⁷ H. to Lankester, 11 Apr. 1892, HP, 30.148.

and the *Zeitgeist* was to him not depressing but exhilarating. Much more than Matthew Arnold he was willing for the universities to take on new tasks and foster new studies, as came out very clearly in 1885, when Oxford established its Merton Chair of English Language and Literature in deference to the wishes of the Commissioners of 1877-80. The electors chose as professor the philologist A. S. Napier, and those who had hopes for a man who would profess literature as such were understandably outraged. John Churton Collins, later to become Professor of English Literature at Birmingham, set about organising opposition, and wrote to tell Huxley, "A protest from you in any public paper would I am convinced, have such an effect at Oxford that it would turn the scale when the matter comes before Congregation."¹⁸ However, the appointment was confirmed, and Collins approached several leading men for support in an all-out attack on the whole Oxford tendency to equate literature with philology. From Arnold, the man of letters, there came a strangely tepid communication: "I should be glad to see at the Universities, not a new School established for Modern Literature or Modern Languages, but the great works of English Literature taken in conjunction with those of Greek and Latin Literature in the final Examination for honours in *Litcra [sic] Humaniores*".¹⁹ Huxley the scientist, on the other hand, came hotly to the defence of his native tongue, and his contribution was given pride of place in the series of statements which soon appeared in *The Pall Mall Gazette*:

the establishment of professorial chairs of philology, under the name of literature, may be a profit to science, but is really a fraud practised upon letters.

That a young Englishman may be turned out of one of our universities, "eptoy and perfect" so far as their system takes him, and yet ignorant of the noble literature which has grown up in these islands during the last three centuries, no less than the development of the philosophical and political ideas which have most profoundly influenced modern civilisation, is a fact in the history of the nineteenth century which the twentieth will find hard to believe; . . . a "Professor of Eighteenth Century History and Literature" who knew his business might tell young Englishmen more of that which it is profoundly important they should know, but which at present remains hidden from them, than any other instructor. (22 Oct. 1886)

The attack was not without effect: Hebdomadal Council appointed a committee to consider the whole question and, after the usual waste of

¹⁸ Collins to H., 24 Mar. [?1886], HP, 12.289.

¹⁹ Arnold to Collins, 24 Oct. 1886, *Three Letters of John Churton Collins* (privately printed, 1910), p. 5.

time in academic manoeuvre, Oxford established in 1894 a Final Honours School of English and a new Chair of English Literature.

The many indications of Huxley's influence on the development of the ancient universities of England are surprising only if one overlooks his personal friendships and his penchant for private lobbying. When in Cambridge he might stay at Trinity Hall as the guest of Henry Fawcett, the political economist who fought so strongly for the abolition of religious tests in the universities; and other friends were Henry Sidgwick (the moral philosopher who was a main leader in the movement for the education of women) and W. G. Clark (the Trinity Fellow best remembered for his *Cambridge Shakespeare*). At Oxford the Huxley family would lodge with Jowett at Balliol, and Jowett would visit them in London or Eastbourne. When a small group, including Mark Pattison and Goldwin Smith, met in the Freemason's Tavern in 1872 to work out ways of abolishing prize fellowships and securing adequate facilities for research, Huxley was of their number (*The Times*, 23 Nov. 1872). He joined with Arnold and Carlyle, and with Hornby of Eton and Butler of Harrow and others, in petitioning Cambridge in 1878 to make Greek no longer compulsory, and a few years later he joined with Jowett in a similar move at Oxford. Two extracts from letters of the Master of Balliol will give some indication of the sort of cooperation which existed:

Jowett to Huxley, 23 April 1877

I am hoping to introduce or rather to persuade others to introduce more physical science in the University. I am inclined to think that some knowledge of it (as of Arithmetic) should be one of the requirements for a degree. Some scientific men appear to be opposed to this on the ground that it will lower the character of such studies. I cannot agree with them: no study can reach a very high standard with the mass of students. Yet it may do them great good & gain something from them in return.
(HP 7.9)

Jowett to Huxley, 2 December 1885

We are just passing a new medical statute at Oxford which will I hope be successful. The Medical element will be much stronger than formerly at Oxford. I should greatly like to talk with you about Scientific Education at schools & at the University — I would like to make a certain amount of science compulsory as Latin & Greek are: but I do not find that the Professors of Science at Oxford are inclined to support this idea.
(HP 7.38)

Not surprisingly, with such friends at Oxford, Huxley could have had a very pleasant post there himself. In the summer of 1881 both Jowett and G. C. Brodrick (the Warden of Merton) pressed him to take the

Professorship of Physiology,²⁰ and later in the year there was an effort to catch him as Master of University College.²¹ The Mastership was very attractive — £1300 per year and a house free of rent and rates and taxes, with plenty of time to spare for private studies — and Huxley was sorely tempted: but, as he explained to his son Leonard, "I do not think I am cut out for a Don nor your mother for a Donness,"²² and he stayed at South Kensington.

Nearly thirty years earlier, in 1854, Huxley had been similarly tempted to go to Edinburgh, which wanted him as Professor of Natural History at £1000 per annum — no small temptation to an impecunious young man still in his twenties.²³ Having been struck off the Navy List for refusing to leave his researches and join a ship after three years' leave of absence, he had secured a lectureship at the Government School of Mines in Jermyn Street, but the £200 it paid was not much to a hot-blooded youngster impatient to bring over to England the woman he had met and engaged to marry whilst on shore leave in Australia. He told a friend, "I dread leaving London & its freedom — its Bedouin sort of life — for Edinburgh & no whistling on Sundays,"²⁴ but nonetheless he was within an ace of going. Just in time, the government offered him £600 per year, and in London he stayed for the rest of his working life. However, he kept up his Edinburgh contacts, advising the Crown on the filling of Regius and other chairs²⁵ and acting as Professor of Natural History *locum tenens* in 1875 and 1876. The Scottish universities, like those of England, were waking up to the new needs of the nineteenth century, and the students of both Edinburgh and St. Andrews wanted Huxley to accept nomination for the office of Rector. It was the students of Aberdeen, however, who actually secured his consent to nomination, and in 1872 he was elected.²⁶

The election campaign crystallised the atmosphere of the times, with Huxley's supporters urging the need for an energetic Rector not afraid of change and anxious to encourage the newer studies, while his

²⁰ Jowett to H., 17 June 1881, HP, 7.35; Brodrick to H., 21 June 1881, HP, 11.85.

²¹ C. J. Faulkner to and from H., 9-18 October 1881, HP, 16.34-50.

²² H. to Leonard H., 4 Nov. 1881, quoted by Leonard Huxley in his *Life and Letters of Thomas Henry Huxley* (London, 1900), II, 32.

²³ Cyril Bibby, "T. H. Huxley and the Universities of Scotland," *Aberdeen University Review*, XXXVII (1957), 134-149.

²⁴ H. to F. D. Dyster, 5 Jan. 1855, HP, 15.46.

²⁵ H. A. Bruce (Lord Aberdare) to H., 26 Oct. 1870, HP, 11.131; and J. F. D. Donnelly to H., 22 Sept. 1871, HP, 14.4.

²⁶ "T. H. Huxley and the Universities of Scotland." (Note: this paper contains bibliographic references to all matters connected with the Scottish universities not specifically documented below.)

opponents generated a good deal of *odium theologicum* and attacked him as a godless advocate of man's descent from the ape.²⁷ As it turned out, neither abuse nor intimidation deterred the students, and they returned Huxley in preference to his opponent, the wealthy and prestigious Charles Gordon, Marquess of Huntley (and Earl of Aboyne and Baron Meldrum of Morven and Chief of Clan Gordon and Cock o' the North). "The fact of any one," Huxley jubilated to his friend John Tyndall, "who stinketh in the nostrils of orthodoxy, beating a Scotch peer at his own gates, in the most orthodox of Scotch cities, is a curious sign of the times."²⁸

In his Rectorial Address²⁹ Huxley "used the Aberdonians for the benefit of Oxford & Cambridge, much as Tacitus used the manners of the Germans for the benefit of the Romans,"³⁰ and he congratulated the Scots upon their numerous bursaries which enabled the children of the poor to engage in higher learning. Naturally, he urged the provision of proper facilities for the study of science and the modernisation of the medical course, but more striking were his claims for aesthetic education:

the man who is all morality and intellect, although he may be good and even great, is, after all, only half a man. There is beauty in the moral world and in the intellectual world; but there is also a beauty which is neither moral nor intellectual — the beauty of the world of Art. There are men who are devoid of the power of seeing it, as there are men who are born deaf and blind. . . . There are others in whom it is an overpowering passion; happy men, born with the . . . genius of the Artist. . . . I know not why the development of that side of his nature . . . should be omitted from any comprehensive scheme of University education. . . .

If there are Doctors of Music, why should there be no Masters of painting, of Sculpture, of Architecture? I should like to see Professors of the Fine Arts in every University.

(CE, III, 205-206)

Eighteen years later, when the great educational topic was the reorganisation of the University of London, Huxley was still pressing the same point: "You should see the place I am claiming for Art in the University," he wrote to his painter son-in-law John Collier, "I do believe

²⁷ One anonymous pamphlet, published after the election, had the unusually intriguing title of *Protoplasm, Powheads, Porwiggles; and the Evolution of the Horse from the Rhinoceros; illustrating Professor Huxley's Scientific Mode of getting up the Creation and Upsetting Moses: A Guide for Electors in Choosing Lord Rectors* (Aberdeen, 1875).

²⁸ H. to Tyndall, 1 Jan. 1873, HP, 9.63.

²⁹ "Universities: Actual and Ideal," CE, III, 189-234.

³⁰ H. to M. Foster, 23 Feb. 1874, HP, 4.73.

something will grow out of my plan, which has made all the dry bones rattle. It is coming on for discussion in the Senate, and I shall be coming to you to have my wounds dressed after the fight.”³¹

For a long time the ancient Rectorial prerogatives in the universities of Scotland had fallen into decay, but Huxley made a point of attending and chairing the meetings of Aberdeen’s Senatus, and he was much more than a merely decorative figure. Not surprisingly in such a presbyterian stronghold, he failed to free bursaries from religious tests; and even the resolutions which he succeeded in carrying, to reform the medical curriculum and to put the sciences on a footing of equality with the arts, were held up by stubborn delaying tactics. When his term of office expired in 1875 it seemed that he had been right in warning the students that “If your annals take any notice of my incumbency, I shall probably go down to posterity as the Rector who was always beaten” (*CE*, III, 191). Scarcely, however, had Huxley given up his Rectorship when he was appointed a member of the 1876 Royal Commission on the Universities of Scotland, and its report two years later was very much to his liking. A rigid university entrance examination, against which he had argued on many occasions and in many places, was described as more likely to be injurious than beneficial; the degree examinations were recommended to be arranged in instalments as they were in his own science school at South Kensington; students who wished to read science or medicine or law were to be freed from any test in Greek; the medical curriculum was to be relieved of its archaic excrescences; the natural sciences and literature and history were to be made available as alternatives to the traditional classics course for M.A.; and a new B.Sc. degree was to be introduced for those who wished to study natural science to a higher level.³² The second half of Huxley’s 1874 prophecy was well on its way to fulfilment: “But if they add, as I think they will, that my defeats became victories in the hands of my successors, I shall be well content” (*CE*, III, 191).

It was through one Royal Commission or another that Huxley did much of his most effective work for educational reform. As a member of the Commissions on the Royal College of Science for Ireland (1866) and on Science and Art Instruction in Ireland (1868), he was able to influence not only the newer university colleges in Dublin and

³¹ H. to John Collier, 8 Nov. 1892, in *Life and Letters*, II, 307.

³² *Report of Royal Commission on the Universities of Scotland* (1878).

Cork and Galway, but also the venerable Trinity College – and, surprisingly enough, it even seems that he was in some way concerned with the disposal of the library of Newman's "Catholic University" on St. Stephen's Green.³³ As a leading member of the (Devonshire) Commission on Scientific Instruction and the Advancement of Science (1870-75), Huxley had the opportunity to inquire into and recommend upon the organisation of almost every university and college in the country, and the opportunity was not wasted. He could see no reason why the State should not give financial support to the struggling provincial colleges, and in 1870 he became (along with Matthew Arnold and Thomas Bazley) one of the Crown-appointed governors of the reorganised Owens College in Manchester. Here, as elsewhere, he was very much concerned in the foundation and filling of scientific Chairs, and his tongue must have been very much in his cheek when he complained, "My life is becoming a burden . . . for some reason people have taken it into their heads that I have something to do with appointments in Owens College."³⁴ When he opened the new Medical School at Manchester in 1874, he played on his favourite theme of avoiding any risk of cultural dichotomy between letters and sciences, and stressed the value of placing the different departments in close propinquity to encourage mixing of students and staff. "I trust that the position of the arts faculty in this institution will never by a hairsbreadth be diminished . . .," he said, "unless we have the good fortune to be trained in early youth to take a broad and general view of the interests of human nature, unless our tastes are disciplined and refined, and unless we are led to see that we are citizens and men before anything else, I say it will go very hardly indeed with men of science in future generations, and they will run the risk of becoming scientific pedants when they should be men, philosophers, and good citizens."³⁵ A few years later, at Mason College in Birmingham, he made the same point: "An exclusively scientific training will bring about a mental twist as surely as an exclusively literary training. The value of the cargo does not compensate for a ship's being out of trim" (CE, III, 153-154). The sad thing is that so few men of letters had (or have) so liberal and balanced a view of education as this man of science.

Naturally enough, in view of his immense faith in the intellectual

³³ W. J. Walsh (Archbishop of Dublin) to H., 8 Nov. 1888, HP, 28.153.

³⁴ H. to Henry Roscoe, summer 1873, in *Life and Letters*, I, 390.

³⁵ Unidentified newspaper cutting in archives of Manchester University.

potentiality of the ordinary people, he believed that it was necessary to provide "a ladder, reaching from the gutter to the university, along which every child in the three kingdoms should have the chance of climbing as far as he was fit to go" (*CE*, III, 424), and among children he included girls. "Let us have 'sweet girl graduates' by all means," he wrote in 1865, "They will be none the less sweet for a little wisdom; and the 'golden hair' will not curl less gracefully outside the head by reason of there being brains within" (*CE*, III, 73). So in 1867 he was one of those who supported Emily Davies in promoting the foundation of Girton College,³⁶ in 1871 he helped Maria Grey in her efforts for the professional education of females,³⁷ in 1874 he was employing a "demonstratrix in physiology" at South Kensington,³⁸ and a year later he told the University Court of Aberdeen that "He himself thought the women were very hardly treated and if it depended upon him they should be examined at the University tomorrow."³⁹ In 1880 he signed a memorial "in favour of granting degrees to properly qualified women" at Cambridge⁴⁰ — doubtless innocent of any suspicion that some seventy years would have to pass before this was done.

Unlike many other eminent Englishmen of his generation, Huxley did not imagine that British precedents settled for all time the aims and nature of university education. His much more open mind saw the virtues in new expedients and adaptations, and he never shared Arnold's fear of "a wave of more than American *vulgarity*, moral, intellectual, and social, preparing to break over us."⁴¹ On the contrary, he found the bustle and bounce of the United States exhilarating: "Ah, that is interesting; that is American," he remarked to a newspaper correspondent on seeing the New York skyline with its tall Tribune and Western Union buildings. "In the Old World the first things you see as you approach a great city are steeples; here you see, first, centres of intelligence" (*Life and Letters*, I, 461). So, while Arnold deplored "the absence of any culture in America, where everybody knows that the Earth is an oblate spheroid, and nobody knows anything worth knowing" (Connell, p. 68), Huxley congratulated the citizens of Nashville,

³⁶ Hester Burton, *Barbara Bodichon, 1827-1891* (London, 1949), p. 168.

³⁷ Maria Grey to H., June & July 1871, HP, 17.144-148.

³⁸ Bernard Becker, *Scientific London* (London, 1874), p. 182.

³⁹ *Aberdeen Free Press*, 10 May 1875.

⁴⁰ *Cambridge University Reporter*, 11 May 1880.

⁴¹ Quoted by W. F. Connell in *The Educational Thought and Influence of Matthew Arnold* (London, 1950), p. 68.

Tennessee, upon the admirable work they were doing in their rough frame schools.⁴²

The central feature of Huxley's visit to the U.S.A. was his opening address at Johns Hopkins University on 12 September 1876.⁴³ Daniel Coit Gilman had resigned the presidency of the University of California in order to take on the exciting new task in Baltimore, and he came in for a good deal of criticism for inviting the great agnostic to speak at the ceremony. "I am very sorry Gilman began with Huxley," wrote one Presbyterian minister to another, "But it is possible yet to redeem the University from the stain of such a beginning."⁴⁴ Or, as it was also put, "Huxley was bad enough, Huxley without a prayer was intolerable."⁴⁵ In general, however, Baltimore's welcome was enthusiastic. Huxley congratulated the new foundation on the decision that its capital endowment was not to be spent on buildings ("A great warrior is said to have made a desert and called it peace. Administrators of educational funds have sometimes made a palace and called it a university" [CE, III, 256]) and that its reputation should rather rest upon the quality of its teachers and scholars. But, he warned, the intention that the governing body should be perpetually self-renewing was a temptation of providence, for "personal and local influences are very subtle, and often unconscious" (CE, III, 259), and he therefore suggested that both the academic staff and one or two independent learned bodies should be represented. He agreed that the time of the university should not be wasted on conferring elementary instruction, but was "distinctly against any absolute and defined preliminary examination, the passing of which shall be an essential condition of admission to the university" (CE, III, 242). As to the course of instruction, he thought that "The important points to bear in mind . . . are that there should not be too many subjects in the curriculum, and that the aim should be the attainment of thorough and sound knowledge of each" (CE, III, 243), for "in order to know a little well, one must be content to be ignorant of a great deal" (CE, III, 248). He advocated the system of examination practised in his own college at South Kensington, where the student was examined in each subject at the end of its particular course instead of having to bring a whole host of subjects up to examination level concurrently, for "it is important, not so much to know a thing, as to have

⁴² *New-York Tribune*, Special Number, "Professor Huxley in America," 23 Sept. 1876.

⁴³ "Address on University Education," CE, III, 235-261.

⁴⁴ Quoted in Fabian Franklin, *Life of Daniel Cott Gilman* (New York, 1910), p. 221.

⁴⁵ Franklin, p. 221.

known it, and known it thoroughly" (*CE*, III, 251). Huxley had much less faith in the efficacy of examinations than many of his contemporaries. As he had pointed out at Aberdeen two years earlier, students all too often "work to pass, not to know; and outraged Science takes her revenge. They do pass, and they don't know" (*CE*, III, 229). Moreover, "there is a fallacy about Examiners. It is commonly supposed that any one who knows a subject is competent to teach it; and no one seems to doubt that any one who knows a subject is competent to examine it. I believe both these opinions to be serious mistakes. . . . Examination is an Art, and a difficult one, which has to be learned like all other arts" (*CE*, III, 229-230).

The universities of America were quick to appreciate what Huxley had to offer, and he sent over his former demonstrator H. N. Martin to start the biological studies at Baltimore in a proper manner.⁴⁶ Soon the comparative anatomy at Princeton⁴⁷ and the zoology at the Peabody Museum⁴⁸ and the scientific studies of the University of Minnesota⁴⁹ were based on Huxley's ideas, and of course Harvard tried to do things in the grand style: "Now is it any use to make any kind of proposition to you? . . . we could offer you say \$10,000 a year for the benefit of your presence and influence."⁵⁰ But, having only a year before turned down an attractive offer at Oxford, Eng., Huxley was not to be tempted by Cambridge, Mass., and in London he stayed.

It is a surprising thing that London, by far the greatest city in the world, still had at that time nothing which could properly be called a university. The ancient Inns of Court and schools of medicine and theology had long functioned in some sort as university faculties, but there was no comprehensive academic organisation. In 1826, Brougham and Francis Place and Jeremy Bentham had gathered together a company of utilitarians and philosophical radicals to found "London University" (University College) as a secular non-residential institution of higher education, and the Anglicans quickly countered with King's College in the Strand. But there were many Members of Parliament who, like Sir Christopher Mowbray in Disraeli's *Vivian Grey*, could as

⁴⁶ Gilman to H., 14 Mar. 1876, HP, 17.51.

⁴⁷ H. F. Osborne, *Impressions of Great Naturalists* (New York, 1924), p. 6.

⁴⁸ Leonard Huxley, *Life and Letters of Sir Joseph Dalton Hooker* (London, 1918), II, 208.

⁴⁹ W. W. Forbes to H., 30 Sept. 1876, HP, 17.54.

⁵⁰ A. E. Agassiz to H., 8 Nov. 1882, HP, 6.146.

easily fancy a county member not being a freeholder, as a university not being at Oxford or Cambridge, and the Commissioners of the 1850's confined themselves to those two ancient foundations. In 1835 Lord Melbourne's government had provided a charter for a metropolitan examining body called "the University of London," but this so-called "university" was in many respects more like a government department. Then, in 1850, the Government School of Mines was opened in Jermyn Street as an offshoot of the Geological Survey, and it was there that in 1854 Huxley secured his first academic post.

At that time the School of Mines was a very small place, where a few mining engineers were trained alongside the Museum of Geology and where occasional lecture courses were delivered to a public increasingly interested in science. From the start, Huxley made an immense impact on his senior colleagues, and before long he was writing confidently, "To speak nautically, I have been there long enough to 'know the ropes' — and I shall take pleasure in working the place into what I think it ought to be."⁵¹ What he thought the place ought to be was a great central college of science, with particular attention to the training of science teachers, and he was singleminded (perhaps even ruthless) in bringing the change about. When a Commission was set up in 1861 to inquire into the School's working and to recommend as to its future, he sent the chairman a long letter of seven foolscap pages to make sure that his own personal views were not overlooked⁵² — that there should be a wide common scientific course for all students in the first year, specialisation being deferred until later; that the examinations should be conducted by a board including external examiners; and that otherwise there should be no outside interference with the academic freedom of the professors. Seven years later another inquiry was made, by the Select Committee on Scientific Instruction, and in his evidence Huxley made it clear that he regarded the battle between the Oxbridge and the Continental modes of teaching as an unreal one: "an important defect in the School of Mines, as an educational body [is that] we have not the tutorial system as well as the professorial system, though both of these systems ought to be combined in any completely organised course of instruction."⁵³ He urged the provision of adequate facilities for the teaching of biology, and advocated the complete incorporation

⁵¹ H. to Dyster, 18 Aug. 1858, HP, 15.102.

⁵² H. to Lord Granville [13 June 1861], HP, 30.56.

⁵³ *Report of Select Committee on Scientific Instruction* (1868), A. 7957.

of the Royal College of Chemistry from Oxford Street. When the third inquiry came, in 1870, Huxley was in the fortunate position of being himself a member of the Devonshire Commission, and so able to question his senior professorial colleagues, who were opposed to his plans for a great central college of science. Soon *The Times* was reporting that "A Royal Commission, on which Professor Huxley has occupied a prominent place . . . suggests the amalgamation of the School of Mines with a general School of Science at South Kensington" (6 Apr. 1871), and it thundered out against the proposal that all the sciences should move to what it called "the all-absorbing suburb." The Director-General of the Geological Survey, together with the four senior professors, petitioned the government against the plan;⁵⁴ but the die was now cast, and the School of Mines grew into the Normal School of Science, and then into the Royal College of Science, with Huxley as its first Dean.

During the years when he had been building up the Royal College of Science, Huxley was also working for technical education. As examiner for the Department of Science and Art, as a member of various committees of the Royal Society of Arts, he did a good deal to direct the newly emerging technical studies, but characteristically his greatest contribution came by a judicious combination of public controversy and private lobbying. He refused to accept the common view of technical education as simply vocational instruction, remarking that "Although it was a great thing to make skilled workmen, it was much more important to make intelligent men"⁵⁵ and that "Our sole chance of succeeding in a competition, which must constantly become more and more severe, is that our people shall not only have the knowledge and the skill which are required, but that they shall have the will and the energy and the honesty, without which neither knowledge nor skill can be of any permanent avail" (*CE*, III, 447). It was this wide view which informed his advice to the wealthy Livery Companies of the City of London when, in 1876, they set up a committee on technical education. The committee recommended that the Guilds should spend £30,000 in building a new central technical institution ("regard being had primarily — as Professor Huxley suggests — rather to what is wanted in the inside than what will look well from the outside"),⁵⁶ £10,000 per annum on salaries, and £20,000 each year on exhibitions

⁵⁴ Margaret Reeks, *Register . . . and History of the Royal School of Mines* (London, 1920), p. 108.

⁵⁵ *Nature*, XXII (1879-80), 139.

⁵⁶ Guildhall Library, Folio Pamphlet 29.

and so on. Soon Huxley was inspecting a possible site for the new college; when the Guilds seemed to hesitate he delivered a public broadside to the effect that they "possessed enormous wealth, which had been left to them for the benefit of the trades they represent. . . . they were morally bound to do this work, he hoped if they continued to neglect the obligation they would be legally compelled to do it;"⁵⁷ and by 1881 the Prince of Wales was setting the foundation column of the City and Guilds College in South Kensington. Thus, as a major contributor to the School of Mines, the Royal College of Science, and the City and Guilds College, Huxley must be regarded as more than any man the effective architect of the great Imperial College of Science and Technology, into which these three components combined in 1907.

With the other colleges of the metropolis Huxley had comparatively little to do — although he was for several years Hunterian Professor at the Royal College of Surgeons, and was largely responsible for the establishment of the Jodrell Chairs of Physiology and Zoology at University College — but in the great task of coordinating these colleges into the modern federal University of London he played an important part. Despite his possessing no higher academic qualification than First M.B., he was in 1856 appointed Examiner in Physiology and Comparative Anatomy to the degree-granting University, and until his resignation in 1870 he examined also in Zoology, in some eleven degree examinations, in the Faculties of Arts, Medicine, and Science. It was he who called together a group of scientists in 1858 to urge the institution of degrees in science (HP, 42.193) and, when the regulations were framed for B.Sc., they were largely based on the course at the School of Mines.⁵⁸ In 1883 Huxley was invited to become a Crown Fellow and member of Senate, and his plea that his commitments and his chronic ill-health would rarely permit him to attend meetings was quickly brushed aside by the Chancellor of the University:

11 Carlton House Terrace.
July 28th, 1883.

My dear Professor Huxley,

Clay, the great whist player, once made a mistake and said to his partner, 'My brain is softening,' the latter answered, 'Never mind, I will give you 10,000 £ down for it, just as it is.'

⁵⁷ *Nature*, XXII (1879-80), 139.

⁵⁸ *Report of Select Committee on Scientific Instruction* (1868), A. 2028.

On that principle and backed up by Paget [the Vice-Chancellor] I shall write to Harcourt on Monday.

Yours sincerely,
Granville⁵⁹

The Home Secretary concurred in this estimate of an only partially functioning Huxley, who, despite rare attendance at Senate meetings, managed as much as any man to manoeuvre the isolated colleges of London into the formation of a federal university.

By 1880 it was already clear that things could not continue without some ordering, but the various vested interests and conflicting schemes and counter-schemes seemed incapable of reconciliation. University College and King's College wanted a charter to provide full university degree-granting status, perpetuating the existing University of London as a mere imperial examining board; the Royal Colleges of Surgeons and Physicians wanted a charter to grant their own medical degrees; some wanted the existing university simply to absorb the existing colleges; some wanted a reorganised university to be ruled entirely by its professors and others demanded more power to the graduates grouped in Convocation; and a stubborn group of academic bureaucrats wanted an essentially autocratic form of government. Petitions and counter-petitions were presented to the Privy Council, a band of younger lecturers founded in 1884 an Association for Promoting a Teaching University for London, and by 1888 the air was so thick with proposals that the government sought to clear it by appointing a Royal Commission under Lord Selborne. Huxley was elected a member of the Special Committee appointed by the University to watch events, but this did not prevent his giving *sub rosa* support to the A.P.T.U. However, by the spring of 1892, when yet another Royal ("Gresham") Commission was appointed, he had given up hope of any valuable outcome from the complex conflict. "The whole affair is a perfect muddle of competing crude projects and vested interests, and is likely to end in a worse muddle,"⁶⁰ he lamented, and "unless people clearly understand that the university of the future is to be a very different thing from the university of the past, they had better put off meddling for another generation."⁶¹

Now, however, and quite suddenly, there came a dramatic

⁵⁹ Lord Granville to H., 28 July 1883, HP, 21.213.

⁶⁰ H. to Donnelly, 30 Mar. 1892, in *Life and Letters*, II, 311.

⁶¹ H. to Lankester, 11 Apr. 1892, HP, 30.148.

change — Karl Pearson and a vigorous group of teachers in the London colleges set up a new body, the Association for Promoting a Professorial University of London, and within two days Huxley had decided to get back into the fray. "I am in great spirits about the new University movement," he wrote to Michael Foster, "and have told the rising generation that this old hulk is ready to be towed out into line of battle, if they think fit, which is more commendable to my public spirit than my prudence."⁶² The rising generation decided that the old hulk should fly the admiral's flag, and immediately elected Huxley President of the Association. Pearson was soon complaining that the admiral insisted on setting his own course (although it is difficult to understand how he could ever have imagined that Huxley would do otherwise, even when sadly ailing), and by December the Association had been persuaded that the only workable plan was that of a federal university, with representation on the governing body for a variety of interests. Pearson resigned the secretaryship in a bitter open letter to *The Times* (3 Dec. 1892), and Huxley replied with an explanation of his reasons for refusing to accept a constitution with all power to the professors: "the fact of their being specialists is against them. Most of them are broad-minded, practical men; some are good administrators. But, unfortunately, there is among them . . . a fair sprinkling of one-idea'd fanatics . . . content with nothing if they cannot get everything their own way" (6 Dec. 1892). He therefore wanted some counterpoise in the shape of a few non-professorial men of affairs on the university governing body, and it was along these lines that he gave evidence to the "Gresham" Commission.

It must have been with a satisfying sense of concentrated authority that Huxley appeared before the Commissioners. He was President of the Association, Senator of the University of London, Governor of University College, unofficial adviser to the Royal College of Surgeons and Royal College of Physicians, Dean of the Royal College of Science — and, to round things off nicely, he had actually been invited before the Commission was established to suggest names of suitable members.⁶³ The new university, he declared, should unify the existing institutions without fettering them; the professional schools of medicine, law, theology, and so on should draw up their own schemes of tuition and examination for *ad eundem* degrees; the professors and

⁶² H. to Foster, 27 June 1892, in *Life and Letters*, II, 333.

⁶³ Donnelly to H., 29 Mar. 1892, HP, 14.118.

lecturers should have a large but not preponderant place in the university's ultimate government; a central university Chest should receive all fees and endowments and State subventions; provision should be made for instruction in research methods of all kinds; and there should be no fixed test for admission to the university, since nine out of ten candidates would reach the required standard as a matter of expediency, and "very possibly the odd tenth may contain persons of defective education, but of a native vigour which makes them more worth having than all the other nine-tenths, and I would not lose them for any consideration."⁶⁴

The Commissioners reported early in 1894, largely along lines very satisfactory to Huxley; but, when December arrived and there was still no sign of governmental action, he decided to provoke it. "It is rumoured that there are lions in the path," he wrote to the Prime Minister, "But even lions are occasionally induced to retreat by the sight of a large body of beaters. And, some of us think that such a deputation as would willingly wait on you, might hasten the desired movement."⁶⁵ Rosebery received the deputation, everyone agreed that Huxley should be their spokesman, and in the January of 1895 he fulfilled his last public engagement. It is one of the most striking things in the career of this most striking man that, coming out of retirement for a final fight in the evening of his days, he was able so to unify the discordant desires of the capital's many institutions of higher learning as to enable the present great University of London to become established before the end of the century. T. H. Huxley, unlike Newman and Pattison and Jowett, has left no great writings on university education or great reputation as a university reformer, but in fact he probably had more influence on the actual development of the universities in the nineteenth century than any of them.

*College of S. Mark and S. John, University of London
Institute of Education*

⁶⁴ Cowper ("Gresham") Commission Report (1894), pp. 554 ff.

⁶⁵ H. to Lord Rosebery, 4 Dec. 1894, in *Life and Letters*, II, 317.

Y. V. Kovalev

THE LITERATURE OF CHARTISM

CHARTIST LITERATURE THROUGH RUSSIAN EYES

The document below is a translation of the Russian introduction to An Anthology of Chartist Literature¹ by Y. V. Kovalev, lecturer in literature at the University of Leningrad. The extracts from Chartist literature given in this book, as distinct from the introduction and notes, are in English throughout. Since 1917 the Russians have shown great interest in Chartism, which was basically an advanced Radical movement for political reform in Britain. It reached its highest point of influence during the period of economic depression from 1838 to 1842, but lingered on in an attenuated form until the early 1850's.² Marx and Engels had important contacts with the movement in its later stages, chiefly through George Julian Harney and Ernest Jones. After its demise Marx is said to have written the article, "Chartism," for the New American Cyclopaedia.³ As Mr. Kovalev points out, the Chartists

¹ Pp. 415, 10s.6d., published in the U.S.S.R. by the Foreign Languages Publishing House (Moscow, 1956), and in Great Britain by Central Books, Ltd. (London, 1957). We are grateful to Central Books for permission to translate and publish.

² Chartism is well documented. See, in particular, Mark Hovell, *The Chartist Movement* (Manchester, 2nd ed. with corrections, 1925, re-impression 1950, with bibliographical note); G. D. H. Cole, *Chartist Portraits* (London, 1941); John Saville (ed.), *Ernest Jones, Chartist* (London, 1952); L. C. Wright, *Scottish Chartism* (Edinburgh, 1953); A. R. Schoyen, *The Chartist Challenge: a Portrait of George Julian Harney* (London, 1958); and F. C. Mather's *Public Order in the Age of the Chartists*, soon to be published by the Manchester University Press.

³ Ed. by George Ripley and Charles A. Dana (New York, 1858-63). The attribution of this article to Marx is probable but not certain.

published many periodicals in which members of the movement expressed themselves in various literary forms. These contributions are scattered among the political and economic articles which form the main contents of the Chartist press. Most of this writing is of mediocre quality and few items deserve immortality, even for the incidental light which they throw on the political and economic aspects of Chartism. Mr. Kovalev's article is, however, interesting for two reasons. First, it shows what material on the subject is available for the serious Russian public, and secondly, it attempts to relate Chartist literature to the main streams of Romantic and early Victorian literature.

The translation below was made by Mr. J. C. Dumbreck and Mr. Michael Beresford of the Russian Department of Manchester University. It has been thought desirable to preserve the flavour of the original by retaining in part the framework of jargon into which the article has been forced. For example, the phrase "Harney . . . made masterful use of the stylistic possibilities of language" — a fairly close translation of the Russian — has been deliberately preferred to "Harney . . . wrote well" — which means the same thing in plain English.

W. H. CHALONER

University of Manchester

[MR. KOVALEV'S INTRODUCTION]



AT THE END OF THE 1830's in England there arose a powerful working class movement known as Chartism, which V. I. Lenin described as "the first broad and politically organized proletarian-revolutionary movement of the masses." The participants in this movement called themselves Chartists since they were fighting to make their "Charter" the law of the land. The Charter was a document compiled by the founders of the movement. It consisted of six points, the main one of which was the demand for universal suffrage.

Of course the introduction of universal suffrage would not have

brought the English proletariat complete freedom, as the Chartists hoped, but it might have prepared the ground for social revolution. Marx and Engels stress in particular the significance for that time of the basic point of the Charter: "the introduction of universal suffrage would be for England a conquest in which there would be much more socialist spirit than in any measure to which this honourable name is applied on the Continent."

England in the middle of the nineteenth century had overtaken other countries in economic development. It already had major capitalist industries. The concentration of production, and accordingly the concentration of the proletariat, was far advanced. "In England," wrote Marx and Engels, "there exists the most numerous, most concentrated and most classic example of a proletariat."

Towards the end of the 1830's the English working class already had behind it solid experience of economic and political struggle. Participation in the battle for electoral reform in 1832 and especially the results of the reform had shown the working class the incompatibility of its own interests and those of the bourgeoisie. Hence arose a striving for an independent working-class organisation which, influenced by the ever-deepening contradictions between labour and capital, crystallized into Chartism.

The Chartist movement lasted approximately one and a half decades. It had its ups and downs. Periods of stormy upsurge (1839, 1842, 1848) alternated with periods of decline. There were moments when the panic-stricken British government called out its troops, and the "honourable" bourgeois organised "voluntary police detachments" which marched through the streets of London "just in case." Then began mass legal proceedings against the Chartists, accompanied by severe sentences.

Within Chartism itself there existed differences arising out of the heterogeneous nature of the membership (especially in the early stages of the development of the movement); and the absence of a clear scientific movement was a typical example of a proletarian struggle "in which the working-class movement and socialism existed separately and went their own ways — and in all countries such loss of contact led to the weakening of socialism and of the working-class movement."

During the period of the first considerable rise in the working-class movement, the English proletariat produced a large number of talented politicians, public speakers, journalists, poets, and prose writers whose works appeared in the Chartist newspapers and periodi-

cals. Their creative heritage, which reflects all the peculiarities of the Chartist ideology, is an independent literary trend.

Chartist literature occupies a firm place in the history of nineteenth-century literature. It rested upon the traditions of democratic literature of the end of the eighteenth century, particularly on the work of Godwin and Paine. Its sources included the poetry of the great progressive romantics like Byron and Shelley, the work of the best Radical poets of the 1830's and 1840's, popular working-class poetry, and the Methodist hymns which were popular amongst the ordinary people. As Chartist literature developed, these links, far from weakening, became even stronger.

The Chartist movement and Chartist literature enriched English literature with new themes, broadened its framework, and drew the attention of writers to those sides of the people's life which until then had for the most part remained in the shade. Moreover the very broad scope of the proletarian movement and its reflection in literature forced writers to see life from a new point of view. Without this the inspired visions of such literary masters as Dickens, Thackeray, and Elizabeth Gaskell would have been unthinkable and the "graphic and eloquent descriptions" which "laid bare to the world more political and social truths than all the politicians, journalists, and moralists together have done" would have been impossible.

The work of the Chartist writers belongs to the powerful, progressive camp in English literature in the middle of the nineteenth century, which was conducting an energetic struggle against the material and spiritual oppression of men by capitalist society. Between the realists, the "new poets,"* the Chartists, and other groups of this camp, there existed many contradictions and disagreements. They often attacked one another. Chartist newspapers contain many caustic remarks aimed at Dickens or Thackeray, and Chartist criticism often simply ignored the work of the Brontës and Mrs. Gaskell. But another fact is considerably more important. They all were attracted to the humanist defence of personal dignity. They all, each in his own way, rebelled against social injustice and fought for human happiness. The unity of their great purpose allows us to unite them in one democratic camp regardless of considerable divergences in politics, ideology, and artistic method.

The traditions of Chartist culture revived by the socialist movement of the 1880's and carefully preserved by the English proletariat

* Horne, the young Browning, Bailey, Smith, Dobell, and others.

still live to this day. The leading progressive writers of present-day England turn to them. In his recently published book on Meredith, Jack Lindsay, in evaluating the progressive English poetry of the middle of the nineteenth century, rightly says that the life-giving fire of this poetry was lit by Chartist torches.

Unfortunately not a single major work has been devoted to the study of Chartist literature as a whole. This is not surprising, since the study of this literature is beset with certain difficulties. One of the main difficulties is the absence of a full and systematically arranged edition of the body of Chartist literature.

During the hundred years which have passed since the Chartist movement, not a single attempt has been made to collect the creative legacy of the Chartist poets and prose writers. Only in the last few years have English progressives been active in research in this field.† Thus, the present anthology is the first attempt to collect together in one volume the most characteristic and, from the literary point of view, the most important poetry and prose by Chartist authors.

The study of Chartist literature is also complicated by the fact that it contains comparatively few names of professional poets like Ernest Jones, William Linton, Gerald Massey, and some others. The main nucleus of the literary legacy of Chartism is contained in the works of working-class poets, who signed their poems with pseudonyms and initials or did not sign them at all. A huge number of such anonymous works was printed in the central organ of the Chartists, *The Northern Star*, and in *The Northern Liberator*, *The Friend of the People*, *The Chartist Circular*, *The Red Republican*, and other Chartist periodicals. During recent years it has been possible to trace the owners of some of these pseudonyms and initials. It has become known for instance, that Linton, Massey, and O'Connor signed their works with the pseudonyms Spartacus, Bandiera, Terrigenus, respectively, and that John Watkins and Samuel Kydd were concealed behind the initials J. W. and S. However, the majority of pseudonyms and initials remain unsolved to this day, just as the names of the writers of the unsigned works are still unknown.

The emergence of Chartist literature must be assigned to 1838 and 1839, that is, to the time when the relatively widespread propa-

*

† In 1952 John Saville published a collection of speeches and articles by Ernest Jones. At present a sketch of O'Connor by Saville and a volume of research on Chartism edited by Professor Asa Briggs are being prepared for publication.

ganda of Chartist ideas had already begun, and when the first printed organs of the Chartist movement had appeared.

The early Chartist literature was mainly journalistic. It was composed of appeals to the people by the founders and leaders of Chartism, sketches of conditions among the workers, articles, and reports of lectures, propaganda tours, and meetings. Chartist poetry and literary prose developed somewhat later.

Although in the early Chartist publications there existed so-called "poets' corners" or poetry sections, these were usually filled with the works of the revolutionary romantics (primarily Shelley and Byron), and by popular working-class songs which were usually reprinted from the democratic publication of the 1830's called *The Poor Man's Guardian*.

Among the early journalistic works of the Chartist writers the fiery messages of George Julian Harney in *The London Democrat* are of the greatest interest. In 1839 Harney headed the London Democratic Association, which Engels called "the most Radical faction of the English party of the movement in 1838-39." "This most Radical faction," wrote Engels, "consisted of Chartists and of proletarians . . . who clearly saw before them the aim of the Chartist movement and who strove to speed up its realisation. While the majority of Chartists were still thinking only of the transfer of state power into the hands of the working class, and only a few had yet managed to think about the use of this power, the members of this Association, which played a major part in the ferment of that time, were unanimous on this question. They were mainly republicans who proclaimed the constitution of '93 as the symbol of their faith and rejected any union with the bourgeoisie including the petty bourgeoisie, and who advocated the view that the oppressed are entitled to use against the oppressor all means which the latter lets loose against them."

In the first number of *The London Democrat*, the organ of the London Democratic Association, Harney addressed an appeal to the people which he entitled "From a friend of the people to the enslaved, oppressed and suffering classes of Great Britain and Ireland." (The text of this appeal is reproduced in the present Anthology.) Harney was an uncompromising advocate of revolutionary violence, that is, in Chartist phraseology he belonged to "the party of physical force." He thought of the attainment of the Charter only by revolutionary means; however, the very nature of his conception of the struggle was determined by the condition and level of the Chartist movement at the early stage. The revolution appeared to him in the form of a campaign by a

million-strong army of "people of the North," supported by the most revolutionary section of the London proletariat. He obviously underestimated the effective strength of the proletarian revolutionary organisation.

We must give Harney his due as a writer. He was a fine political journalist and made masterful use of the stylistic possibilities of the English language. Harney could carry the reader away with the revolutionary pathos of his appeals and probably had no equal among the Chartists in this respect. Many of his articles and other writings which now might seem somewhat naïve and over-solemn, captured the imagination of thousands of people in their time. As an example of Chartist journalism Harney's works undoubtedly deserve serious attention.

Among the other journalists of this time we must mention Rider and Combe.

In the following years the journalism of the Chartists grew to such an extent and made such deep inroads into other genres that it is not easy to define its limits. The range of the subject matter of Chartist journalism was extended considerably. In Chartist newspapers and magazines, articles can be found on any subject from the inhuman exploitation of child labour in factories to social Utopias. But whatever the Chartists wrote about, their point of departure never ceased to be the Chartist movement and its concrete problems. Chartist publications without exception printed political reviews, open letters to politicians and editors of bourgeois papers, sociological articles, literary surveys and essays, historical sketches, and the speeches of Chartist speakers. Gradually Chartist journalism gained maturity of thought and disclosed more profoundly and from a greater variety of angles the sense of the phenomena of socio-political life. Marx and Engels contributed to the periodicals published by Harney and Jones. Their influence is felt in many articles by Jones himself and by certain other journalists.

The literary peculiarity of Chartist journalism is explained to a considerable degree by the nature of its public. As a rule its public consisted of tens of thousands of workers, who gathered together at Chartist meetings. Chartist journalism grew, as it were, out of political speeches. The first articles of Chartist journalists were usually records of speeches made at political meetings. But even later they retained much of their oratorical style and the forcefulness, expressiveness, and emotional appeal which are characteristic of public speeches.

Simplicity, clarity of thought and style, and down-to-earth raciness of speech — such were the unalterable qualities of the style of Chartist journalism.

IN 1838-39 THERE BEGAN TO APPEAR in the pages of the *Northern Star* the still not very numerous poetical works of members of the Chartist movement. These were the first swallows which heralded the stormy golden age of the poetry of the masses.

Chartist poetry from the point of view of literary history is an extremely complicated and peculiar phenomenon. It consists mainly of poems and songs written by Chartists who were for the most part little experienced in literature. The average artistic level of the Chartist poetry of the masses is comparatively low. At the same time Chartism produced several poets who were naturally talented and whose work is of literary significance.

One of the characteristics of Chartist poetry was its unusual businesslike approach, its ability to respond instantly to any events in the political and social life of England, be it a law passed by Parliament or a court case against the leaders of Chartism.

The Chartist poets themselves saw in poetry primarily a means of carrying on the class struggle. To a considerable degree this fact determined the content and the genres of Chartist poetry, which was composed mainly of songs and hymns to be sung by the audience at Chartist meetings.

During its first few years Chartist poetry was chiefly imitative. Its models were usually popular working-class songs or, rather more rarely, hymns, as well as certain works by Shelley, Byron, and other democratic poets of the first three decades of the nineteenth century.

As Chartism developed, more and more themes based on actual events in the movement appeared in Chartist literature. One of these events was the Chartist rising in Newport (Wales) in 1839, which was cruelly crushed by the Government. The tragic fate of the leaders of this rising (Frost, Williams, and W. Jones received the death sentence, which was "graciously" commuted to penal servitude for life) and the death of some of the insurgents were long portrayed in the work of Chartist writers. Each post brought to the editors of the Chartist newspapers whole piles of letters, acrostics, sonnets, epitaphs, and odes devoted to the participants and leaders in the Newport revolt. Many of them never saw the light, but even those which were printed are numerous enough to fill a separate volume. Not all of them, by any means, were of equal value from the artistic point of view. The best examples are partially reproduced in the present anthology — Watkins' tragedy based on the life of John Frost and a cycle of sonnets by an unknown Chartist writer, who wrote under the pseudonym of "Iota."

The 1839 rising showed Chartist poets and prose writers what

inexhaustible possibilities lay in the Chartist movement as material for artistic creation.

Comparatively early in Chartist poetry satirical genres began to develop. Witty and caustic epigrams, couplets, and short songs, ridiculing reactionary politicians, unjust, corrupt, bourgeois judges, the avarice and cupidity of the ruling classes, the absurd philanthropic pretensions of sensitive gentlemen, and so on, were printed in the pages of the Chartist magazines and newspapers. Often the edge of the satire in these poems was turned against the Chartists themselves. Such poets as Sankey, for instance, accused the Chartists with bitter sarcasm of passivity and indecision, and demanded action. In the course of the revolutionary struggle of 1848-49, the Chartist satirical poets came out as one man against European reaction and against the British government which had taken up a "position of non-intervention."

The process of development in Chartist literature was one of enriching its subject matter and maturing its ideas. The subject matter of Chartist poetry broadened sharply towards the middle of the 1840's. There entered Chartist literature a consciousness of responsibility for the fate of the country and the people, and international themes increased.

We find in the Chartist poetry of this period a large number of works which bear witness to the Chartists' lively interest in the democratic movements of other countries. The Polish rebellion of 1830-31, the rebellion of 1846 in Cracow, American abolitionism, the revolutionary ferment in Ireland, and the tragic death of the Cuban revolutionary and poet Placido — such are the events and phenomena which found the most lively response in Chartist poetry, prose, and literary criticism. The Chartists showed no less interest in the democratic literature of Russia, Germany, France, Poland, the U.S.A., and other countries. The internationalist tendencies in Chartist literature as, indeed, in the movement itself, received a particularly strong stimulus from the revolutionary events in Europe during 1848-49. Certainly these tendencies, which were based mainly on the activity of the society of "Fraternal Democrats" with its rather vague programme, were still far removed from proletarian internationalism, but they were definitely a step in the right direction.

During the last years of Chartism, Chartist poetry gradually lost its connection with the masses. The works of comparatively few authors were printed in the Chartist periodicals of that time. The names of Ernest Jones, Linton, and Massey are met with most frequently. Indeed the very nature of Chartist poetry changed. Short poems, songs,

couplets, and hymns gave way to vast poetic cycles and epic poems of monumental length. Apparently a "businesslike approach" was no longer demanded of poetry during the decline of the Chartist movement, but the necessity of explaining the road which had been traversed, and of giving an artistic generalisation of their experience in the long social struggle, spurred poets on to master more "capacious" genres. It was in these years that Jones's "New World" and his cycle of prison poetry, Linton's "Dirge of the Nations" and his cycle of "Rhymes and Reasons against Landlordism," and Massey's most important works were written — that is, all that part of the Chartist poets' legacy which is most mature in ideas and most valuable from the literary point of view.

THE HISTORY OF CHARTIST LITERATURE is not only a struggle for new subject matter, but also a most complex search for a new literary method.

The vital new material which had entered literature, and the new way of looking at the world and its processes, forced Chartist authors to find new ways of depicting reality in artistic form. The development of a literary method was very difficult and full of contradictions, and actually remained incomplete. Now that we have the necessary historical perspective, we can see the direction which the Chartist writers' searches took and assess the fruitfulness of their searches.

From the point of view of method, early Chartist poetry leaned towards the work of the revolutionary romantics. The Chartists knew well and valued highly the poetry of Byron and, especially, of Shelley. "Again it is the workers who are most familiar with the poetry of Shelley and Byron. Shelley's prophetic genius has caught their imagination, while Byron attracts their sympathy by his sensuous fire and by the virulence of his satire against the existing social order," wrote Engels. The works of Byron and Shelley were continually printed in the most popular Chartist newspapers and lines of their revolutionary verse were written out on banners and placards carried by the Chartists during mass demonstrations and meetings. Naturally, the works of these great revolutionary poets were the most imitated in Chartist poetry. Amongst the poetry written during the early Chartist period, one can detect several dozen lines which remind one remarkably of "The Song to the Men of England," various passages of "The Mask of Anarchy," "An Ode to the Framers of the Bill against Frame-breakers" (1812), "The Song for the Luddites," and other verses by Byron and Shelley. To convince oneself of this, it is only necessary to compare the "Ode"

of the Chartist poet Sankey, contained in the present anthology, with Shelley's "Song to the Men of England."

The Chartist poets were attracted by the angry pathos of Byron's rejection of the bourgeois world, by his fiery sermon of revolutionary "war to the knife," and by the great historical optimism of Shelley's poetry. If we cast a glance over the whole body of early Chartist poetry, we see that it is dominated by a typical romantic vision and portrayal of the world. This is natural since the very character of the Chartist movement and the Chartist ideology of 1838-39, when Chartist literature was really born, favoured an artistic perception of this type. This concerns not only poetry, but also literary prose, the first examples of which appeared somewhat later. The early Chartist novels, including Jones's "Confessions of a King" and his "Novel about the People," are still very far from a consistently realistic conception and portrayal of reality.

As the struggle and the development of the movement became more intense, realistic tendencies took firm root in Chartist literature.

These tendencies predominate only after 1848 when the historical experience of the revolutionary movements in Europe gave the Chartist writers a deeper understanding of social reality and the laws of the class struggle. It was precisely on this foundation that Chartist literature gained new realistic conquests which were expressed in the principles of selection and classification of phenomena and in a new approach to the portrayal of man and reality.

The nature of the realism of mature Chartist literature is one of the most complex of the problems which arise when studying the creative legacy of the Chartists. It must be remembered that the Chartist writers were searching for a suitable literary method during the hey-day of English critical realism. The fame of Dickens, the author of *The Pickwick Papers*, *Oliver Twist*, *Nicholas Nickleby*, and *Martin Chuzzlewit*, had spread far beyond England, and all England was reading Thackeray's "Snobs," which were appearing in *Punch*. The struggle which the great realists were waging against the Victorian supporters of romanticism reached its culmination in 1847-48. It was in these years that the best works of the "Brilliant Pleiad" saw the light: Dickens' *Dombey and Son*, Thackeray's *Vanity Fair*, Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre*, and Mrs. Gaskell's *Mary Barton*. These novels, which appear within such a short space of time, were a concentrated blow against anti-realistic and anti-democratic art. It was in these years that critical realism became the dominating trend in English literature.

The powerful and stormy development of realism could not leave

the Chartist writers uninfluenced. The Chartists were captivated by the force of Thackeray's satirical exposure and by the inspired mastery and tremendous philanthropy of Dickens. Extracts from the works of these two writers were often reprinted in Chartist newspapers and periodicals. Certain Chartist authors tried to imitate them.

However, the attitude of the Chartists to the work of Dickens and Thackeray was not confined to admiration of their talent and approval of their realism. It was considerably more complex than that. The literary method of the critical realists at once attracted and repelled the Chartists. They keenly appreciated Dickens' democratic outlook and considered him a writer of their own camp and eagerly popularised his works. They recognized Dickens as a writer of the people, putting him on the same level as Burns — the highest honour which Chartist critics could confer on a writer. "The cause of the people is a sacred cause," wrote *The Northern Star*, and "Dickens defends this cause against the cruel, hypocritical, ungodly and unnatural theories and acts of the ruling classes of society." The same newspaper wrote elsewhere: "Dickens is the poor man's poet. Nobody ever even dared to dream of greater glory from a higher position." Chartist newspapers urged their readers "to acquire and read without fail" one or other of Dickens' works.

At the same time there is no doubt that the Chartists were disillusioned by Dickens' attempts to reduce all social conflicts to the clash of certain abstract concepts of good and evil. They do not share Dickens' and Thackeray's fear of the revolutionary working-class movement. They were repelled by the conciliatory notes in the work of the great realists.

Sensing a need for realistic art, the Chartists endeavoured to work out their own realistic method. They did not produce any literary manifesto of any kind. We find hardly any works specifically devoted to literary theory in the writings they have left us.

Most often the critical section in Chartist publications is filled with articles popularising the creative heritage of the great democratic poets and writers of the past. Rather less frequently they contained reviews of new books. But even in articles of this kind there arose the questions of the creative method, of the link between literature and the class struggle, and of democracy and humanism in literature. At the beginning of the 1840's *The Chartist Circular*, the organ of the Scottish Chartists, published an extremely interesting series of articles under the general title "The Politics of Poets," in which we find, together with essays on literary history and a number of fiery philippics

against bourgeois criticism, an affirmation of their view of the role of poetry and of the poet in the social and political life of their country and of their people. An example of this can be found in the first article of this series, included in the present anthology. But it was only towards the end of the 1840's that the problems of the content and purpose of art, the tasks of poetry, the role of the poet in the social struggle, the popular character of literature, and the civic duty of the writer became the subject of the liveliest interest and wide discussion in the pages of Chartist periodicals and newspapers. Jones wrote about them in his articles printed in the periodical *The Labourer*, and Linton dedicated his poetic works to them ("The Poet's Mission," "The Dirge of the Nations"), as later did Massey, who published a whole series of articles of literary criticism in *The Red Republican* and *The Friend of the People*.

If we collect together and study carefully the statements of Chartist critics scattered about in literary reviews, critical articles, notices, and so on, we can form a fairly complete idea of the demands which the Chartists made on artistic literature. These may be briefly formulated thus: literature must faithfully portray the condition of the people and their struggle for emancipation; literature is one of the most powerful kinds of weapon in the people's struggle and, in its turn, it is fed with ideas which arise in the course of this struggle; a true writer of the people is one who can express in his works the mind and feelings of the people and the "spirit of the age." It is obvious that these demands advanced Chartist literature along the path of realistic development. And whether the Chartists wished it or not, the formation of the realistic method of Chartist literature took place under the very strong and fruitful influence of the novelists of the "Brilliant Pleiad." This influence enriched Chartist literature but at the same time did not become overwhelming. The Chartists were struggling towards a new type of realism. They tried to retain in their method the best features inherited from the revolutionary romantics and in particular their militant aggressive spirit and their forward-looking trend. In this connection it should be noted that the artistic creations of the Chartists in their pursuit of method fall somewhat short of their aesthetic theory. Although they theoretically understood the need to create a new realistic art, the Chartist prose writers and poets could not fully work out its concrete forms. They only succeeded in taking the first steps in their struggle towards a new artistic method. Chartist literature, like the Chartist movement itself, had too transitory an existence to succeed in this direction. But even the fact that these first steps were taken is of

incalculable significance in the history of literature. The Chartist movement was the first to set out on the long and difficult road, parts of which have been travelled at different times by writers great and small. Some of them, having started out along it, almost immediately retreated. Others pursued their creative careers to the end along this road. This was the road taken by the writers of the Socialist movement of the 1880's (William Morris and others) and by Bernard Shaw and Ralph Fox. Some of them, who had a scientific method of looking at the world, went straight ahead. Others lost their way and turned aside, but the general movement went on. In our day many progressive modern English writers, inspired with the ideals of socialist realism, are treading this path.

Unfortunately the relative maturity of method of Chartist literature emerged at a time when the Chartist movement itself was declining and Chartist poetry was losing its mass character. Later Chartist literature is composed essentially of the works of several poets and prose writers, the most eminent of whom are Ernest Jones, W. Linton, and Gerald Massey.

Of these three poets only Linton travelled all the way with the Chartist movement, although he was not such an active Chartist as Jones or Massey. Occasionally, poems by Linton, signed with the pseudonym "Spartacus," appeared in various Chartist periodicals from 1839 onwards. His poetic talent, however, reached its peak only later, in the period of crisis preparatory to the revolutionary convulsions of 1848-49. Some of the works he wrote at this time are justly appraised by historians of Chartist literature as the best examples of Chartist poetry and form part of the treasury of that literature. Among these there is, for example, the well-known poem "Labour and Profit," included in the present anthology. The revolutionary battles of 1848 brought about a tremendous upsurge of Linton's creative activity as a poet and political journalist. Like other Chartist poets, he hoped that the force of revolutionary example would capture the imagination of the Chartist masses and for this reason he tried in his articles and verse to draw the attention of Chartists to events in France, Italy, Hungary, and elsewhere. During these years *The Northern Star* and the periodicals *The Democratic Review* and *The Republican* published a great number of Linton's articles and poems devoted to revolutionary events in Europe. The problems raised by the works, he wrote in 1848-49, are of considerable scope and variety. The hunger rebellions in Ireland, the heroic defence of Rome, the bloody reprisals of the French bourgeoisie against the Parisian proletariat, the theories and social practice of the French

Utopian socialists, the position and tasks of Chartism in England — these form a far from complete list of the problems which Linton touched upon in the works he wrote in these years.

In 1849 Linton printed the long poem "Dirge of the Nations" in the periodical *The Republican*. Its theme, the poet's relation to the social struggle, is a fairly common one in Chartist poetry, but it is treated in a very original way. Linton was interested in the problem facing Chartist poets in 1849: what is the role of a poet in a period of revolutionary defeat? At the centre of this poem, extremely similar in structure to Shelley's "Prometheus Unbound," stands the figure of a poet-Colossus, chained to a rock and witnessing with anguish the universal triumph of reaction. Before his eyes pass whole peoples in a funeral procession accompanying the fallen heroes of 1848 to the grave; he recalls the "bloody deeds" of Metternich, Cavaignac, and Nicholas I; he sees the Austrian troops tearing apart freedom-loving Italy, and bourgeois England taking up a cowardly and shameful attitude of "non-intervention." Everywhere there is darkness and desolation. Everything is dead. Was the struggle worth while? the poet asks himself. But most important of all, what is to be done next? The conclusion to which the poet comes is important not only for himself, but also for a considerable number of those who lead and participate in the Chartist movement and are defeated by the forceful measures of the reactionaries; as the struggle goes on, the poet's task consists of finding and tallying the surviving warriors and preparing with them a new onslaught on the stronghold of the tyrants.

The events of 1848 forced Linton to revise many of his former convictions. It was particularly important for him as a poet and Chartist that the experience of 1848 had completely destroyed the illusory hopes for universal suffrage, considered by the Chartists as the only necessary condition for the social emancipation of the proletariat. The insufficiency of the idea of a legal revolution became obvious in these years. Linton began to understand that they ought to be thinking about the abolition of middle-class capitalism as such and not of attempts to establish justice within the framework of this system.

Linton's new views were reflected both in his practical socio-political activity and in his creative work. The numerous aspects of reality which Linton had previously conceived to be isolated, separate social vices, more or less accidental "class abuses," now appeared to the poet as elements in this new understanding of reality that he created in his great poetic cycle, "Rhymes and Reasons against Landlordism," written in 1850-51, and published partly in *The Red Republican* (this periodical was later called *The Friend of the People*), and partly in *The*

English Republic, which Linton himself published from 1851 onwards.

The cycle "Rhymes and Reasons against Landlordism" includes poems the titles of which have nothing to do with landlordism: "Emigration," "Free Trade," "The Workhouse," and so on. The fact is that Linton gives a special meaning to landlordism which may be defined in the following way: the system of social relationships in the period of industrial capitalism. The content of some individual poems in the cycle offers concrete manifestations of these social relationships.

In almost every poem of the cycle we can discover several lines directly or indirectly referring to the growth of the revolutionary activity of the masses. Moreover, there is a whole series of poems in which the class struggle is the central theme. The poet portrays the elemental and organised class struggle as a phenomenon brought about by capitalist relationships, by poverty, and by exploitation of the masses. In certain poems Linton tries to foresee the results of this struggle and paints pictures of a bright future, pictures of free labour as the symbol of the highest form of happiness accessible to man.

Whilst he understood the necessity of abolishing middle-class capitalism, Linton was nevertheless unable to show his readers a way of achieving this goal. The limitations and immaturity of Chartist ideology, as well as the peculiarities of Linton's own outlook, which was formed under the influence of ideas of bourgeois education and Utopian socialism, made it easy for Linton to come close to petty bourgeois republicanism. He went no further, although he understood to some extent the inadequacy of its programme.

As an artistic writer Linton was inferior to Jones and Massey. He had neither the powerful poetic imagination of the former, nor the profoundly graphic power of thought of the latter. Linton's poems are somewhat dry. They are rationalistic and precise, and one feels a lack of emotional expressiveness. Naturally "feeling" plays an important part in Linton's poetry, especially as his basic genre was the political lyric. But with Linton, feeling is an "emotion of the brain" rather than an "emotion of the heart." Only in his later work did Linton manage to overcome the dryness and rationality of his poetic manner. He achieved great success in this respect with his poem "The Dirge of the Nations" and some poems in the cycle "Rhymes and Reasons against Landlordism," where feeling and thought are organically fused in artistic form.

The most significant Chartist poet was Ernest Jones. He was a man of exceptional energy, with an inexhaustible fund of creative power. Considering that an enormous amount of his time was taken up with propaganda trips, speeches at meetings, editorial and publishing work,

the productiveness of his literary endeavours is truly amazing. In two years (1846-48) he wrote and published several dozen poems, two longer poetic works, two novels, about ten essays in literary criticism, and an historical essay on the popular revolts in Europe. Besides all this, he wrote numerous articles in *The Northern Star*. In his youth, Jones was passionate, sincere, and easily carried away. These qualities quite often led him to champion causes which were clearly unrealisable. At one time he was seized with the idea of organising a world republic based on the friendship of peoples through race — this was how he dreamt of realising the slogan of the "Fraternal Democrats" — "All men are brothers!" At another time, he started to popularise O'Connor's land scheme. But even in these enthusiasms there was always a grain of rationality which gradually showed itself. In the first case Jones's practical activity took the form of organising international proletarian links, and brought him naturally into the ranks of the Union of Communists, and in the second case it ended with his going over to propaganda advocating land nationalisation.

Despite all the contradictory and Utopian features of many of his ideas, and despite the fact that many of his early works are imitative, Jones's work has the stamp of great talent and sometimes of brilliant insight into life. There is scarcely any other writer in Chartist literature who could have conveyed so forcefully in his works the resentment and anger of the people and their passionate dream of emancipation. The lofty emotional tone of Jones's poetry was conditioned by his deep understanding of the thoughts, feelings, and aspirations of the people. But this emotional tone never degenerated with him into unsubstantial, stilted enthusiasm, for he himself took part in and was a leader of the people's struggle, and his poetic thought reflected the ideas and feelings which emerged from the ebb and flow of the Chartist movement. His powerful collective hero — the people, creating colossal wealth, struggling in the grip of want, suffering and fighting on — is one of the clearest embodiments of the new spirit of proletarian self-consciousness and of the class solidarity engendered by Chartism.

In 1846-47 Jones composed a number of poems devoted to the gaining of the Charter by physical force, to the international friendship of the workers, the national liberation movement in Poland and Ireland, to O'Connor's land scheme, and so on.

1848 was the turning point for Jones as it was for Linton. The experience of revolutions on the Continent, and of the Chartist movement in England, showed him the impossibility of achieving the social emancipation of the proletariat within the framework of Chartism. The

necessity for a social revolution became clear to Jones. The crisis in his outlook is seen in his long poem *The New World*, which he wrote in prison, where he had been sent as one of the "most dangerous Chartists." This poem is allegorical. Its action takes place in Hindustan, but it is easy for the reader to see that it concerns England and the fate of the English people. Its content is an original poetic history of the class struggle in England and its chief hero is the people. Having told of "bygone ages," Jones looks into the future and shows a people driven to desperation, overthrowing the power of the bourgeoisie. The concluding episodes of the poem in which Jones paints a Utopian picture of a free society, show us that the poet had not yet overcome the limitations of the Chartist outlook. Only later (between 1851 and 1854), under the direct influence of Marx and Engels, did Jones approach the Marxist understanding of the laws of social development. The work Jones wrote during the period of mass strikes and the struggle to convocate a workers' Parliament is notable for its marked maturity and artistic depth.

Together with numerous poetic works, such as "The Prisoner to the Slaves," "The Song of the Future," and so on, he wrote a number of novels and tales: *Woman's Wrongs*, "De Brassier: A History of the Democratic Movement," and others. They all show signs of the deepening of the realistic trend in his work, and of the influence of the "Brilliant Pleiad" of English realists, an influence which was extremely fruitful in the case of Jones.

In the poetry which Jones wrote during these years, we encounter surprisingly plastic images of people and sometimes of whole nations. They "live" in the full sense of the word, in the lines of his verses and poems, they live the complex, broad, tense life of the participants in and makers of history. Jones had a magnificent feeling for language and great mastery over it. He was able to find stylistic means which allowed him to create a feeling of the epic grandeur of events, and of the titanic power of a people in revolt. No Chartist poet achieved such rhythmic wealth, such variety and perfection of rhymes, such exactitude and subtlety in the use of words, as did Jones. The artistic significance of his work far transcends the limits of Chartist poetry. Jones was an outstanding English poet of the nineteenth century, worthy of a place beside the most talented pupils and heirs of Byron, Shelley, and Keats.

Jones was not only a poet, novelist, and political journalist. He was the author of a considerable number of articles of literary criticism, written chiefly in 1847-48, in which he formulates some principles of Chartist aesthetics. These articles dealt mainly with the problem of the cultural heritage, with literature's roots in the people, and its progressive

trend, that is to say, those qualities without which Jones could not imagine a genuinely artistic creation. Most of these articles are either periodic literary surveys or special works dealing with eminent foreign writers (Russian, German, and Polish). Particularly interesting is the article on Pushkin included in the present anthology. Despite certain factual errors, this article gives in general a correct picture of the great poet. Pushkin's work is appreciated by Jones, first and foremost for its popular flavour, its progressive outlook, its hatred of the oppressors of the Russian people, and its ability to express "the spirit of the age." It is interesting to note that, unlike all the other biographers of Pushkin at that time, Jones blamed the Russian autocracy for the poet's death.

As a literary critic and theoretician of literature, Jones had a broad outlook and great erudition. His critical articles often contained an element of research and endeavour to clarify the paths along which literature should develop. At the same time they are marked by a considerable element of propaganda and in passing raise a host of topical socio-political problems.

The last great poet of Chartism was Gerald Massey. He came from a working-class background and had experienced all the horrors of factory labour and, in this sense, his experience of life was richer than that of Linton or Jones. His hatred of exploiters was of an emotional rather than rational character. The theoretical interpretation of his own sympathies and antipathies and an understanding of their social character came later when Massey joined the Chartists.

Massey emerged as a Chartist poet at a time when the Chartist movement was coming to an end. With Harney and Jones, Massey strove to revive Chartism and devoted his works written between 1850 and 1854 to this end. He had great poetic talent. His works are distinguished by their emotional force, expressiveness, and richness of language. He was one of the popular poets of his time, and poems by him, such as "The People of '48," are not inferior to those of Jones and Linton in literary merit.

It is only to be regretted that Massey's talents did not develop to the full and achieve complete expression in his work. He could have become a very considerable poet, given more stable convictions and a more independent view of reality. Unlike Jones and Linton, Massey did not have the solid grounding of lengthy participation in the English working-class movement. Moreover, he did not have any theoretical training to speak of. This explains a certain superficiality and instability in his views.

The years 1850-54 were the most productive period in Massey's

creative life. Swept away by the revolutionary fervour of 1848, he joined the left-wing Chartists and became one of the most active contributors to Harney's periodicals *The Red Republican* and *The Friend of the People*. In these periodicals there appeared a number of poems showing great talent, the most important of which are given in this anthology.

His verses are full of conventionally symbolical and allegorical images which Massey based for the most part on Biblical tradition. This is quite understandable. Massey valued highly the literary legacy of the English bourgeois revolution of the seventeenth century. He considered Milton, to whom he had specially dedicated several articles and poems, to be the greatest poet of all times and of all nations. In this case Massey was no exception, since the revolutionary traditions of the seventeenth century were fairly widespread in Chartism, and tendencies to express revolutionary ideas in symbolic Biblical images are very frequently found in Chartist literature. But sometimes Massey's leaning towards complex symbols and allegories escapes from the traditional framework. The reason for this, of course, is the poet's unstable outlook on life and the fact that the English proletariat in the middle of the nineteenth century lacked any clear notions of the nature of the class struggle. Only in this way can we explain the unnatural parallels which he draws in his articles and poems, identifying, for example, the modern Chartist proletariat with the Israelites emerging from slavery in the land of Egypt, or equating the work of Christ and Ernest Jones.

Massey's articles of literary criticism printed in Harney's periodicals and signed usually with the pseudonyms "Bandiera" and "The Spirit of Freedom" are of quite considerable interest. In his literary appreciation Massey used the principles formulated by Jones at the end of the 1840's. He devoted his articles to the work of the outstanding democratic poets without limiting himself to English literature. So, for instance, Massey wrote an article on Petöfi, who was then still almost unknown in England, and articles on Du Pont, Freiligrath, and others. In these articles Massey tried to show the revolutionary nature of the work of these poets, stressed the social features of their work, and was ecstatic about their devotion to the people's cause. But even here Massey did not long maintain Chartist positions. He abandoned the revolutionary democratic programme to preach the incompatibility of art and politics.

In the middle of the 1850's Massey became a secure and recognised bourgeois poet and broke completely with the working-class

movement. Massey's best work has not been forgotten; it is known and loved by democratic England. The modern progressive writer Jack Lindsay used one of Massey's poems, "The Men of '48," as a motto in his novel of that title.

THE PROSE OF THE CHARTISTS is much inferior to their poetry. Although prose works by Chartist writers were printed fairly regularly in Chartist publications they were of a considerably lower literary level than the poetry. The struggle between the various trends in Chartism was reflected in prose just as in poetry. Thomas Cooper wrote short stories asserting Christian morality, O'Connor printed short stories about land reform in which he tried to prove the superiority of small-scale farming, and Watkins in *The London Chartist Monthly* published a whole series of short stories on the oppression of workers and peasants by the ruling classes. Besides these comparatively insignificant writers stood two major Chartist prose writers, Thomas Wheeler and Ernest Jones, in whose works was portrayed the awakening of the social consciousness and political activity of the people. Chartist prose progressed by means of searchings, just as much as, or perhaps even more than, poetry. Gradually it mastered the achievements of English critical realism; however, the central figure in works of radical Chartist prose is sometimes far from being a Dickens or a Thackeray type of hero. This new hero is a revolutionary warrior, fighting for social justice.

As a rule Chartist prose writers strove to portray the main popular movements. They looked upon the revolutionary struggle as "the most moral subject of the age," and firmly held the view that the revolutionary struggle was the main way to the achievement of the people's social welfare. By not refusing to criticize the contemporary social structure, they united a critical portrayal of bourgeois aristocratic society, with ideas from the revolutionary class struggle, and this was uncontestedly where they gained over the representatives of English critical realism.

Many prose writers, especially Jones, turned to the portrayal of the revolutionary movements of the past, and sometimes to imaginary social clashes, in order to prevent Chartists from making possible mistakes. This was linked with a general tendency in Chartist literature to prepare the people for the struggle and to show them the way forward. As an example we may refer to Jones's "Novel about the People," in which the author tells of the struggle of the Poles for national independence and social justice, or to the same author's series of sketches, "A History of Popular Movements." On this level, the artistic prose of

the Chartists is closely allied to the numerous sketches, articles, and notes of revolutionary writers of the past — Paine, Milton, Cromwell, Robespierre, the Decembrists, and others.

The Chartist prose writers saw their main aim to be the dissemination of experience and the explanation of the tasks of the revolutionary struggle. But many of them did not manage to put their ideas into artistic form, and then their works turned into a mechanical union of political tract and some sentimental story. The absence of any organic unity between the form, subject, and ideas contained in a work naturally destroyed its literary value. There were quite a large number of such "works," and only a comparatively small number of the novels and stories written by the Chartists are of literary value.

Such, in general terms, was the literature of one of the main proletarian movements of the nineteenth century. It is naturally impossible in a short introductory article to give a comprehensive description. The reader may judge the complexity and variety of this literature by the material presented in this anthology.

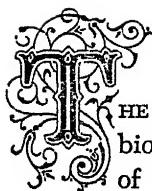
The anthology contains examples of Chartist poetry, journalism, literary criticism, and artistic prose. Within each section the material is arranged in chronological order. In cases where an author is represented by several works, the material is inserted in accordance with the date of the first work included here. Sometimes it was not possible to establish when a work was written. In such cases the compiler has been guided by the date of its first publication.

The works included in this anthology are provided with notes, in which the reader will find biographical information concerning Chartist writers, and explanations of certain facts of political or literary history.

I consider it my duty to thank the library staff of the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, who have given me considerable help in finding the works of Chartist writers, and the English writer Jack Lindsay, who kindly gave me the information in his possession on Chartist literature, and the texts of works which are not to be found in libraries in the Soviet Union.

E. D. H. Johnson

“IN MEMORIAM”: THE WAY OF THE POET



THE TENDENCY to regard *In Memoriam* exclusively as spiritual autobiography has obscured the importance of this work as a record of Tennyson's artistic development during the formative years between 1833 and 1850. Yet among the components of the ordeal through which the poet passed in his journey to faith was the search for an aesthetic creed answerable alike to his creative needs and to the literary demands of the age. Of the lyrics making up *In Memoriam*, approximately one quarter¹ relates to this concern; and when taken together, they constitute an index to Victorian poetic theory and practice as suggestive in its way as the testimony of *The Prelude* with reference to the poetry of the Romantic generation.

In tracing the stages through which Tennyson came to an awareness of his mission as a poet, there is no need to get involved in the perplexing problem of dating the sections of *In Memoriam*.² A. C. Bradley's *Commentary* has demonstrated the organic unity of the elegy in its published form. With three Christmas seasons as chronological points of division, it falls into four parts, the dominant mood progress-

¹ The elegy consists of 133 separate poems, of which the following bear on the present discussion: Prologue, 5, 8, 16, 19, 20, 21, 23, 34, 36, 37, 38, 48, 49, 52, 57, 58, 59, 65, 75, 76, 77, 83, 85, 88, 96, 103, 106, 108, 120, 122, 123, 125, 128, Epilogue.

² For the fullest attempt yet offered to establish a chronological order for the composition of the lyrics, see E. B. Mattes, *In Memoriam: The Way of a Soul* (New York, 1951).

ing from an initial reaction of despair over Hallam's death (1-27), through a period of philosophic doubt (28-77), to nascent hope (78-103), and finally, to a confident assertion of faith (104-131). This paper will undertake to show, first, that Bradley's schematization lends itself equally well to a formal analysis of the evolution of the Tennysonian poetic, and secondly, that the processes of philosophic and aesthetic growth exhibited in the poem are so interrelated in their successive phases as ultimately to be inseparable.

Shattered by grief during the early months of his bereavement, Tennyson found in poetry an anodyne bringing temporary release from obsessive introspection:

But, for the unquiet heart and brain,
A use in measured language lies;
The sad mechanic exercise,
Like dull narcotics, numbing pain. (5)

At this time he makes of art a private ceremony, a votive offering to the friend on whose sympathetic encouragement he had been accustomed to rely (8). Vacillating between "calm despair" and "wild unrest," he senses the want of emotional perspective necessary to sustained and disciplined creativity. So crippled seems the shaping power of the imagination that the poet is even provoked to surmise whether the shock of sorrow has not alienated "all knowledge of myself":

And made me that delirious man
Whose fancy fuses old and new,
And flashes into false and true,
And mingles all without a plan? (16)

Yet this very impulse toward self-scrutiny had begun to knit "the firmer mind" which Tennyson attributes in the eighteenth lyric to the purgative effect of suffering. The important grouping which follows (19-21) shows the poet at a provisional resting-place affording respite to assess the essentially lyric quality of his response to the experience which he is undergoing. His poetic faculties, incapable of dealing with the full impact of this experience, are commensurate only with the "lighter moods . . . / That out of words a comfort win." Nevertheless, as though perfection of manner might serve to compensate for superficiality of content, the elaborately wrought metaphors of the nineteenth and twentieth poems point in their deliberate artifice to a notable increase in artistic detachment. Despite the fact that he continues to describe his method of compensation as "breaking into song by fits" (23), Tennyson must by now have begun to entertain thoughts of future publica-

tion; for the twenty-first lyric introduces a new element of anxiety over the poet's responsibility to his audience. The slighting comments of a chorus of imaginary interlocutors anticipate the kind of criticism which may be expected to greet a work so subjective in mode. The first speaker condemns the unabashed display of feeling as a eulogy of weakness, while to the second it seems that the poet's inclination "to make parade of pain" originates from an egoistic motive. The third speaker, in drawing attention to the encroachments of democracy on established institutions and to the challenge to received opinions made by science, asks more weightily: "Is this an hour / For private sorrow's barren song?" To which objections Tennyson, unable as yet to surmount his sense of personal deprivation, can only reply by again pleading that he writes solely in order to give vent to emotions that spontaneously well up: "I do but sing because I must, / And pipe but as the linnets sing."

The passing of the first Christmastide left Tennyson in a more stable frame of mind and disposed, in consequence, to try to come to intellectual terms with the fact of Hallam's death. As the second part of *In Memoriam* shows, however, the search for a meaning in the experience, at least in its initial stages, had no other effect than to involve the mind in the heart's distress. The lyrics relating to poetic theory in this part of the elegy occur in clusters, as follows: 36-38, 48-49 (with which 52 belongs), 57-59, and 75-77. It is significant that each of these groups follows on a section of philosophic inquiry in which speculations precipitated by the irresolvable problems of death and change culminate in a paroxysm of doubt. Whereas the poet had previously looked to art to provide a release from emotional despair, he now discovers its further efficacy in allaying the tormenting "dialogue of the mind with itself."

Tennyson's increasing uneasiness over the limited scope of his work is implied in the derogatory reference of the thirty-fourth lyric to "some wild poet, when he works / Without a conscience or an aim." Yet, what message can be derived from the bleakly materialistic findings of modern historical and scientific knowledge hopeful enough to set beside the homely truths embodied in Christ's parables? In an age of unfaith art perforce abdicates its ethical function in favor of the kinds of teaching that issue in action, "In loveliness of perfect deeds, / More strong than all poetic thought" (36). Guiltily aware of the shaky foundations of his own belief in the Christian revelation, the poet cries: "I am not worthy ev'n to speak / Of thy prevailing mysteries" (37). By so much as daring to trespass on such matters he stands convinced of hav-

ing "loiter'd in the master's field, / And darken'd sanctities with song." In dismay at the presumption of this first venture beyond the confines of immediate sensation, he falls back on the consolation offered by his "earthly Muse" with her

little art
To lull with song an aching heart,
And render human love his ducs . . .

For all the continuing modesty of his pretensions, Tennyson could take additional gratification from the sense that each poem of *In Memoriam* had the truth of fidelity to the mood which had inspired it. Thus, in the sequence preceding the forty-eighth poem, the author's inconclusive brooding, this time over the related enigmas of individual identity and personal immortality, again results in a disavowal of any higher significance for his lyrics than as "Short swallow-flights of song, that dip / Their wings in tears, and skim away." In this very diffidence, however, he recognizes subservience to "a wholesome law," not unlike the Keatsian Negative Capability. And, if his songs leave unplumbed the deeps of human experience, it can at least be asserted in their defense that by giving voice to whatever fancy is uppermost at the moment they register the full range of the poet's sensibility: "From art, from nature, from the schools, / Let random influences glance" (49).

The note of pessimism sounded in the thirty-fifth lyric recurs in the famous fifty-fourth, -fifth, and -sixth poems, formidably reinforced by Tennyson's reading in evolutionary doctrine. Before the blank futility of the view of life here revealed he recoils in horror, conscious of the indignity to Hallam's memory in further pursuing so wild a train of thought (57). At the same time, by forcing him out of purely subjective involvement in his grief, this crisis of doubt leaves in its wake newly won reliance on the capacity of the mind under trial not just to endure, but to grow in dignity. "Wherfore grieve / Thy brethren with a fruitless tear?" the spirit of poetry inquires: "Abide a little longer here, / And thou shalt take a nobler leave" (58). In a still more confident mood the ensuing lyric, which first appeared in the fourth edition of *In Memoriam* (1851), testifies to Tennyson's satisfaction in the discovery that he has gained the power to sublimate private feelings, and as a result to display his sorrow

With so much hope for years to come,
That, howsoe'er I know thee, some
Could hardly tell what name were thine.

Furthermore, just as he has experienced the humanizing effect of suf-

fering (66), so the poet is brought to realize that his constant endeavor to give artistic expression to his ordeal has been a cathartic exercise:

And in that solace can I sing,
Till out of painful phases wrought
There flutters up a happy thought,
Self-balanced on a lightsome wing . . . (65)

His philosophic misgivings momentarily dormant, Tennyson undertakes in the lyrics immediately preceding the seventy-fifth to memorialize Hallam's brilliant promise and the loss to the age resulting from his untimely death. This subject is deemed too taxing for "verse that brings myself relief"; but there has occurred a significant shift in the reasons which the poet gives for his reluctance to tackle themes of high seriousness. The burden of the blame is now laid on the unpoetic temper of the time, rather than on the writer's own lack of endowment: "I care not in these fading days / To raise a cry that lasts not long." And although, admittedly, no work of art can withstand the erosion of time (76), Tennyson, like Arnold, feels that the hope for modern poetry is nullified from the outset by a hostile *Zeitgeist*. Counteracting this pessimism, however, is the creative self-fulfillment which he increasingly derives from the writing of his elegy; and the tone on which the second part ends is anything but apologetic in the earlier manner:

(77)

My darken'd ways
Shall ring with music all the same;
To breathe my loss is more than fame,
To utter love more sweet than praise.

The attitude of stoic resignation with which Tennyson greets the second Christmas season is prelude to the recovery of hope in the third part of the poem. Concurrently, art ceases to be valued so much as a distraction from the central conflict in which the writer's deeper thoughts and emotions are involved. The process of spiritual regeneration thus has its aesthetic analogue in the closer identification of artistic considerations with the main themes of the elegy. For example, the coming of spring in the eighty-third lyric is made an image not only for the healing principle of growth, but also for the reawakening of the creative impulse which, too long sorrow-bound, now "longs to burst a frozen bud / And flood a fresher throat with song."

That Tennyson remained distrustful of the promptings of the poetic imagination is evident from the long retrospective eighty-fifth lyric in which he considers whether his pretended communion with Hallam's spirit is not willful self-deception: "so shall grief with symbols

play / And pining life be fancy-fed." Yet, there is no disposition to discount the importance of artistic endeavor as a means of assimilating experience:

Likewise the imaginative woe,
That loved to handle spiritual strife,
Diffused the shock thro' all my life,
But in the present broke the blow.

As if poetry were, indeed, the spontaneous voice of hope reborn, Tennyson is more and more inclined to trust its directive power. Significant in this respect is his changing response to nature. In the first part of *In Memoriam* the phenomenal world had been invoked more often than not to mirror and hence to intensify subjective moods. In the second part the natural order had been questioned in more impersonal terms in a vain attempt to establish some sanction for human values. The eighty-eighth lyric, however, takes the form of a transcendental paean in praise of the beauty and vitality inherent in nature:

And I — my harp would prelude woe —
I cannot all command the strings;
The glory of the sum of things
Will flash along the chords and go.

The series of poems beginning with ninety is climaxed by the mystical revelation of the ninety-fifth, in which Tennyson fleetingly achieves union in the spirit with Hallam. Although his friend's own search for faith is ostensibly the subject of the following lyric, the moral that "There lives more faith in honest doubt, / Believe me, than in half the creeds" is unmistakably derived from the writer's own experience. And by the same token, it is his own poetic progress that Tennyson has in mind when he equates the struggle for intellectual certitude with artistic growth:

one indeed I knew
In many a subtle question versed,
Who touch'd a jarring lyre at first,
But ever strove to make it true:

Perplexed in faith, but pure in deeds,
At last he beat his music out.

The departure from Somersby, now first announced, is symbolic in more senses than one; and the allegorical one hundred and third poem fittingly brings the third part of *In Memoriam* to a conclusion with Tennyson's resolve to rededicate his poetry to more ambitious goals. The interpretation of this lyric offers no special difficulties, but its theme becomes more meaningful if viewed in relation to the stages

through which the poet had passed in attaining the conception of his role here set forth. The opening four stanzas rehearse the elements of the first part of the elegy when Tennyson had devoted his art ritualistically to the private image of Hallam enshrined in his heart. The summons from the sea, here as in "Ulysses" and elsewhere a metaphor for the life of active commitment in pursuit of transmundane goals, suggests through the device of the river journey the severe struggle with doubt in the second part of the poem, a struggle now looked back on as integral to the attainment of artistic as well as spiritual maturity. The quest is consummated in the final stanzas where the poet is re-united with Hallam — but a Hallam transubstantiated into the type of ideal humanity to the service of which the writer will henceforth exert his talents.

The third Christmas, observed in a new abode, ushers in the great New Year's hymn (106) with its exultant proclamation of progress toward the earthly paradise. His vision cleared and his purpose steadied by the perception of a goal which will enlist the altruistic devotion enjoined on him by Hallam's example, Tennyson is now ready to don the bardic mantle: "Ring out, ring out my mournful rhymes, / But ring the fuller minstrel in." No longer will he embrace isolation out of a refusal to connect the life of the imagination with the general life:

I will not shut me from my kind,
And, lest I stiffen into stone,
I will not eat my heart alone,
Nor feed with sighs a passing wind . . .

(108)

No longer will he make the mistake of seeking the meaning of his experience in the cloudlands of subjective consciousness amidst the delusions of "vacant yearning": "What find I in the highest place, / But mine own phantom chanting hymns?" For in the wisdom sprung from associating his loss with the common lot, he can now perceive that all along "*a human face*" had shone on him from the "depths of death" within a landscape of sorrow overarched by "*human skies*" (italics added).

As the group of lyrics extending from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and twenty-five makes clear, the assumption of the Carlylean role of poetic sage paradoxically provided Tennyson with an argument in final vindication of the subjective mode of his elegy. Like the confessional writings of his great contemporaries, Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus*, Mill's *Autobiography*, and Newman's *Apologia*, the message of *In Memoriam* was addressed to the age; but the persuasiveness of the message in each of these works resided precisely in the

essentially private nature of the experiential evidence which backed it up. The Victorian autobiographers thought of themselves as representative figures within the context of their times; and however intimate the circumstances from their lives selected for narration, they admitted nothing in which the particular could not be subsumed under the guise of the typical. Thus, when Tennyson declares, "I trust I have not wasted breath" (120), it is in the hope that the record of his own victory over doubt will guide others, similarly beset, along the road to faith.

The mood of affirmation which characterizes the concluding poems of *In Memoriam* is expressive not only of the poet's acceptance of love as the pervasive cosmological principle, but also of renewed delight in creative activity as an aspect of this faith. The boon conferred by willed belief has been

To feel once more, in placid awe,
The strong imagination roll
A sphere of stars about my soul,
In all her motion one with law. (122)

And so Tennyson can invoke Hallam's genius to sustain poetic utterance which, no longer shadowed by grief, will joyfully sing once more its author's responsiveness to the beauty of the world:

be with me now,
And enter in at breast and brow,
Till all my blood, a fuller wave,

Be quicken'd with a livelier breath,
And like an inconsiderate boy,
As in the former flash of joy,
I slip the thoughts of life and death;

And all the breeze of Fancy blows,
And every dew-drop paints a bow,
The wizard lightnings deeply glow,
And every thought breaks out a rose.

In the end, then, Tennyson turns back to the life of the imagination, rediscovering in its resources confirmation of the intuitions which formed the basis of his religious faith: "But in my spirit will I dwell, / And dream my dream, and hold it true" (123).³ The one hundred and twenty-fifth lyric develops in more straightforward terms the quest motif embodied in the allegory of the one hundred and third. In

³ The one hundred and twenty-ninth lyric defines the substance of this dream, love being conceived as the harmonizing force which unites the poet's adulation of all that Hallam had stood for with his concern for human welfare in general: "Behold, I dream a dream of good, / And mingle all the world with thee."

casting a backward glance over the stages of his spiritual pilgrimage, the poet explicitly identifies with each a distinguishing aesthetic manifestation:

Whatever I have said or sung,
Some bitter notes my harp would give,
Yea, tho' there often seem'd to live
A contradiction on the tongue,

Yet Hope had never lost her youth,
She did but look through dimmer eyes;
Or Love but play'd with gracious lies,
Because he felt so fix'd in truth;

And if the song were full of care,
He breathed the spirit of the song;
And if the words were sweet and strong
He set his royal signet there;

Abiding with me till I sail
To seek thee on the mystic deeps,
And this electric force, that keeps
A thousand pulses dancing, fail.

And when, three poems later, he seeks a figure to encompass the organic totality of his experience, it is the process of artistic creation that comes to mind:

I see in part
That all, as in some piece of art,
Is toil coöperant to an end.

Tennyson's emergence from his long night of sorrow over Hallam's death into the light of living faith is dramatized through the bold device of appending an epithalamion as epilogue to the elegy. He here takes final leave of the threnodic vein in which his suffering had found voice, "No longer caring to embalm / In dying songs a dead regret." The poetry born of subjective striving with private emotion no longer suffices the artist to whom the passing years have brought knowledge of the transcendent power of love:

For I myself with these have grown
To something greater than before;

Which makes appear the songs I made
As echoes out of weaker times,
As half but idle brawling rhymes,
The sport of random sun and shade.

The Prologue to *In Memoriam*, dated 1849, seven years later than the Epilogue, was clearly conceived as a set-piece to introduce the elegy; and this fact explains the deprecatory tone of its final stanza. The

rather formal and perfunctory ring of these lines simply reemphasizes the poet's intention, foreshadowed in the Epilogue, to devote himself henceforth to more public themes:

Forgive these wild and wandering cries,
Confusions of a wasted youth;
Forgive them where they fail in truth,
And in thy wisdom make me wise.

In the opening lyric of *In Memoriam* Tennyson had adumbrated the view of evolutionary progress which controls his method in the elegy and furnishes the key to the poem's structure: "men may rise on stepping-stones / Of their dead selves to higher things." These "stepping-stones," as psychologically distinguished by the author, ascend through three orders of consciousness: the emotional, identified with man's sensory being; the intellectual, identified with the human mind; and the intuitive, identified with the realm of spirit. Following Bradley's quadripartite arrangement, the consecutive stages of growth recorded in the poem may be roughly diagrammed as follows:

- Part One: Despair (ungoverned sense)
- Part Two: Doubt (mind governing sense, i.e. despair)
- Part Three: Hope (spirit governing mind, i.e. doubt)
- Part Four: Faith (spirit harmonizing sense and mind)

If now a corresponding diagram is constructed to illustrate the stages of aesthetic growth in the elegy, it will appear that the demands which Tennyson made on his art in each of the four parts were directly responsive to the psychological needs of the phase through which he was passing:

- Part One: Poetry as release from emotion
- Part Two: Poetry as escape from thought
- Part Three: Poetry as self-realization
- Part Four: Poetry as mission

In Memoriam, as a poem of spiritual quest, represents the Way of the Soul. It is not less surely a poem of aesthetic quest, which sets forth the Way of the Poet. Tennyson came to the writing of his elegy fresh from such compositions as "The Lady of Shalott," "Oenone," "The Palace of Art," and "The Lotos-Eaters." With its publication he was to attain the laureateship and to go on to the planning of *Maud* and the early *Idylls of the King*. Bridging, as it does, the earlier and later work, *In Memoriam* is quite as much a testament to artistic as to philosophic growth.

Wiseman on the Oxford Movement: An Early Report to the Vatican

WHEN THE WHOLE PICTURE of the Oxford Movement has been reconstructed, one of the most interesting pieces will be the role of the Vatican in that movement. It is inconceivable that Rome would not have followed events in England after 1833 with close attention, and the swift and coordinated reorganization of the English vicariates in 1840 is ample evidence that the Papacy had indeed been closely watching the English scene.¹ It is clear from her actions that Rome viewed the Oxford Movement as a signal of a Catholic resurgence in England, in spite of the fact that the ordinary sources of Roman Catholic opinion would have been hostile to and skeptical of the Oxford Movement.

The Vatican would have received, of course, the routine reports of the four Vicars Apostolic, but the reports of these bishops, which are preserved in the files of the Propaganda in Rome, are not available.² There is no reason, however, to believe that any of the four, unless it was the aged Bishop Walsh, was sympathetic with or alive to the possibilities of the Oxford Movement. The Irish and the old Catholics were notoriously hostile to the movement; 'Rome must therefore have had the advantage of an unusual source. The questions that remain are: what was the source of the Vatican's information, and what was its nature?

The only Roman Catholic group in England who, as a group, viewed the Oxford Movement sympathetically were the so-called "Romantic converts," who centered around Cambridge, and had joined the Roman Catholic Church in the 1820's. These men were the interpreters of the Oxford Movement to the European intellectuals like Montalembert, Lacordaire, DeMaistre, and Döllinger; and it is the estimates of these Englishmen which appear to have prevailed at the Vatican.

There is in the Vatican Library a previously unpublished letter which offers the first positive evidence as to the way in which the Vatican followed events in England. This is a letter from Monsignor Wiseman to the Secretary of the Propaganda dated 12 January 1839. The date is important. Wiseman became rector of the English College in Rome in 1828 and for ten years he also acted as curator of the Arabic department at the Vatican Library. He was close to the Vatican. In 1833 he met Newman in Rome. He followed the *Tracts* closely, became convinced that the movement they represented was

¹ The Vatican aspect of the Movement has been almost completely neglected by historians. An exception is John J. O'Connor, who has drawn the same conclusion from the circumstantial evidence: "Rome itself was not unmindful of what was happening in England; and when the hour for action struck in 1840, a series of interrelated decisions had already been formulated and were swiftly put into execution" (*The Catholic Revival in England* [New York, 1942], 38).

² The Sacred Congregation *de Propaganda Fide* regulates ecclesiastical affairs in countries in which the hierarchy is not yet completely established.

significant, and visited England in 1835. It was on this visit that he delivered, in the Sardinian Chapel in London, the popular series of lectures which Newman favorably reviewed in the *British Critic*, December 1836. Wiseman returned to his duties as rector of the English College in September 1836. In 1839 he wrote this letter, and a few months later he went to England, where he undertook a strenuous lecture tour. The next year the English vicariates were doubled and, in addition, Wiseman was consecrated a bishop, named Coadjutor to Bishop Walsh, and became president of Oscott College.

It is clear from this letter that Wiseman was in touch with those Roman Catholics who were in sympathy with the Oxford Movement, and that it was through him that their views were transmitted to the Vatican. His information was not always accurate, but his subsequent elevation to the episcopate attests the confidence Rome entertained in Wiseman and his estimates of events in England. It is quite possible, in view of the lack of other information, that this letter shaped the attitude of the Vatican toward the Oxford Movement. The letter, Vat. lat. 13846 (ff. 94r-96v, 97v), is written in Wiseman's own hand, is composed in Italian, and contains his translation into Italian of extracts from a number of letters which he had received from England during the past months. It is divided into three parts. The first is entitled "Building of new churches," the second is entitled "Conversions," and the third is entitled "Development of the Catholic Spirit among Protestants."

A translation of the letter follows.³

Comments on the religious status of England drawn from private letters recently written.

I. Building of new churches

Extract from the letter of the renowned architect Mr. Pugin, a convert to the Catholic Faith, in which he gives an account of the new churches which are presently being constructed under his direction. [The list includes churches at Manchester, Keighley, Altoneter, Derby, St. George's Fields, Macclesfield, Reading, and Solihull, a convent at Bermondsey, and the Benedictine Abbey at Downside, with a brief description of each, and details of their dimensions and cost.]

"Many other buildings are pending, and I scarcely stand up under the fatigue. I am forced to draw up plans, to design, and then to await the outcome so that I am half exhausted. But the cause is so glorious, that every effort should be made; and the advancement of the Catholic cause is truly consoling.

It is noteworthy that most of these buildings are being raised by the contributions of the poor. These are only a small part of those that are being built; since in a report made recently at a protestant assembly held in London the number of new churches that are being built by Catholics has gone up to forty-seven."

³ A microfilm copy of this letter is in the collection of The Knights of Columbus Foundation Vatican Manuscript Depository at Saint Louis University and is used with the kind permission of the Directors. This translation has been prepared by Professor Welsh; the introductory material and the notes are by Professor Dougherty.

II. Conversions

Extract from a letter of Mr. Phillipps:⁴

"Already the fruits of these universal prayers⁵ (for England)⁶ are being felt, in the extraordinary spirit of inquiry concerning our divine faith, which I sense from all sides, and which is developing from day to day in a marvelous way; and in two illustrious conversions which have taken place recently, that of the Baronet Sir G. Stuart,⁷ a Scotch gentleman who has an income of 40,000 pounds annually and of Mr. Drummond,⁸ a man of noble attainments, and with an income of at least 30,000 pounds. These conversions have occasioned a marvelous feeling. The eldest son of the Baronet Sir C. Wollesley"⁹ (illustrious convert at the age of seventy years, and now in Rome) "has written to his father" (while he was in Paris) "to announce to him that he was becoming a catholic. An apostate priest (whose name I am not yet permitted to mention) has returned to the unity of the church. He held the degree of Doctor of Theology in the Anglican Church, and enjoyed an immense reputation among Protestants, while he was with them. He has given proof of the sincerity of his conversion by separating from his wife, a lady of noble family. . . . I looked up Lord Dour^o"¹⁰ (eldest son of the Duke of Wellington whose leaning toward the Catholic religion is well-known) "at Apsley House, in passing through London; he welcomed me truly with affection. Religion is again of interest to him, I am not without hope for him. The Lord has endowed him with a very great heart; let us pray for his conversion."

Extract from the letter of the Rev. Mr. Spencer:¹¹

"You probably have heard of the conversion of Mr. Herbert,¹² the renowned painter, due in great part to Mr. Pugin" (the architect already men-

⁴ Ambrose Phillipps, 1809-78, became a Roman Catholic in 1825. He was one of the very few Roman Catholics who were on terms of personal friendship with the Oxford men at this time. He assumed his mother's family name, de Lisle, in 1862.

⁵ In 1838, at the suggestion of Phillipps, and under the patronage of the Archbishop of Paris, Rev. George Spencer preached a Crusade of Prayer for the conversion of England. This became a popular devotion on the Continent, but it was actively disapproved in England by Bishop Baines of the Western District.

⁶ All parentheses are in the manuscript and appear to be Wiseman's interpolations. None are by the editor or translator. Ellipses, when they occur, are also Wiseman's in each case.

⁷ Probably Henry Villiers-Stuart, 1803-74. He was married in a Roman Catholic chapel in 1826 (*The Complete Peerage*, XII, i, 408).

⁸ Remains unidentified.

⁹ Sir Charles Wolseley, 1769-1846, became a Roman Catholic in 1837. One of the most vigorous and radical agitators for reform in the days of Peterloo and Queen Caroline, he had been jailed for sedition in 1820. His son, Charles, was born in 1813 (DNB).

¹⁰ Arthur Richard Wellesley, second Duke of Wellington, 1807-84. His uncle, Richard Colley Wellesley, Marquis Wellesley, elder brother of the Duke, was thought of as favorable toward Roman Catholicism, although this reference is probably to the Duke's support of Catholic Emancipation in 1829 (DNB and *Complete Peerage*, IV, 445).

¹¹ George Spencer (in religion, Father Ignatius of St. Paul), 1799-1864, an Anglican minister and friend of Phillipps, became a Roman Catholic in 1830, and was ordained in the Passionist order in 1832. He was appointed a professor at Oscott by Wiseman in 1840.

¹² John Rogers Herbert, 1810-90, portrait and historical painter, became a royal academician in 1846. He painted a standard portrait of Wiseman in 1843, and his youngest son, born in 1847, was Wiseman's godson (DNB).

tioned). "This began when he received a commission from a Calvinist gentleman for a painting intended to put in a ridiculous light the Catholic doctrine concerning the Holy Eucharist. He undertook it, as he himself assured me, with much zeal, in the hope of converting by means of this several Catholics. The subject was a dispute in prison between Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and Bradford, about this material. To execute this picture he had to read the lives of these men and study their doctrine and in doing this, his eyes were opened."

In a letter of the 18th of September of the past year, Monsignor Walsh,¹³ during a tour to give the chrism, in only one part of his diocese and this the least flourishing wrote to us, "the number of converts to whom I have up to now given the chrism reaches 476."

The writer could give an account of many other conversions as conspicuous, if it were not for fear of wearying. One fact alone deserves telling. In the vicinity of Whitby in the County of York, there was a congregation of Protestants from Anglicanism. These, owners of their own chapel, became disgusted with their preacher, and resolved to cede the chapel, with all their belongings, to the catholic priest. Therefore when the Reverend Mr. Nicholas Rigby,¹⁴ a missionary to Ugthorpe, was invited there he went and began immediately the instruction of that congregation, which appears to continue fervently its first impulse.

III. Development of the Catholic Spirit among Protestants.

One cannot be too optimistic in calling the attention of all good Catholics, and especially the Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith, to the status of Anglicanism as a result of the new doctrines propagated with such force and such success by Messrs. Newman, Pusey and Keble. Their arguments are drawn from the works of the Holy Fathers, of whom they are already undertaking a new edition in English, they are working for the restoration of the old Catholic liturgy, of the Breviary (which many of them recite each day, as is known personally to the writer), of fasts, of the monastic life, and of many other religious practices. Moreover, they point out the insufficiency of the Bible as a rule of Faith, the necessity of tradition, of ecclesiastical authority, the real presence, prayer for the dead, the use of statuary, the priesthood's power of absolution, the sacrifice of the Eucharist, the devotion to the Blessed Mother, and many other Catholic doctrines so that very little separates them from the true faith, and (this little bit each day keeps on sowing the crops of religious learning which in a short time will produce very interesting results.) For now several quotations from letters recently received will suffice.

Extract from the letter of the Rev. Mr. Rock,¹⁵ author of erudite works,

¹³ Thomas Walsh, 1777-1849, Vicar Apostolic of the Midland District. Wiseman became his coadjutor in 1840 (*Catholic Encyclopedia*, XV, 541-542).

¹⁴ Nicholas Rigby, 1800-86, pastor at Ugthorpe mission, author of an account of Spencer's conversion.

¹⁵ Daniel Rock, D.D., 1799-1871, domestic chaplain to the Earl of Shrewsbury, author of *Hierurgia, or the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass Expounded* (1833), and of "Fallacious Evidence of the Senses," *Dublin Review*, III (1837), 525-549 (DNB).

to the Earl of Shrewsbury:¹⁶

"November 13, 1838. On my return home I stopped for several days at Oxford (principal seat of the new doctrines). The University at Oxford is in a true state of ferment on the matter of religion. Scarcely is a new work published that the question is not asked among the young students, 'does it tend to defend the Catholic or the Protestant position?' The zeal and the desire to restore old things are making great progress. In a room belonging to a fellow (or professor) of one of the largest and most important colleges I saw a crucifix hanging in one of the most conspicuous places and a warm follower of Pusey assured me that he and those of his faction consider it an affront to be called Protestants." (Note Mr. Newman, in his reply¹⁷ published a short while ago to Mr. Fausset's book entitled the *Rebirth of Popery*, in frank terms protests heatedly against this name, nor does he want it to be applied to himself or his people.) "Every day works are being published which tend to make the feeling, and so to speak, the spirit, of the University Catholic; I found there Latin hymns from the Sorbonne, and Roman and Parisian Breviaries newly printed. They complain about the sarcastic manner with which they have been treated by some of the Catholic journals, saying 'fight with arguments and not with sarcasm. *You* on your side ought to extend the right hand, while *we* sincerely will be delighted to effect a reunion with your church and the Roman See.'"

Other items from the same dated December 17:

"Things of a religious nature are becoming every day more important in England. The doctrines of Oxford are exciting a universal fervor and each side now boasts of the progress it is making and of the new strength it continues to acquire. They say that no less than 700 ecclesiastics have united with them, besides a large number of persons instructed by世俗s. . . . This new school of Oxford is making every effort to be the first in the field by means of the press. Among them are some very learned men, Palmer"¹⁸ (author of an erudite work entitled *Horae liturgicae*) "has now published his work on the Church about which many of them are boasting. W***¹⁹ should be announced immediately without losing a moment of time. His latest writing about the hierarchical succession of the Protestants was exactly that which similar discussions ought to be — This writing was awaited with some anxiety at Oxford when I was there."

Extract from a letter of Mr. Phillipps:

"Meanwhile the Anglican theologians of the Oxford Party are being

¹⁶ John (Talbot), Earl of Shrewsbury, one of the most zealous of the old Catholic families, and a friend of Phillipps (*Complete Peerage*, XI, 726).

¹⁷ Newman's *A Letter to the Rev. Godfrey Faussett, D.D., Margaret Professor of Divinity, on Certain Points of Faith and Practice* (1838) was a reply to Fausset's sermon, entitled "The Revival of Popery" (*Bibliographical Dictionary of the English Catholics* [1902], V, 167).

¹⁸ William Palmer, 1803-85. The correct title of the "erudite work" is *Origines Liturgicae* (1832). Author of one of the early *Tracts* and of a history of the Tractarians, Palmer was later to engage in vigorous controversy with W. G. Ward and Newman.

¹⁹ Probably for Henry William Wilberforce, 1807-73. A pupil of Newman, he became a Roman Catholic in 1850. The writing referred to would be "The Parochial System: An Appeal to English Churchmen" (1838) (DNB).

brought to us every day. Yesterday I saw Erskine²⁰ (a very zealous Protestant minister) "he was longing for the return to union with us; and he expressed it in so beautiful a manner that I had to turn my face to hide the tears of joy which were flowing on it."

More recent news makes known the introduction of the new theories in Ireland, and the acceptance they continue to acquire.

Extract from the letter of Mr. R.,²¹ member of the British Parliament:

"Doctor Todd²² having taught at the University of Dublin that the Catholic Church is not the apostate church about which it is spoken in sacred scripture, was upbraided by a theologian and former fellow of that university, inasmuch as this new doctrine of his was 'without foundation, very inopportune, and of a dangerous tendency.' The church dignitary in a public announcement of the superiors of the University answers him and they (the latter) confirm Mr. Todd for another year, a very odd event. Here are the words of the official: 'The application which has been made by some professions to the Roman Church by some Protestants has been for some time the cause of bitterness and hatred between us and the Catholics. If such application is false as Mr. Todd has proved, the sooner this error is removed, the root of bitterness and discord, the better. To oppose it is to condemn it and everything else as inopportune and dangerous.' Meanwhile the Protestant bishops, and others have begun to denounce this new sect as inimical to true protestantism. The Bishop of Chester has sent a circular to his clergy, in which these doctrines are condemned as being 'an attempt to destroy the reform, made within the church itself, and to introduce into it the worst doctrines of the Roman church, and is all the more deplorable in-as-much as it comes from an episcopal chair in the principal seat of that education which is given to the ministers of the reformed religion.' The Bishop of London has done almost the same thing in a sermon of his delivered in the Church of St. James in the capital."

These are some of the points upon which the undersigned, eager to second the desires of the illustrious and Reverend Secretary of the Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith, has believed fitting to place at the disposal of his wise consideration during these past few years.

English College, January 12, 1839

N. Wiseman

CHARLES T. DOUGHERTY

HOMER C. WELSH

Saint Louis University

²⁰ Possibly either Thomas Erskine, 1788-1870, the friend of F. D. Maurice, or William Erskine, 1773-1852, the Scots historian and orientalist (DNB). Although either of them might have been "longing for return to union," neither was a likely prospect for conversion. However Phillips was notoriously optimistic about these things. On this point see Louis Allen, "Ambrose Phillips de Lisle, 1809-1878," *The Catholic Historical Review*, XL (1954), 13-25.

²¹ Probably Thomas Nicholas Redington, 1815-62; M.P., 1837-46. He was educated at Oscott (DNB).

²² James Henthorn Todd, 1805-69. In 1838 and 1839 he was Donnellan lecturer in Trinity College, Dublin, and attacked the view that the pope is anti-Christ.

A Visit to the Gladstones in 1894

ISHBEL MARJORIBANKS, THE WRITER of the memorandum printed below, was born in 1857, the youngest daughter of Sir Dudley Coutts Marjoribanks, first Lord Tweedmouth.¹ In 1877 she was most happily married to the seventh Earl of Aberdeen, grandson of the Prime Minister of the 1852-55 Coalition. Always a woman with a mission, filled with a strong sense of social responsibility, Lady Aberdeen had from an early age dedicated herself to religious and humanitarian pursuits. In politics she was an ardent Liberal² and a fervent admirer of Gladstone, whom she and her husband had known since childhood. Indeed they had become close friends of the Gladstones and had often lent their London house at Dollis Hill to the old couple because of its healthy location high above the Thames valley.

Lord Aberdeen had made a promising start as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland in Gladstone's ill-fated third administration of 1886, a post which he was to occupy again with much success from 1906 to 1915, but in 1892, the Irish Secretary entrusted with Gladstone's second Home Rule Bill, John Morley, vetoed his re-appointment. By way of compensation he was given the Governor-Generalship of Canada when it became vacant in the following year, a post which he chose in preference to several other high offices. So friendly were the young vice-regal couple with the old Prime Minister and his wife that it was arranged that before sailing they should spend the last night together under the same roof. It was also agreed that the first night after their return should be spent at Hawarden, but when that day came in 1898 they were six months too late to see the old man again. Lady Aberdeen, however, returned twice to Britain during her husband's term of office and on each occasion a visit to the Gladstones was an important part of her itinerary. In the following memorandum she describes the first of these visits for the benefit of her husband who had to remain behind in Canada.³

It will be recalled that Gladstone had formed his fourth administration in the summer of 1892 after winning a small majority at the general election. The Tory majority in the House of Lords had defeated his Second Home Rule Bill in the following autumn and had continued to block government legislation in the session of 1894. Gladstone failed to get his cabinet to agree to a dissolution and strongly opposed their proposals to increase the naval estimates. On 9 January 1894 he warned them of his intention to resign but he kept them on tenterhooks for almost two months until he finally carried

¹ Lady Aberdeen wrote *We Two* (London, c. 1925), *Musings of a Scottish Granny* (London, 1936), and several other volumes of reminiscences, and is the subject of a short biography by her daughter, Lady Pentland, entitled *A Bonnie Fechter* (London, session Question 1891-1896," *Canadian Historical Review*, XXXVII (1956), 309-337.

² The part Lady Aberdeen played behind the political scene in Canada is revealed in an interesting article by J. T. Saywell, "The Crown and the Politicians: the Canadian Succession Question 1891-1896," *Canadian Historical Review*, XXXVII (1956), 309-337.

³ British Museum, Add. Ms. 44776, ff. 85-92. This is a typescript carbon copy, probably sent to the Gladstone family after Gladstone's death in 1898.

out his threat on 3 March. Lord Rosebery⁴ and the official biographers of the main participants have described the deep agitation that went on behind the scenes prior to the formation of the new government. It was strange, and nobody was more aware of the anomaly than Lord Rosebery himself, that the Liberals who were so weak in the Lords should accept a peer as Prime Minister, but few of them were prepared to serve under the redoubtable Sir William Harcourt who on grounds of service and ability had the strongest claim to the succession among the commoners in the Cabinet. Sir William was a colourful figure and the joy of contemporary cartoonists, but his colleagues could not forget past indignities that they had suffered at his hands. Consequently Harcourt and the Liberal party had to accept the unfortunate succession of Lord Rosebery until defeat in the Commons finally put an end to their agony in the following year.

These then were the circumstances to which Lady Aberdeen refers and these the colleagues upon which she reports Gladstone's remarks in a memorandum marked "Confidential Most Private," which is now published with the kind permission of her son, the second Marquis of Aberdeen and Temair. The memorandum speaks for itself. Its interest lies mainly in the warm and vivid picture that it gives us of the Grand Old Man at this late stage in his career. The biographer of a great statesman is seldom at a loss for correspondence, but records of chance conversations of this sort — that occurred when there was something to be said — are harder to find. In these frank observations we have some further evidence of the "sorenness" that accompanied Gladstone's final resignation. The caustic remarks about his late colleagues show that his critical faculties were still sharp, but we also see that he was virtually out of touch with most of them and with the new ideas that were taking root in the old Liberal party.

Memo concerning my visit to Pitlochry July 3. 1894

As I have already mentioned in my journal,⁵ I was surprised at finding both looking so well. He was lying down when I came in after his drive, dressed in a very becoming suit of grey tweed presented to him last year at Blackcraig. He had considerable colour in his cheeks, instead of the extreme pallor of last year, and she seemed to me certainly stronger and brisker in her ways of moving than last year, tho' off and on she complained of back-ache. He was quite anxious that I should sit by the sofa and talk to him and as ever he was full of thoughtfulness for others and enquiries for my Mother, and her plans. The talk soon drifted on to Uncle Arthur⁶ — it was curious that as at

⁴ See "Mr. Gladstone's Last Cabinet," *History Today*, I (1951), 31-41, and II (1952), 17-22, a memorandum by the fifth Earl of Rosebery, published posthumously.

⁵ During these years Lady Aberdeen kept a daily journal, the Canadian portions of which are in the possession of the Public Archives of Canada.

⁶ Arthur Hamilton-Gordon, (1829-1912) youngest son of the fourth Earl of Aberdeen, was created Baron Stanmore in 1893 after a long career in the colonial service. As a young man he had acted as his father's private secretary during the Coalition of 1852-55 and was then on quite intimate terms with Gladstone, who indeed brought him along as a private secretary to the Ionian Islands in 1858-59. There was no love lost between

Blackcraig last year he should be in the midst of a correspondence with him, and he became somewhat vehement on the subject. Uncle Arthur has been writing to him, saying this, that, and that he hoped it was understood that tho' he differed on certain points, he did not want to leave the party, etc. This letter he had sent on to Lord Rosebery⁷ before answering — Lord R. had not yet answered and finally before leaving Dollis, Mr. G. had written him a letter of which I enclose a copy, but which Mr. G. wishes to be returned to him. As you see it is m. kind. On the following morning Ld. R. did answer somewhat crustily, for as you are well aware no love is lost between him and Uncle Arthur, and he did not at all see Mr. G.'s wish that he should open up communications with him — compared his conduct to that of Ld. Brabourne⁸ and said there were certain decencies of conduct to be maintained towards the Govt. to whom a man owed his peerage. He had mislaid Uncle Arthur's letter, but said that he would find it and forward it. And Mr. G. said he would leave him no peace till he did find it and would then forward it to me. I will of course send it on to you as soon as I receive it, and will you then return it and the copy of Mr. G.'s answer with whatever comments of your own which you think proper. You know that I am not disposed to have much patience with him, and I look on this fresh opening up of correspondence with Mr. G. and yourself as betokening merely the pursuit of some fresh object for self. Mr. G. became v. indignant as he recalled the past and related how on one occasion when on the way to the Ionian Islands, he was stopping at Brussels and King Leopold showed him all honour and courtesy — Mr. G. was asked to a great State dinner, and Uncle Arthur, tho' junior Sec., was asked to accompany him, as Ld. A.'s son. The King sent one of his own carriages at an appointed hour. Mr. G. went down and sat himself in it (can you imagine him!) and waited — 5 minutes — no Arthur — 10 m. — no Arthur — 15 min. — no Arthur — finally down he came, saying that he could not find the right waistcoat, but offering no apology. The King and all his guests etc. were found to be waiting — but Arthur seemed in no way perturbed — never apologized — and never tried to shield Mr. G. — This thing greatly rankled. And then all the story about the peerage, etc. came over again — and ever and anon he reiterated "And that he should be the son of his father." "He is the man in public life of all others whom I have *loved*. I say it emphatically *loved*. I have *loved* others but never like him. And it was he who confided Arthur to me and I have tried to discharge the trust. And now this is the man!" Poor dear, he almost sobbed as he said this. And then he said how he might have known — and quoted the instance of how, when he had, after Ld. A.'s death — or a good deal later, was it⁹ written a letter to Arthur, gathering together all the remi-

Lady Aberdeen and "Uncle Arthur" who was critical of her democratic tendencies and what he considered her spendthrift ways.

⁷ Archibald Philip Primrose (1847-1929), fifth Earl of Rosebery, entered Gladstone's third cabinet in 1885; foreign secretary, 1886, 1892-94; prime minister, 1894-95; resigned leadership of the Liberal party, 1896.

⁸ Edward Knatchbull-Hugesson (1829-93), first baron Brabourne, an under-secretary in Gladstone's first administration who turned Conservative shortly after receiving a peerage from the Liberals in 1880. He was also an undistinguished writer of children's stories.

niscences and the reasons for his love and reverence for his memory — that Arthur without asking permission, sent this letter to the Editor of the Edinburgh Review and allowed this same gentleman to maul it, cut bits out of it, and publish it in an article.

Now no more of this, tho' it was a subject often referred to, and I scarcely think Uncle Arthur can ever know the pain he has given to so noble a heart. It is well he should not. It would only minister to his inordinate vanity and self-esteem.

On looking back, I feel Mr. G. expected me to talk more about the changes at once. For quite soon he said — "Well, there has been a great change. Were you surprised?" He had just been speaking of my Mother and so I naturally thought he alluded to my Father's death — but presently I saw he had meant the other thing and had been ready to talk and I was sorry. They must have had a bad time early in the year. At Biarritz⁹ his eyes became very bad and he felt keenly his half-blindness and the entreaties of his friends that he would stay. If he had known about this stuff that could be put into his eye to enlarge the pupil and enable him to see past the cataract and read, he could not have grounded his resignation upon that. And then the Pall Mall Gazette,¹⁰ etc., etc., and the scene in the Cabinet when he announced his decision. Sir Wm. Harcourt¹¹ got up and read the letter which he had composed and which was felt to be nine-tenths buncrum [sic], and the communications to the Queen. And when Mrs. G. was sent for to the Queen the latter was very nice and affectionate to her — but Mrs. G. determined to say one thing and said something about "whatever he might have had to do or say, I do want Your Majesty to believe that it was all done out of a sense of duty to his Queen and the Constitution." And the Queen said "I never thought otherwise."

Then afterwards a curious mishap occurred. Mr. G. said nothing about his successor — and when Sir Henry Ponsonby,¹² who they say was wonderfully nice all through, came again and asked if there was nothing more he wished to say to Her M., he said nothing. A number of them were all down for a Council and it seems H. M. wished to see Ld. Kimberley¹³ as leader of the H. of L. The message got mixed, and got taken to Sir W. Harcourt who of course could only think that this was the real being "sent for." He came and said "I think Y. M. wanted to see me." "Not at all — not at all — I wanted Ld. Kimberley." Must not that have been a terrible moment. So they all went back. Ld. Rosebery was not of the party. And it was only in the evening papers that Mr. G. saw that Ld. K. [i.e., R] had been sent for. Sir Henry had

⁹ The Gladstones spent four weeks at Biarritz after the fateful January cabinet meeting.

¹⁰ About the end of January the *Pall Mall Gazette* prematurely announced Gladstone's resignation.

¹¹ Sir William Harcourt (1827-1904), grandson of Archbishop Harcourt; M.P., 1868; home secretary, 1880-85; chancellor of the exchequer, 1886 and 1892-95; party leader in the commons, 1894-98.

¹² Private secretary to Queen Victoria.

¹³ John Wodehouse (1826-1902), first earl of Kimberley, a member of Gladstone's four administrations and Liberal leader in the Lords, 1891-94; foreign secretary under Rosebery, 1894-95.

come up unknown to them in the same train, flown to Ld. R. and conveyed him down.

Sir W. has been unbearable — but all the same, has received great credit for his Budget and its conduct. I suppose there is no doubt but what he means to retire.

I cannot recall all that Mr. G. said to me next morning when I was alone with him about his withdrawal — I felt too capsized to be taking it all in. "Say what you will, I am a survival — a survival from the time of Sir Robert Peel — think of what that means. My colleagues were very good to me but they felt this — they were all men twenty, thirty, forty years younger than myself. Could I break with all the associations of my middle life and of the men I then served with and under? It *could* not be and the others felt that the time had come when I was best away. — I cannot sympathise with much of the talk of the present day and they knew it" — and then he spoke more of the social tendencies of how the people needed to be led to realise the responsibilities of power — and how the rich must do their duty — and then he said what I have already written in my journal v. solemnly. "I assure you I never felt providential [providence] more clear in any of the events of my life than in the past four months, when I have been laid on my back — tied — forced to think — it has supplied a need in my life — it has forced an over-driven man to understand something of what meditation may mean — it has supplied a link" — and then about Kemble's farewell and how the line "a period between the theatre and the grave" runs in his head.

He spoke somewhat sorrowfully about Rosebery — "I cannot understand him — he remains a closed book to me — and on the whole I feel I understand him less than I did twelve or fifteen years ago — and yet he has a vein of deep religious conviction in him. God be with him." And at another time "He never consults me."

He was much pleased by Sir John Thompson's¹⁴ message about appreciation of Ld. Ripon¹⁵ and referred to it more than once. His change to the Roman Catholic Church was the awakening of his religious life. "When I looked around the Cabinet to see to whom I could look as a man whose life and heart were given to God, it was to Ripon I turned. I say not that the others were not so — but I knew it of Ripon."

He asked much about Canada — population — feeling — about R.C. and Protestants, French and English and immigrants — in what estimation different Governors were held, etc. Happily I was able to answer all queries.

He was interested and anxious about Asquith's marriage¹⁶ — quoted

¹⁴ Sir John Thompson (1844-94), Canadian minister of justice, 1885-92 and prime minister, 1892-94, died suddenly at Windsor Castle in December 1894, after being sworn in as a privy councillor; he became a Roman Catholic in 1871.

¹⁵ George F. S. Robinson (1827-1909), first marquis of Ripon, son of viscount Goderich, the prime minister; a one-time Christian Socialist, converted to Roman Catholicism in 1874; viceroy of India, 1880-84; a member of Gladstone's first, third, and fourth cabinets, also of Rosebery's and Campbell-Bannerman's; government leader in the Lords, 1905-08.

¹⁶ Herbert Henry Asquith (1852-1928), first earl of Oxford and Asquith, held cabinet office under Gladstone, Rosebery, and Campbell-Bannerman; prime minister, 1908-16; after the death of his first wife married "Margot" Tennant, a well known figure in London society.

a story of Margot — staying with Edward Talbot, one morning she was vaunting herself of the short time which had elapsed between her getting up and appearing at breakfast "And how much of that time was devoted to your prayers?" queried Mr. Talbot. "Forgot them, you old dear!!"

He was also very full of Teddy¹⁷ — of all he had been to him and how he valued him — he was v. appreciative of all his attention since his resignation, a matter in which he has evidently differed from others — coming to see him off at station. I told him how we felt all that the close connection with him had been to Teddy.

His earnest interest in his complaint and in his eye were v. characteristic — showing his eye and his eye-lid and the inflammation left and so on. He thinks that John Morley¹⁸ has gained in power the last months, and is no longer *afraid* of the House. — Dossie Drew¹⁹ is still his idol and all that she does is wonderful — her power of observation and her accuracy — thinks that she comes second only to Lady Stepney's child.

He had somehow got it into his head that I was not to sail till August 21st and he was quite eager about plans for Hawarden. It quite went to my heart to explain that it was July 21st and that I could not postpone — it was so dear of him to look so disappointed and he recurred to it several times — and I really felt as if I must chuck Halifax for a moment. He chuckles over the *title* of an article he is writing for the 19th²⁰ and thinks it will surprise Mr. Knowles "The place of heresy and schism in the modern Church."

Little knots of people gathered about to see him and to salute him as he started for his drive and during its course — their attitude and his and the respectful silence which prevailed were v. touching. I did not like the very black hat and cape which he had adopted. He was v. much himself and v. playful most of the time — chaffing Mrs. G. about her pronunciation of "squarrel" instead of "squirrel" and other words and leading her into it — joking about the names of places, making us tell him each milestone and so on. By the way, I never mentioned his allusion to Home Rule — When he was talking of how far behind the others he was I ventured to remark that he had been a good [way] in front of them with Home Rule." "Ah well — and if I could still do anything for *that*, I would — but as to all the rest, I have done with it." — He was v. pleased about the peaceful state of Ireland.

I think that is about all I can remember just now.

J. B. CONACHER

University of Toronto

¹⁷ Edward Marjoribanks (1849-1909), Lady Aberdeen's brother, was chief Liberal whip in the Commons 1892-94 and held cabinet office under Rosebery, Campbell-Bannerman, and Asquith.

¹⁸ John Morley (1838-1923), first Lord Morley of Blackburn, was Irish secretary, 1886 and 1892-95, secretary for India, 1905-1910, and lord president of the council, 1910-14.

¹⁹ His granddaughter, daughter of Mary Gladstone Drew.

²⁰ Published in *The Nineteenth Century*, August 1894, one of three contributions that year; "Mr. Knowles" is J. T. Knowles (1831-1908), the editor.

- 162 *Martin J. Svaglic* : Newman: His Life and Spirituality by LOUIS BOUYER
: From Bossuet to Newman by OWEN CHADWICK
- 165 *R. W. Greaves* : Dean Church: the Anglican Response to Newman
by B. A. SMITH
- 166 *Charles Coulston Gillispie* : The Autobiography of Charles Darwin ed. BARLOW
: Evolutionary Theory and Christian Belief by DAVID LACK
- 169 *A. O. J. Cockshut* : Anthony Trollope: Aspects of His Life and Art
• by BRADFORD A. BOOTH
- 170 *Julian L. Moynahan* : Charles Dickens: The World of His Novels by J. HILLIS MILLER
- 172 *Royal A. Gettman* : Adam and Charles Black, 1807-1957
: The House of Cassell, 1848-1958 by SIMON NOWELL-SMITH
- 173 *W. A. M.* : Ten Studies in the Poetry of Matthew Arnold by PAULL F. BAUM
: Matthew Arnold's Books: Toward a Publishing Diary
by WILLIAM E. BUCKLER
• : Arnold and the Romantics by WILLIAM A. JAMISON
- 175 *Michael Roe* : Australia's Colonial Culture by GEORGE NADEL
- 177 *F. S. L. Lyons* : The Independent Irish Party by J. H. WHYTE
- 178 *F. C. Mather* : An Anthology of Chartist Literature ed. KOVALEV
: The Condition of the Working Class in England
by F. ENGELS, ed. HENDERSON & CHALONER
- 180 *N. H. Gibbs* : The Anti-Corn Law League, 1838-1846 by NORMAN McCORD
- 181 *John Roach* : Convocation and the University of London
by PERCY DUNSHEATH and MARGARET MILLER
- 182 *W. L. G. James* : Popular Fiction 100 Years Ago by MARGARET DALZIEL
- 183 *A. L. Bader* : Through A Glass Darkly by KATHERINE H. PORTER
: Bulwer-Lytton's Novels and "Isis Unveiled" by S. B. LILJEGREN
- 184 *G. B. Pyrah* : The Boer War by EDGAR HOLT

man: His Life and Spirituality, by LOUIS VERNIER; pp. xvi + 391. P. J. Kennedy: New York, 1958, \$7.50; Burns and Oates: London, 3s, 30s.

n Bossuet to Newman: The Idea of Doctrinal Development, by OWEN CHADWICK; xii + 254. Cambridge University Press: New York and London, 1957, \$5.00 and 25s.

SE TWO IMPORTANT books on Newman, all their differences in point of view, some things in common. Both stress the pious and theological side of their subject. They are the work of intelligent and informed laymen, Fr. Bouyer being a former Protestant minister in France who is now a priest of the Oratory, and Dr. Chadwick, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, an ecclesiastical historian of wide learning who manages to write with a sympathetic tone while raising questions that suggest he is in Newman's sense a liberal. And finally both books see Newman as a figure of crucial importance in modern church history: Bouyer stresses his unique gifts as both apologist to the uncharitable and irenicist who in his neglected treatise on *Justification* set forth "an advance term, a model, of a whole 'ecumenical' theology, a theology which brings all Christendom together, not by a compromise satisfactory to none, but by an acceptance, made

possible by a clearer understanding, of the whole, in all its plenitude"; and Chadwick views Newman as the chief nineteenth-century Catholic opponent of anti-historical reaction: "The new historical studies, the new criticism, might have turned a conservative society towards absolute obscurantism, towards a destruction of the critical doubt by refusing to allow historical inquiry to be relevant to religious faith. Plenty of evidence from the Ultramontanism of the middle nineteenth century and after shows that this peril was not imaginary. Greatly to its credit, the conservative community refused to follow several seductive proposals of this kind. To this refusal Newman contributed more than any other Catholic." So that, thanks to Newman, the door has not been completely closed to an irenicism rather different from that envisioned by Fr. Bouyer or Newman himself which, it is delicately implied, might some day permeate the churches if Rome, for one, were boldly to face up to implications for dogma of the evidence from history.

One reason for reading biographies of Newman, of which there is an almost continuous supply, is the hope that one will eventually turn up that does justice to the rich complexity of the subject. Despite the new material that has become available in recent years, it may be, of course, that the various aspects of Newman's life and the nuances of his temperament make such a hope unreasonable, unless a work be projected on the scale of Miss Viljoen's study of

Ruskin. In any event, it has not been realized in Fr. Bouyer's book, which despite its title is not a comprehensive biography but a rather curiously proportioned study of certain aspects of Newman's spiritual life. Almost two-thirds of Fr. Bouyer's 387 pages deal with the Anglican period, and except for an important journal introduced into a chapter on Rome and the Oratory, the rest is a skimpy rehash of Wilfrid Ward. It might be said that Fr. Bouyer is only reversing Ward's proportions, which is true in a sense; yet Ward's remains far and away the best life of Newman available because the author so freely allowed his subject to speak for himself on a wide variety of subjects. And this is something that the highly analytical and interpretive Fr. Bouyer, for all his genuine appreciation of Newman, has failed sufficiently to do. He is too protective with Newman, perhaps because he knew when he wrote the book several years ago (the French edition *appeared in 1952) that a move to canonize Newman would soon be initiated; and he wanted his work to stand as a convincing demonstration of Newman's sanctity against any critics who might appear to have had the slightest doubt of it.

If in consequence he does not "realize" Newman as vividly and roundly as one would like, he nonetheless knows him deeply and contributes markedly to our understanding. Among the distinctive features of his book is a pointed analysis of Newman's conversion of 1816, arguing that it differed fundamentally from the Evangelical pattern, the doctrine of final perseverance taught him by the Calvinist Romaine merely acting "as a catalytic, reviving in the mind of the adolescent a conviction, an idea prematurely implanted in the mind of the child." Fr. Bouyer is undoubtedly right here, Newman himself having first pointed out that his early conversion was not strictly Evangelical but a return to principles and attitudes he had felt when young. Where Bouyer goes beyond the evidence, however, is in ascribing to the single doctrine of final perseverance all the catalytic force. The lines which he quotes in support from the *Apologia* — "I received it [the doctrine of final perseverance] at once, and believed that the inward conversion of which I was conscious (and of which I am still more certain than that I have hands and feet) would last

into the next life, and that I was elected to eternal glory" — do *not* say that the conversion itself resulted, either initially or wholly, from the doctrine of final perseverance. And hence the problem which he says does not appear "up to now greatly to have exercised" Newman's biographers, of how this conversion persisted when the doctrine to which he ascribed it soon faded from his mind, may be regarded as largely one of his own making. One gets the impression, furthermore, that Fr. Bouyer plays down more than his subject himself did the importance of the Evangelical influences which acted in some degree on Newman for eight years or more.

Less open to question are such contributions as Bouyer's analysis of the influence of Hawkins on Newman; his insistence on the practical common sense displayed by Newman as clergyman and educator which gives the lie to those who have portrayed him chiefly as a delicate neurotic; the best study available of the influence of Mary Newman's death, making effective use of Newman's poetry; a graphic account of the illness in Sicily which supplies Anne Mozley's omissions from the Autobiographical Memoir and puts "Lead, Kindly Light" in fresh perspective. (Bouyer points out that the famous hymn has never been sung at the Birmingham Oratory, as it grated on Newman, who thought it too personal a piece for such use.) There is also a fine, if more asserted than rendered, appreciation of the *Parochial and Plain Sermons*, which may be summed up in the remark that "nothing moves us more than Newman's knowledge of God's Word, unless it be, indeed, his knowledge of the human heart." And finally there is the first complete publication (though not the first in England, where like the Memoir this originally appeared in the recent *Autobiographical Writings*) of the spiritual journal kept by Newman before his conditional ordination at Rome in 1847. In this painfully searching and deeply impressive piece of self-analysis, we may find, as Bouyer rightly insists, most convincing testimony of the high level of sanctity which Newman had reached: "Only to the Saints is it granted thus to bring the detecting ray to bear on all their soul's destinies, all their sins and failings; but the very fact that they behold them so clearly is a sign that they have already got the better of

them." And we are reminded that, as Brilioth, Webb, and others have insisted, it was the impulse toward sanctity which supplied the deepest motive force behind the Oxford Movement.

The translation of Bouyer's rather difficult prose by J. Lewis May is admirable, nor is there meant any serious qualification of the high praise due it in pointing out that it is sometimes marred by a fondness for alliteration that borders on the ludicrous and has the effect of exaggerating the author's own invective. Thus Ward's *Ideal of a Christian Church*, which Bouyer called "cet énorme paquet de prose verbeuse et de dialectique inhumaine" becomes a "formidable bundle of verbiage and vicious vituperation." And there is occasional misunderstanding. When Bouyer called Ward's romantic ascesis "seul antidote possible à ses yeux d'une frénésie critique déchaînée en lui par la formation d'Arnold," he surely did not mean that it was "the only possible balm, to soothe the fury aroused in him by Arnold's proposals for a Church."

Dr. Chadwick's book, originally the Birkbeck lectures of 1955-56, describes and sets in the context of Christian theology Newman's "creation of a revised idea of tradition which corresponds within the Roman Catholic Church to those other revisions of the idea of tradition, which the new critical history was forcing upon Christian thinkers." Since Catholics, like most Christians, hold that Revelation is immutable, how do they reconcile such a belief with the obvious changes that have taken place over the centuries: for example, new definitions of doctrine like the Immaculate Conception or the Assumption? Before Newman's *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine* there were two principal ways of dealing with the problem: first, the static theory of Bossuet and the seventeenth century, to the effect that there never had been any real changes or additions, the Church having always been aware of its own mind, which it occasionally translated into clearer language as this or that heresy required it to do so. This was really the Vincentian formula of *quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*, employed by the Tractarians and set forth in Newman's own *Prophetic Office*. And second, there was the earlier scholastic theory of inferences

which "admitted that the Church was in a measure unaware of doctrines later defined" and "recognized that there were some doctrines which at an earlier date the Church knew only implicitly — that is, as a little child which knows that 2 plus 2 equals 4 may not yet know that 4 plus 4 equals 8." One of Newman's own tests for distinguishing a true development from a corruption is indeed "logical sequence," but Chadwick maintains that Newman was not using logic "in the sense in which the logicians and the mathematicians would use it" but loosely as "a vague but general intellectual coherence."

Essentially, he insists, Newman's is a different approach, a third way, owing relatively little to Butler or the Germans at Tübingen. Knowing too much about the new historical scholarship to be content with the old explanations, Newman asserted "that the Church provides new doctrines, and not simply new definitions or explanations of old doctrines." As one is about to ask where Newman asserted this, Chadwick goes on to explain himself more precisely; and as this is the heart of his thesis, the passage must be quoted at length: "It is essential to Newman's theory that an idea or an aspect of an idea might be at one time held 'wordlessly' and might subsequently be formulated in words, and it was therefore essential to him to allow that new doctrines (*quoad nos*) had arisen in the history of the Church. This assertion appears in the *Essay* partly as a delivery of historical investigation and partly as an assumption underlying most of the argument. His strenuous attempt to affirm the immutability of Catholic 'principles' like dogmatism and sacramentalism and the supremacy of faith over reason is in part an effort to show how dogmas, while changing, could nevertheless illustrate the unchanging principles from which they arise. But the principal way in which he affirmed this novelty of some doctrines *quoad nos* was to contend that the Church was once *unaware* or *unconscious* of some of the truths which she afterwards defined. Indeed it was the chief purpose of his two analogies — the analogy with the appropriation of a living idea and the analogy of the child's faith — to explain and expound this awareness. He used a third analogy — the analogy of a poet's mind. In analyzing a poem we find whisperings and imaginings

beyond what the poet is saying with the surface of his mind, glimpses of which the poet was himself unconscious but which may yet be said to be in some sense part of his mind."

Only an ecclesiastical historian who was also a good theologian could review Dr. Chadwick's book adequately — and then only if he were allowed a great deal of space. As the present writer is neither, and has but little space, he must content himself with remarking that *From Bossuet to Newman* is a beautifully written and richly informative book, almost certainly a work of the first importance in its field and one which, it is to be hoped, will provoke Catholic theologians (and Dr. Chadwick, too, perhaps) to set forth their present theories on the question of development more fully and clearly, boldly facing up to the questions raised in the last chapter of the book: for example, "these new doctrines, of which the Church had a feeling or inkling but of which she was not conscious — in what meaningful sense may it be asserted that these new doctrines are not 'new revelation'?"

One must recognize, of course, that Dr. Chadwick's chronicle of the "thorny battle-field between conservative and scholar," the former being almost never the latter, is based on assumptions of his own (for example, of essential "mutability" rather than "immutability" in Revelation) which are no more demonstrable than Newman's and less antecedently probable when judged by the claims of Revelation, of Christian tradition, and even, as Newman argued, of the later developments themselves. Certainly his insistence on the "discrepancy" (a word Dr. Chadwick uses as if it were Newman's) "between ancient Christianity and modern Roman Catholicism" needs precise demonstration rather than mere general assertion. The reader of *From Bossuet to Newman* should also consult, for the sake of balance, J. H. Walgrave's *Newman: Le développement du dogme* (Tournai and Paris, 1957), which is a useful compendium of much recent Newman scholarship. And he might bear in mind a passage from Newman's essay "Christianity and Physical Science" not cited by Dr. Chadwick: "There is no reason why the data for investigation supplied by the extant documents of Antiquity should be sufficient for all that was included in the Divine Revelation delivered

by the Apostles; and to expect that they will is like expecting that one witness in a trial is to prove the whole case, and that his testimony actually contradicts it, unless it does. While, then, this research into ecclesiastical history and the writings of the Fathers keeps its proper place, as subordinate to the magisterial sovereignty of the Theological Tradition and the voice of the Church, it deserves the acknowledgment of theologians; but when it (so to say) sets up for itself, when it professes to fulfil an office for which it was never intended, when it claims to issue in a true and full teaching, derived by a scientific process of induction, then it is but another instance of the encroachment of the Baconian empirical method in a department not its own."

Such qualifications, however, do not make one any the less grateful for an excellent book.

MARTIN J. SVACLIK
Loyola University (Chicago)

Dean Church: *The Anglican Response to Newman*, by B. A. SMITH; pp. xiii + 334. London: Oxford University Press, 1958, 30s.

THE AUTHOR of this lively and enjoyable book, about a churchman who won the admiration of prelates as unlike as Cosmo Lang and Hensley Henson, modestly conceals his own identity. He seems to be a clergyman, and a high churchman for whom the Lambeth Quadrilateral has a distinct but not an extreme tilt away from Wittenberg and Zurich. Of necessity he draws largely on Mary Church's *Life and Letters* of her father. In addition he has used manuscripts in the British Museum, Liddon House, Pusey House, and Hawarden, and some family letters. He does not seem to have had recourse to the Newman papers at the Birmingham Oratory or to the capitular archives at St. Paul's. For Church's work as Dean he seems to have relied on printed works, among them Prestige's *St. Paul's in its Glory*. Seeing that Church had so large a part in the early history of the *Guardian*, it would be good if access were secured for scholars to the editorial or business archives of that paper.

Primarily this book is a literary study, useful as such to the historian. Church's various writings, particularly the less known occasional papers, are interestingly presented,

and generally well set against the background of their author's life. *St. Anselm* (1870) is seen as reflecting Church's concern for the rights of the Church against secular encroachment at the time of the ritual controversies before the Judicial Committee; and *Dante* (1888) is considered as the book of a critical or "Liberal" Catholic (to speak *more Anglicano*), not backward looking or "clerical," but fully accepting the modern world and in new circumstances looking for "some new dispensation of God." Perhaps wisely, for it would require a range of detailed scholarship rarely to be achieved in today's conditions, Mr. Smith has not attempted any profound examination of these books as works of scholarship. What is perhaps more surprising is that he gives little help towards a critical appraisal of that splendid classic *The Oxford Movement*, which as he says, truly enough, "needs to be read between the lines."

After an interesting account of Church's family background (particularly to be enjoyed by those who love Italy) and of his schooldays at a queer Evangelical private school with a strong Reformation Society, Mr. Smith has ingeniously constructed his argument around the dealings of Church with Newman and W. E. Gladstone. These two men he always admired. He worked with them on terms of great confidence, with Newman even of intimacy. With each of them he came to a parting of the ways, with Newman in 1845, and with Gladstone as unwisely appeasing the obstreperous Irish. Mr. Smith has collected some interesting details about Church's advice to Gladstone on Church appointments. Here he had to contend with the influence of Dean Wellesley, who was strategically well placed at Windsor.

The principal theme of this book is, in fact, what Mr. Smith calls Church's emancipation from Newman. This began when Newman became a Roman Catholic in 1845; was, Mr. Smith suggests, promoted by Church's European travels in 1847, which took him well away from Oxford; and was ensured by twenty years in which the two men did not meet. Rather unfairly, Mr. Smith says that Newman, "as if by instinct, contracted out, before the arrival in full force of intellectual ordeals which most Christians, except Roman Catholics, had to face for themselves for the rest of the century." Lord Acton, and the

Vatican authorities who disliked Newman's contributions to the *Rambler*, would be surprised at the impression of Newman which this book suggests, as being (unlike Church) rather obscurantist, pessimistic, introverted, and clerical in matters of the intellect. Certainly, in the freedom of the Anglican Church, the Dean of St. Paul's was able to welcome new knowledge in a way that some others, inside the Anglican Church as well as elsewhere, could not or would not. In particular, as a close friend of the botanist Asa Gray, the foremost American apostle of Darwinism, Church (with more of his clerical brethren than popular accounts might suggest) was not panicked by *The Origin of Species*. The review of this book in the *Guardian*, early in 1860, tentatively ascribed by Mr. Smith to Church, was quite definitely spoken of (in conversation) as Church's work by the last editor of that newspaper.

The subtitle of this book indicates that, in Mr. Smith's opinion, Dean Church was the "Anglican response to Newman." While in general Mr. Smith is most circumspect in what he says in praise of his hero, does he not here claim much too much for him? Were there not other Anglican responses also? What of the anxious Protestantism of William Coode; of the unhappy alliance of Evangelicals with Low Church Erastianism; of the Liberal Latitudinarianism of Stanley, Pattison, and Kingsley; of the erudite theologizings of J. B. Mozley? Were not these, in different ways and measures, Anglican "responses to Newman," whose existence the historian must acknowledge, even if the churchman may find them less balanced, perhaps, or less orthodox, or less satisfying, than that of Church? And were they not responses to other challenges as well? To describe the mature outlook of Church, or of any of these men, as a "response to Newman," is not that to exaggerate the importance even of that great person?

R. W. GREAVES
Bedford College, London

The Autobiography of Charles Darwin, 1809-1882, edited by NORA BARLOW; pp. 253. Collins: London, 1958, 16s.

Evolutionary Theory and Christian Belief: The Unresolved Conflict, by DAVID LACK; pp. 128. Methuen: London, 1957, 10s. 6d.

WHEN IN 1887 Francis Darwin published his father's autobiographical sketch in the *Life and Letters of Charles Darwin*, certain passages were suppressed because of the account they gave of the atrophy of his religion. "Raw," Mrs. Darwin thought them (rightly, the reader may feel). She was particularly distressed by an allusion in which he compared a monkey's "instinctive fear and hatred of a snake" to a child's inherited belief in the existence of God. "I should wish if possible," she wrote, "to avoid giving pain to your father's religious friends who are deeply attached to him, and I picture to myself the way that sentence would strike them, even those so liberal as Ellen Tollett and Laura, much more Admiral Sullivan, Aunt Caroline, etc., and even the old servants." Lady Barlow's edition restores those discreet omissions from her grandfather's account of his mind, together with some rather astringent comments on persons whose memories were still alive in 1887.

David Lack's modest and temperate essay reminds us of the origin and present state of the issue between evolutionary biology and Christianity. For he thinks the question has been forgotten, not resolved. It was, therefore, natural in the editor to assign the two books for a single review. Yet they have, perhaps, less to do with each other than might appear. And though it may be presumptuous in a reviewer to seem to allay the troubled state of mind which Mr. Lack so creditably expresses, the irrelevance to science of Darwin's own agnosticism may, perhaps, be a point to put to him. For the only discovery to be made among these awful, these ill-kept secrets is that Darwin never lost his little faith as a consequence of the theory of evolution. He became unconvinced for historical and, above all, for moral reasons. Gradually he saw "that the Old Testament from its manifestly false history of the world, with the Tower of Babel, the rainbow as a sign, etc. etc., and from its attributing to God the feelings of a revengeful tyrant, was no more to be trusted than the sacred books of the Hindoos, or the beliefs of any barbarians." But the ground of the New Testament was no more solid. Discrepancies abound in the Gospels. Those four books are in any case hearsay, whereas "the clearest evidence would be requisite to make any sane man believe in the

miracles by which Christianity is supported."

"Thus disbelief crept over me at a very slow rate, but was at last complete. The rate was so slow that I felt no distress, and have never since doubted even for a single second that my conclusion was correct. I can indeed hardly see how anyone ought to wish Christianity to be true; for if so the plain language of the text seems to show that the men who do not believe, and this would include my Father, Brother and almost all my best friends, will be everlastinglly punished.

"And this is a damnable doctrine."

These meditations were much in Darwin's mind in the years from October 1836 to January 1839. He formulated the theory of natural selection on reading Malthus in October 1838, when he was already far gone in free thought. This is not to argue that Darwin's eminence in biology makes his religious experience decisive for historical interpretations. Nevertheless, it is at least interesting that even Darwin's disbelief substantiates a thesis on early Victorian agnosticism which has been too little noticed by students of Victorian civilization. In July 1955 Mr. Howard Murphy published in *The American Historical Review* an article on the repudiation of Christianity by Francis Newman, James Anthony Froude, and George Eliot. In no case was the decisive factor the findings of science. In every case it was an ethical revulsion from doctrines of the atonement, everlasting damnation, original sin, and an omnipotent God who permits evil. One thinks, too, of John Stuart Mill and Leslie Stephen.

We did not, therefore, need Darwin's allusion to "almost all my best friends" to suspect that the decay of theology had left many intelligent Victorians faced with a dangerous choice. Upright, unblinking, committed to truth — TRUTH, come what may — they must repudiate their religion in the name of its ethic. Huxley, it turns out, is the spokesman for Darwin on religion as in science. And Darwin is as vulnerable as Huxley to the very pertinent criticism which Mr. Lack quotes from A. J. Balfour's *Foundations of Belief*: "Their spiritual life is parasitic: it is sheltered by convictions which belong, not to them, but to the society of which they form a part: it is nourished by processes in which they take no share. And when these convictions decay, and those processes come to an

end, the alien life which they have maintained can scarce be expected to outlast them." But science was not the worm in the apple: that worm was manliness; it was honor; it was decency — the Victorian virtues, left defenseless by a theology which had drowned in rivers of vulgar evangelical piety, or which had blown away on the high ecclesiastical winds of Tractarian romance.

One dwells on this, for really we do not learn very much about Darwin the scientist from his *Autobiography*. For that, we must read his science. And perhaps we have an adequate supply of eminent Victorians already to hand. We have enough stern fathers whom their sons perforce must love, at what Freudian cost. We have helpmates aplenty who have "been my greatest blessing." We do not need any more confessions of mild intemperance at Cambridge. We really cannot marvel at yet another neurotic career achieved in the intervals of respite from the sofa and the shawl. We have glimpses to spare of Carlyle.

Moreover, Darwin's style suffers from the damp which spots and kills the *Life and Letters* of so many contemporaries. It is not fair to his mind or work to judge him from the numbing candor of his self-assessment. His fidelity is really too much. And only once does he betray that drive lacking which no one achieves what he did, and then in how seemly a phrase: "This pure love has, however, been much aided by the ambition to be esteemed by my fellow naturalists." One thing the present edition does contribute. Documents are published on the controversy with Samuel Butler. Butler emerges with discredit.

Darwin's magnitude as a scientist is one of the things clarified in Mr. Lack's excellent little essay. He is himself an eminent ornithologist, and it cannot be too highly recommended to all who would like a bird's eye view of the state of the question. He is authoritative and absolutely unpartisan and may quote without the trepidation he expresses the warning of Sir Thomas Browne: "Many . . . have too rashly charged the troops of error, and remain as trophies unto the enemies of truth." Mr. Lack is anything but rash. In the most unassuming way he puts his finger on the flaws in every objection advanced to the theory of natural selection — the excessive beauty of the Argus pheasant, the extreme

specialization of the European cuckoo — and to every substitute proposed — creative evolution, holism, the fitness of the environment. They are all of them like the planetary anomalies observed in the eighteenth century. Once exceptions are explained as instances of gravity or natural selection, they sophisticate the theory instead of serving as escape hatches. But neither will Mr. Lack let us turn for consolation to evolutionary biology itself. He is almost severe about evolutionary ethics.

And yet, what is the point of all this impartiality? Does he mean to make us choose? For however even the balance, the subtitle is "The Unresolved Conflict," and we are constantly confronted by the irreconcilability of the issue. Christianity says that man, the possessor of an immortal soul, was specially created in the image of God. Evolutionary theory says that he was evolved by natural processes from other animals. "Various writers, both Christian and agnostic, have claimed that the dispute is over, but this, I suggest, is because they have not accepted the full implications of evolution by natural selection, or alternatively of Christianity." And the dilemma reaches even farther than Mr. Lack implies. If we accept it on his terms, we can scarcely refuse to make an outright choice between the Christian view of nature and the scientific view of nature, between Christianity and science. For the importance of the Darwinian theory of evolution in the history of science is that in that theory biology assumed the objective posture. The contemporary science of genetics reduces the concept of natural selection to material atomism. And the outcome is a conception of biological order no different from the order contemplated by current physics — an order of chance to be analyzed by the techniques appropriate to mathematical probability. But this is a point which I have had occasion to develop at some length, and I hope in some depth, as my contribution to the spate of Darwin scholarship sweeping over us all, and I may, perhaps, be permitted to refer the reader of this review to that essay ("Lamarck and Darwin in the Structure of the History of Science," in the forthcoming symposium, *The Forerunners of Darwin*).

In short, the choice which Mr. Lack so unobtrusively thrusts upon us is that kind of dangerous definition of sovereignty which

the seventeenth-century legalists forced upon the early Stuarts. But perhaps it is also more unnecessary. There is one point which he does not notice, but which is very significant. It is this. Theologians have learned to live with the theory of evolution. The ones who have not, and cannot, are those atheists who would substitute nature for God as the source of morality and ethics, private or public. The Scopes Trial was a piece of intellectual buffoonery, after all. Shaw's preface to *Back to Methuselah*, though almost simultaneous, was not. Neither was the Lysenko affair, nor the tedious effusions of Samuel Butler. It is not the conflict between science and religion which has proved fundamental. It is the conflict between science and any naturalistic moral or social philosophy. For your moralist knows what kind of nature he wants science to give him, and if it gives him only a descriptive account irrelevant to the good, he will like Shaw repudiate it, even if he has to write a pretentious and ignorant diatribe, or if like Lysenko he has power, he will change it.

If one be clear about the nature of science as a description of the world, declarative but never normative, may not Mr. Lack's alternatives be refused? Is it not simply a false problem, arising from a confusion — an ancient confusion going back to the beginning of science — between things and persons? Science is about nature, after all, not about duties. It is about things. Christianity is about persons, the relation of the persons of men to the person of God. Biology has found that the human animal is the product of evolution. It has not found, in principle science (not being omniscience) cannot find, that man is nothing but the product of evolution. Historically speaking, it is precisely those who have said he is nothing but that, nothing but natural, who have found intolerable the meaningless chance which operates under the name of natural selection.

But there! Mr. Lack has extracted from his reviewer just such a confession as he so deftly and so wisely avoids for himself.

CHARLES COULSTON GILLISPIE
Princeton University

Anthony Trollope: Aspects of His Life and Art, by BRADFORD A. BOOTH; pp. xi + 258.
Indiana University Press: Bloomington, Ind.,

1958, \$6.00.

PROFESSOR BRADFORD BOOTH has put all students of Victorian literature in his debt by his connection with *Nineteenth-Century Fiction* and by his edition of Trollope's letters, which has contributed a good deal to a better understanding of Trollope. It is therefore rather distasteful to criticize him. But nothing will be gained by beating about the bush. This book will contribute very little to the interpretation of Trollope.

Professor Booth likes and enjoys Trollope, but he does not respect him. He takes it for granted that everything he did can be explained very easily, that every book can be quickly labelled, that everything unexpected must be due to accident or incompetence. At the very same time as he presents Trollope as a totally conventional and obvious figure, he rejects as untypical or uninteresting the works in which Trollope was most original. He skims quickly through Trollope's huge output, generally giving a page or two to each book, never giving himself enough space to consider any of them critically, and incidentally endorsing a good many accepted but highly dubious judgments. Trollope to him is mainly a creator of characters. (Surely the best criticism of the last twenty years, especially the best American criticism, has proved that the novel cannot be properly understood simply in terms of "plot" and "character.") He tells us, in the face of the devastating social criticism contained in books like *The Way We Live Now* and *The Eustace Diamonds*, that Trollope is not really a satirist. He seems to share the assumption made by George Saintsbury, and by many less eminent readers, that a good character (in the literary sense) is one that would be nice to meet. So he dismisses Felix Carbury as a "fatuous cad"; this may be true but it cannot decide the question of his artistic value. Indeed Professor Booth is apt, as Saintsbury was, to treat morally bad characters in fiction as if they were real people whom the author had had the effrontery to propose for one's favourite club.

Professor Booth also seems to have been influenced to a damaging extent by that dubious guide, Hugh Walpole. One example among many is this: In his account of *Dr. Wortle's School* Walpole made the unsupported statement that Dr. Wortle = Trollope.

"Dr. Wortle-Trollope" becomes a single two-formed monster, compounded of life and literature. In Professor Booth's pages this shadowy being reappears as "Trollope-Wortle." It is good that academic critics should be willing to learn from non-academic ones, but it is depressing when a scholar accepts without argument a grotesque, and indeed easily disprovable, assumption of a writer like Hugh Walpole.

Some of Professor Booth's comparisons make one blink. "Trollope was a critic of the church in the same sense that Hardy was a pessimist about the world: he did not blink its imperfections, loving it well enough to draw it faithfully." This, believe it or not, is a comparison intended to indicate that Trollope's criticisms of the Church were superficial only, and based upon a real devotion to it. Perhaps there is a kind of unconscious corrective force at work here. For the reader who is asked to believe that Trollope was a cheerful optimist will be put on his guard by a comparison with Hardy.

The whole question of Trollope's loyalty to ideas and institutions is a complex one. No doubt he accepted in practice most of the institutions of Victorian society, but it is hard to detect any intellectual commitment to them. He certainly believed in God, but it is doubtful whether his religion entailed an acceptance of the Creed. (He declined, for instance, to take sides in the case of Bishop Colenso, which was crucial for all Anglicans who adhered to the dogmatic principle.) *The Way We Live Now* is a disturbing satire, partly because it does not take the easy way of praising the good old days at the expense of the hateful new financial methods. It shows the ancient institutions — Parliament, the aristocracy, the law — engulfed and corrupted. The only remaining home of civilized life, the Carbury country house, is a forgotten backwater, and no hope is offered that the influence of such places can ever spread. Professor Booth is quite right to remind us that here, as always, Trollope remains loyal to a simple and exacting code of personal behaviour. But I am inclined to wonder whether he has not mistaken this voice of conscience for a social and political hopefulness which Trollope no longer possessed.

We are told that Professor Booth has spent fifteen years working on Trollope. Surely he

must have found some fascination to justify all this labour. The conventional "good fellow" and amusing storyteller portrayed in this book would not be worth studying for fifteen weeks.

A. O. J. COCKSHUT

Manchester, England

Charles Dickens: The World of His Novels,
by J. HILLIS MILLER; pp. xi + 346. Harvard
University Press: Cambridge, Mass., 1958,
\$6.00.

THE METHOD OF Mr. Miller's critical study, consisting of the close analysis and correlation of key passages, metaphors, scenes, settings, and character relationships, is traceable to what can no longer be referred to confidently as the New Criticism. His intellectual assumptions — thinking of the antimetaphysical temper of Richards and Empson at least, I'm tempted to add "on the contrary" — derive from an obviously prolonged contact with the literature of European existentialism. One difficulty of a very difficult book arises from the author's willingness to let these influences on his thinking remain somewhat implicit. There are incidental references to Kierkegaard and Sartre, and generous acknowledgment of the influence on Mr. Miller's critical orientation of Georges Poulet, whose philosophical criticism of French literature is best known in America through Elliot Coleman's translation of *Studies in Human Time*. But Mr. Miller's ideal reader ought to possess in addition to a fundamental knowledge of Dickens at least some acquaintance with the theories of Kierkegaard, Husserl, Heidegger, Gabriel Marcel, and Sartre. It is not entirely a question of terminology, although I can't see how the philosophically innocent will grasp Mr. Miller's use of the concept of "intersubjectivity" in his absorbing discussion of *Our Mutual Friend*, or get to the bottom of his remark in his chapter on *Great Expectations* that "the dialectic of love in Dickens is more like the Kierkegaardian choice of oneself than like Sartre's endlessly frustrated conflict between two freedoms striving to be both free and secure at the same time." It is more a question of Mr. Miller's entire approach to literature, the kind of human significance he looks for in Dickens' novels and the way he interprets

that significance. Without making any claim to be its ideal reader I would claim that this study, seen as a confluence of two contemporary intellectual movements, the New Criticism and what is for American readers at least an even newer philosophical tradition, marks a shift of direction in current criticism that may turn out to be extremely significant.

Among recent critics of Dickens Mr. Miller's chief precursor is Dorothy Van Ghent. Both view the totality of Dickens' novels as a virtually autonomous "world," or imaginative universe, and both define the environment of character and action in Dickens' novels in metaphysical terms. For them Dickens is the novelist of the human condition, not the nineteenth-century novelist of society, and not the sick writer of Edmund Wilson's famous essay, "The Two Scrooges," who revealed his psychic wound in the projections of his art.

The study is tightly organized around a specific thesis: the whole of Dickens' fiction is informed from first to last by the "theme of the search for a true and viable identity." This theme is traced through six major chapters dealing with *Pickwick Papers*, *Oliver Twist*, *Martin Chuzzlewit*, *Bleak House*, *Great Expectations*, and *Our Mutual Friend*. Falling between these chapters at intervals which respect the chronology of Dickens' works are several shorter chapters covering the rest of the novels in briefer, summary form. According to Mr. Miller, the protagonist of each novel stands at the beginning of his adventures in a disrelation of exile, lostness, or isolation from the world, and the fundamental problem is, "How can the outcast find his way justifiably back into the human world?" The hero's adventures enact the search for enduring human identity, his efforts to discover and establish the ground of his selfhood. These efforts may be thwarted by his own limitations, or by the nature of the various entities of the Dickens world with which he strives to relate himself: the menace of the strangely energized non-human world of matter; the fraudulent nature of organized society; the fact that so many of the people of the Dickens world with whom the hero comes into contact exist self-imprisoned in "the distortions of personal eccentricities." Oliver Twist fails to achieve identity owing to the fact that he is rescued by the arbitrary

ending of a conventional plot. Martin Chuzzlewit avoids the infantile passivity of Oliver, but not until *Bleak House* does a Dickens protagonist unequivocally establish the ground of his own being. Here Esther Summerson, by forming a direct relation to Divine Providence and with her own loved ones, becomes a center of order in the chaotic social ambience whose symbol is fog and the Court of Chancery. After *Bleak House* the quest for selfhood becomes more difficult as Dickens' sense of the world's corruption strengthens (*Little Dorrit*); as he senses the irreconcilability of the hero's relation to society and his relation to the person he loves (Pip in *Great Expectations*); as it becomes clear that what Mr. Miller calls "the divine transcendence" is remote from the human world and offers no support for human values (*Our Mutual Friend*). In that book Dickens reaches an end in his survey of the conditions for the establishment of selfhood: "Rather than receiving selfhood as a gift from outside and the past, man . . . imposes value on himself and on the world as he assumes his future, including his death, in a dynamic process of living."

On its own ground of assumptions the book is coherent and strongly argued. Nevertheless, there are risks inherent in any attempt to reinterpret a great nineteenth-century writer exclusively from the standpoint of our own age of metaphysical anguish. For Mr. Miller the human and the social, the self and society are always rigidly opposed. But it is arguable that the redemption of selves must involve at least the amelioration of the benighted condition of society, unless we are to believe (and think that Dickens also believed) the very concept of society to be empty of positive human value. In his discussion of *Little Dorrit* and *Bleak House* Mr. Miller rather too readily finds evidence for the operation of the deity either in or just beyond the affairs of men. Is Amy Dorrit a depiction of a perfectly good human being and channel of divine grace, like Dostoevsky's Prince Myshkin (the comparison is Mr. Miller's), or is she an overdrawn sentimental heroine? Finally, there is something disturbing about his assumption of the full autonomy of Dickens' "imaginative universe." To say that a writer creates a world is to speak metaphorically. If one takes the metaphor too seriously and refuses to admit that a writer

, simultaneously, describing a world which exists, then it becomes impossible to account for the fact that this world of words possesses meaning for the reader only in relation to the reader's experience of and in a world which exists. In brief, I am suggesting that the metaphysical novelist of Mr. Miller's study is only partial portrait. Since he makes this very point in his introduction, Mr. Miller and I have no real quarrel.

JULIAN L. MOYNAHAN

Princeton University

Adam and Charles Black, 1807-1957: Some Chapters in the History of a Publishing House; pp. ix + 115. Macmillan: New York, 1958, \$2.25; Black: London, 1957, 10s. 6d. **The House of Cassell, 1848-1958,** by SIMON NOWELL-SMITH; pp. x + 299. Cassell: London, 1958, 30s.

THE STORY TOLD in *Adam and Charles Black* begins with Adam Black, a young Edinburgh bookseller, venturing into publishing by way of political pamphlets and periodicals. In 1826 he issued the first complete edition of the philosophical works of Hume, and in the following year he acquired the *Britannica* from the wreckage of Constable. In 1851 Black went on to buy the rights and stock of C. D. Scott for £27,000. When the copyrights expired and numerous cheap reprints flooded the market, Black issued a sixpenny edition and, thanks to his possession of Scott's annotations, the revised Dryburgh edition. The financial footing of the firm was seriously undermined with the publication of *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, but it was saved by a loan from a printer and by the exploitation of the three-color, half-tone process in the remunerative Colour Books. Further recovery was made through *Who's Who*, which had been purchased for £30, and *Black's Medical Dictionary*. The recent growth of the firm has been based on reference works, educational texts, and solid books in theology, notably those of Albert Schweitzer.

Mr. Nowell-Smith has a less familiar story to tell. John Cassell, a Manchester carpenter and a zealous advocate of temperance, hit upon two remedies for drunkenness among laborers — education and a substitute for alcoholic drinks. In 1843 he became a tea merchant and three years later began to publish

the *Teetotal Times*. This was soon followed by other weekly papers, one of which, the *Working Man's Friend*, priced at 1d., reached a circulation of 100,000 within a year. The periodicals which Cassell established in the 'fifties were more recreational in tone, and the most successful of them, the *Illustrated Magazine of Art* and *Cassell's Illustrated Family Paper*, were heavily embellished. In 1863 the firm began to publish cheap editions of Swift, Cervantes, and Shakespeare, a venture which reached a climax in *Cassell's National Library*, books of 192 pages issued at weekly intervals at a price of 3d. for paper and 6d. for cloth binding. Cassell's had always relied upon periodicals and serial publications, and when Newnes and Northcliffe entered the field with *Tit-bits* and *Answers*, the firm suffered severely from the competition. Disaster was averted when Newman Flower, who came from an apprenticeship with Northcliffe, successfully revived the *Penny Magazine* and initiated the profitable *Story-Teller*. He was next called upon to restore the book list which by the spring season of 1913 had dwindled to two mediocre novels, and his effectiveness led to his appointment as literary director of the firm. Under his guidance the House of Cassell prospered by publishing books by authors as different as H. G. Wells and Winston Churchill, Robert Graves and Nicholas Monsarrat.

But for readers of *Victorian Studies* the value of a book of this kind does not rest in the interesting story it rehearses or in vignettes of interesting men or in bits of information about exceptional books. What the scholar needs is knowledge of how publishing methods touched the lives of authors and affected the actual words on the page. On this basis *Adam and Charles Black*, because it is modest in size, is less valuable than *The House of Cassell*. In view of the fact that the archives of the latter firm were almost totally destroyed in a devastating air raid, Mr. Nowell-Smith has been remarkably successful in assembling information.

And on many pages it is information which bears upon important problems in social and literary history. There is, for example, the question of the Literature of Power and the Literature of Knowledge, the latter of which had been unduly emphasized by the

evangelicals and the utilitarians. The balance was later redressed, and the value of the imagination and the feelings was recognized. Various reasons have been suggested for the shift: the persistent effect of the Romantics, the impact of Dickens, the turning to literature as religious faith waned, the increased standard of living. But one wonders whether the editorial policy of publishers might not have been a factor when one discerns the following pattern in the works that came from Cassell's: the *Working Man's Friend*; serial fiction of a certain moral tone and aesthetic pitch; *Morley's Universal Library*; Stevenson and Kipling; Robert Graves.

Another question has to do with prescriptive writing. With his customary candor Mr. Nowell-Smith describes the clichè department with its 180,000 wood engravings and electro-types, most of which had been heavily used for decades, and he explains that the editors of Cassell's periodicals and series were obliged to commission writers to contrive stories and books to fit these illustrations. The writing that came from this procedure must have been of a low order. But the effect was different when Teignmouth Shore, the able chief editor at Cassell's for two decades, compelled Donald Mackenzie Wallace to rewrite his manuscript on Russia and gave him a prescription for doing so. The result was a book which still appears in selected bibliographies on Russian history. One wishes for more examples of this kind and for illustrative passages from the texts.

The division of the financial yield of a book is another problem for the scholar interested in publishing and authorship. The Blacks purchased the entire copyright of *Eric, or Little by Little* for £25, but when the book became a phenomenal best-seller they put the author on a royalty, "which over the next sixty years was to earn him and his heirs many thousands of pounds." There is, however, no hint as to what the publisher's profit was. Mr. Nowell-Smith sets at rest the legend that Stevenson received a mere £100 for *Treasure Island*: actually he got that sum as an advance on a straight royalty of ten per cent. But we are not told whether the royalty system was in general use at Cassell's at that time. In short, one could wish to find in these volumes more information on the economic and literary aspects of

publishing. Nevertheless books of this kind will provide the materials for a composite picture of the Victorian publisher and an over-all study of his methods.

ROYAL A. GETTMANN

University of Illinois

Ten Studies in the Poetry of Matthew Arnold, by PAULL F. BAUM; pp. xiii + 139. Duke University Press: Durham, N. C., 1958, \$4.00. **Matthew Arnold's Books: Toward A Publishing Diary,** by WILLIAM E. BUCKLER; pp. 182. Librairie E. Droz: Geneva, 1958, Fr. s. 12. **Arnold and the Romantics,** by WILLIAM A. JAMISON; pp. 167 (Vol. X of *Anglistica*). Rosenkilde and Bagger: Copenhagen, 1958, Dan. kr. 25.

THE FULL AND AUTHORITATIVE estimate of Matthew Arnold which still awaits the making is slowly being prepared for by the steady supply of information being brought forward by numerous scholars. Lionel Trilling's fine *Matthew Arnold*, now twenty years old, was a stop-gap measure, the one large book on Arnold in this century to remind a post-Victorian world that one Victorian at least was still with us, inviting our sympathy and awaiting our comprehension. The three books here under review, judged within the context of the larger effort carried on since the appearance of Trilling's book, may be described as minor works, and two of them as significant.

Paull F. Baum's *Ten Studies in the Poetry of Matthew Arnold* is dedicated to the task of contributing, both through the reporting of new information and through close textual analysis, towards a fully annotated edition of Arnold's poetry. In two of the studies — one on the "Marguerite" poems and the other on "The Buried Life" — Mr. Baum notably succeeds. His careful reconstruction of the complicated "text" of the Marguerite poems, combined with shrewd suggestions as to their biographical origin and relevance, makes for the most authoritative and thorough discussion of that fascinating topic yet produced. Less conjecture on such an important matter would be desirable, of course, and perhaps Kenneth Allott's forthcoming study of Arnold's early years will reduce the area in which speculation will be possible, but meanwhile Mr. Baum's essay will stand. The essay

on "The Buried Life," though dealing with material of less inherent poetic value, is equally good in its own way. Here, as in several of the remaining essays, Mr. Baum's conclusions are negative; they call attention to the seams left by Arnold's unsuccessful attempts to patch together the poetic fragments left by the distressingly sporadic visitations of his Muse. The fragmentariness in structure and imagery of some of Arnold's best known poems has often been alluded to, but Mr. Baum cites chapter and verse in a way that makes the matter clearer and more illuminating than does any other single study I know of. Even where he fails, as it seems to me he does in the study of "Shakespeare" (the discussion dissipates itself in needless distinctions) and of "Empedocles on Etna" (here the rather labored metrical analysis should be checked against Walter Houghton's analysis of the poem in a recent issue of *Victorian Studies*), Mr. Baum is always interesting and informative. His one questionable generalization is the claim that the melancholy evident in the Grande Chartreuse tanzas has nothing to do with Arnold's loss of religious faith; this runs counter to Mr. Baum's claims elsewhere in the book and to generally accepted opinion. The Duke University Press is to be commended for the handsome format which it has provided.

William E. Buckler's careful edition of selections from Arnold's letters to his two principal publishers and from members of the Macmillan firm to Arnold will likewise become a standard item in the Arnold bibliography, at least until a complete edition of Arnold's letters appears. These letters contain no surprises and will not materially alter accepted notions either of Arnold or of the Victorian author-publisher relationship, but they help to give body to these notions and supply some important bibliographic data. As a record of an author-publisher relationship the letters show the senior Macmillan as a highly skillful literary midwife. He it was who first suggested to Arnold the publication of selections from Wordsworth's poetry. This successful and critically central volume eventually led Arnold himself to propose a similar selection from Byron's poems and to Arnold's writing of his preface for that selection. Through kindly but persistent pressure, Macmillan almost succeeded in getting into print

what might have proved an equally important book in the history of English poetry and criticism, Arnold's long-meditated guide to Greek poetry, only to be foiled by the mischance of his own firm's publishing at just the wrong moment a similar book by Edwin Arnold. Mr. Buckler was unable to locate the letters to Arnold from his other publisher, George Smith, senior partner of Smith, Elder. Even without them it seems clear that, while Arnold entertained a high personal regard for Smith, Smith had nothing like Macmillan's genius for provoking a distinguished literary sensibility into fruitful activity. Of Arnold's general life and thought the letters have little to reveal, although one or two allusions by Arnold to his poems are suggestive. In the main the familiar picture of Arnold as the urbane, kindly, easy-mannered, hard-working author-inspector emerges, entirely undisturbed by passion, rancour, or high hope. The most important contribution of this volume bears on the provenience of Arnold's poetry and prose, especially the latter. Some of this information has been previously explored, but not all. Mr. Buckler's method of handling the material is explained in a Prefatory Note; the only inconsistency is the placing of the *St. Paul and Protestantism* (1870) correspondence after that which relates to later religious books (1873 and 1875) within the same chapter. The Swiss publishers have made a number of minor, but in this kind of book irritating, typographical mistakes.

Mr. Jamison's volume, the tenth in the new *Anglistica* series, is a disappointment. The topic — Arnold's attitude toward the English Romantic poets — is a central one for understanding Arnold and his age, but Mr. Jamison neither presents fresh information nor reorganizes what was previously known in such a way as to give it new significance. Since his aim is to show how a few key notions in Arnold's critical platform, in one combination or another, account for his estimate of the Romantics, Mr. Jamison might have avoided a great deal of repetition and have presented a more coherent analysis by organizing the book around these key notions rather than around the five major Romantic poets. Such an arrangement might also have made possible a more systematic account of Arnold's changes of attitude between the

early letters to Clough and the essays of the 1880's. Acknowledging, for example, that Arnold's attitude toward Byron changed several times, Mr. Jamison accounts for this by referring to the general vicissitudes of Byron's reputation during the century. This explanation does not clearly jell with the author's claim in the introductory chapter that Arnold advocated "a classical theory of poetry in direct opposition to the romanticism of his contemporaries." In general, while his synopsis of Arnold's judgments of the Romantics is accurate, Mr. Jamison's effort to relate these judgments to their Victorian context is not convincing. He relies heavily in discussing this context upon Alba Warren's brief book, for example, while ignoring the more substantial work of M. H. Abrams. Nonetheless, Mr. Jamison has something to say. His explanation of why Arnold's Byron selections were unsuccessful, his analysis of Arnold's views on Keats (though here he has been anticipated by George H. Ford's pioneer work), and his use of Santayana to place Arnold in the non-Platonist moralist tradition are all interestingly done and deserve attention. But saddled with the (apparently doctoral) task of methodically ticking off the major Romantic poets as Arnold viewed them, Mr. Jamison is unable to explore his insights at the length and in the context they deserve.

Of the three books, then, Mr. Baum's should be consulted by the general reader as well by the future editor of Arnold's poetry, Mr. Buckler's will be useful to the editor of the prose, and Mr. Jamison's may provide some help to those interested in Arnold's criticism or in the "reputations" of the English Romantic poets.

W. A. M.

Australia's Colonial Culture: Ideas, Men and Institutions in Mid-Nineteenth Century Eastern Australia, by GEORGE NADEL; pp. xiii + 304. Harvard University Press: Cambridge, Mass., 1957, \$6.00.

SINCE GRADUATING B.A. and M.A. from the University of Melbourne, Dr. Nadel has studied and taught at Harvard. Such a career is rare, and this book comprises one of the few close studies of Australian history directly shaped by American precedents and tech-

niques. In a foreword C. Hartley Grattan welcomes the event as a highlight in the story of American influence on Australia; he devoutly hopes that its effect may be fruitful, providing a new perspective in which the unique past of the smaller country may be viewed. This claim to originality, repeated on the dustcover, is not unjustified, for most studies of the period 1830-1860 have been concerned with economic and political evolution, little attention being spared for the trends of social thought.

"The ideas discussed," declares Mr. Nadel's introduction, "are limited to those relevant to the attempt to establish social harmony by the diffusion of culture." In explaining this theme the author begins by citing E. G. Wakefield to illustrate how the sensitive Briton was appalled by the threat of barbarism which beset all colonial development. How were these new societies to be welded into civilised nations? Wakefield's answer to this burning question was the forced concentration of settlement; that of the people with whom Nadel deals, the spread of education and general participation in intellectual activity. Unfortunately, this proposition becomes lost in a highly artificial argument that a "national literature" came to be regarded as the unifying bond. Since it is obvious that a national literature, however broadly defined, was far in the offing, this theme can barely support one section of the book, let alone its total weight. Consequently, many a reader might feel that he is left with no more than a series of essays on vaguely cultural subjects.

Even if the book were so regarded, however, much enlightening material would be found. The mechanics of book-selling; the nature of libraries, personal, public, and professional; leading features of the periodical and newspaper press — all these subjects merit description. The story of the foundation and early years of the Sydney Mechanics' Institute also has an intrinsic value as a piece of original research. We learn of the type of man who supported the Institute, the nature of the lectures delivered there, and the falsely optimistic hopes that it might become a People's University. The chapters on the several attempts of successive Governors to establish a general system of education in New South Wales provide more familiar mat-

ter, yet succeed in being the best account of this important story written to date. Particularly, but not only, in relation to the education controversy, Nadel demonstrates the importance of denominational influences on secular history. His interpretative comment and choice of quotation are strikingly acute, while the ready indication of European background and American parallel add further to the book's value.

Nadel's hero-in-chief is Henry Carmichael, who expressed the vigour and independence of his mind soon after arriving in New South Wales in 1831. Sir Richard Bourke, Governor of the day, selected him to found the Mechanics' Institute; Carmichael warmly supported a vain attempt to introduce the Irish system of education into state primary schools; and himself opened an establishment at which specifically theological teaching was disconcerted. Another great personality in similar mould was John Woolley, first principal of Sydney University, and a vice-president of the Institute. The extracts quoted from his addresses dramatically bespeak a passionate mid-Victorian faith in the ideal of human brotherhood and the practicability of man's achieving temporal happiness.

A careful study of this book must arouse some important questions in the mind of a sympathetic reader. Why was there so emphatic an insistence on the need for unity, and why were men prepared, even anxious, to sacrifice religious belief in its service? What were the long range effects of this predilection on Australian society? An early section on "The Mind of the Immigrant" argues the interesting hypothesis that in retrospect the act of emigration became "the great fact of life," which *inter alia* fostered distinctive new-world attitudes concerning equality and individualism. The relation between material prosperity and cultural advance provides another subject for consideration: at first worldly preoccupation was universally castigated, but in time Carmichael and others came to believe that intellectual independence was much encouraged by economic sufficiency.

In Australia most academic reviewers have applauded Nadel's work, the journalists being far less enthusiastic. The significance of this pattern is not obvious, but one determi-

nant may be the greater cynicism of the man outside the universities. The book often gives the impression of pretentiousness; many Australian readers must feel that Nadel, especially insofar as an American audience is addressed, has tried to make out a bigger story than his subject matter justifies. The unsatisfactory "national literature" argument certainly bears out this conclusion, as does the occasional use of absurdly high-faluting language. Other flaws in presentation apparently point in the same direction: frequent repetition of such trump-cards as Carmichael's opinions on moral training; indifferent sources like Brain's *History* and Marjoribanks' *Travels* being vested with excessive authority; so broad an interpretation of "mid-century" as to dilute the argument even further.

These weaknesses can be explained, however, by another hypothesis — that Nadel has not studied the raw materials of his story with sufficient care. The present reviewer, if not dismissing altogether the charge of "puffing," has no doubt that inadequate research is by far the greater cause of the book's shortcomings. One particularly unfortunate aspect of this tendency is the concentration on Sydney at the expense of the other colonial metropolises. Thus, the attempts made in Brisbane and Hobart to adapt local Mechanics' Institutes to directly working-class ends should have formed an important part in Nadel's narrative, whereas in fact he is plainly unaware of their existence. The remarkable role of Launceston as a power-house of ideas — notably concerning temperance and the opposition to convict transportation — likewise goes unremarked. James Forbes, a Presbyterian cleric who expressed opinions very like Carmichael's with equal clarity and greater practical effect, is ignored, obviously because the greater part of his life in the colonies was spent in Melbourne. A sprinkling of slight factual errors further attests the author's want of a thorough absorption in the literature of the period.

A final and revealing test of the book's worth is to examine Nadel's comments on the overall effectiveness of the "unity-through-culture" movement. Its failure is accepted and explained in a chapter entitled "The Social Mobility of the Working Man." Nadel argues that the political and economic opportunities open to the Australian labourer, especially after the gold discoveries of the early 'fifties,

provided a much easier route to full citizenship than improvement through education. Moreover proletarian *mores* became accepted as typically Australian, and so the status and power of the working class were further confirmed. Thus the intellectuals' well-meaning efforts quickly became superfluous, and historians forgot that such men had ever lived. Yet, continues Nadel, their work was not altogether barren. First, education did retain some prestige, albeit as the servant rather than the sire of the new order; second, (and this is the theme of the conclusion) the intellectuals expressed an attitude about the ideal nature of the state which has largely prevailed. Sovereignty in Australia does indeed rest on ethical rather than politico-juridical concepts, although "mateship" (that is, working class fraternity) has played the role which Woolley postulated for a community of learning.

Could the Australian democracy have survived without the assistance of general education? Did the enunciation of mateship derive in any way from the intellectuals, or was it an entirely independent, spontaneous growth? By declining to tackle these problems Nadel forsakes his final opportunity of producing a really impressive book. Nevertheless he has attempted a form of history-writing which might advance Australians far on the slow task of building a fertile national culture. Carmichael and Woolley would have thoroughly approved.

MICHAEL ROE

The Australian National University

The Independent Irish Party, 1850-9, by J. H. WHYTE; pp. xiii + 201. Oxford University Press: London, 1958, 25s.

BETWEEN THE GREAT FAMINE and the rise of Fenianism there stretches a period — it is, roughly, the decade of the 'fifties — which Irish historians have always tended to ignore. It is easy to see why this should be so. The exhaustion of the country after the economic disaster of the 'forties, the disillusionment with politics following the collapse of Young Ireland and, especially, the feeble showing of Irish politicians at Westminster — all these things combined to create an atmosphere of gloom very dispiriting to all but the most devoted student.

It happens, therefore, that Mr. Whyte

has not had to meet much competition in this unpromising field — indeed, his book is virtually pioneer work, though unlike most pioneer studies it does its job so thoroughly that there seems little left for those who may come after. He has set out to rescue from oblivion the Irish parliamentary party of those days, to show that its record was not quite so ignominious as has been generally assumed, and also to account for its ultimate decline. In all this he has admirably succeeded and since his book, though brief, is based upon a wide range of original sources, it has every claim to be regarded as authoritative. It also possesses the further virtue, rare enough in Irish historiography, of being extremely readable.

The picture that emerges is of a party which was the precocious but anaemic child of two rather ill-assorted parents. One of these was the Tenant League, headed by the Young Irelander Cavan Duffy, by Dr. John Gray of the *Freeman's Journal*, and by Frederick Lucas of *The Tablet*. Their objectives were primarily economic and they hoped to obtain for the tenant-farmers at least a reasonable measure of security in their holdings. The other was the group known to their enemies and to posterity as "the Pope's brass-band," but to their more sympathetic contemporaries as "the Irish brigade." The most notorious of these were John Sadleir and William Keogh, but fully as interesting, and probably more able, was G. H. Moore, the Mayo landowner and racing enthusiast who was also the exasperated father of George Moore, the novelist. This group went by the name of "liberal," though how vague and inexact a term this was is shown by the fact that their main political concern was to further the interests of Catholics in general, and Irish Catholics in particular.

More or less in combination these two sections fought the general election of 1852 and — considering there was then no secret ballot — had a remarkable success in winning forty-eight out of the 105 Irish seats. The chapters in which Mr. Whyte deals with this election, and especially with the influence of landlords and clergy, are among the most interesting of the book and offer a remarkable insight into Irish politics in the happy-go-lucky days before the big party machines of the Home Rule period had taken over.

The policy which the allies agreed on

after their triumph, and to which the vast majority of the forty-eight pledged themselves, was to remain "independent of, and in opposition to," all governments which did not concede tenant right and religious equality for Catholics. Unfortunately, however, this lofty aim proved impossible to put into practice. Quite apart from the difficulty of attracting and holding English attention to Irish affairs, the so-called "independent party" fell a prey to a variety of internal disorders which began to afflict it within a few months of the election and which in the end destroyed it.

The most obvious but not (as Mr. Whyte shows) the most important of these disorders was the decision of Sadleir and Keogh, despite their pledge of independent opposition, to take office under Lord Aberdeen. This was indeed a severe blow, but others were to prove more deadly. One was the constant difficulty in obtaining good parliamentary candidates. Another was the absence of any effective party discipline such as Parnell was later to evolve. A third was the impossibility of preventing both the Tenant Leaguers and "the Irish brigade" from following their own, often very divergent, interests — a problem complicated by the fact that many of the Leaguers were Presbyterians.

More serious than any of these, however, was the celebrated quarrel with the bishops, arising out of the fact that certain of the hierarchy had prohibited their clergy from political activity. Mr. Whyte rightly points out that this ban was not universal, that it did not last long, and that the parliamentarians had a powerful ally in Archbishop John McHale of Tuam. All the same — and this is the chief criticism to be made against his book — he does seem to underestimate the importance of this crisis. It is after all beyond dispute, as Mr. Whyte admits, that Cardinal Cullen, taking Gavan Duffy for an Irish Mazzini, was bitterly hostile to the party and that this contributed directly to Gavan Duffy's break with the movement and departure for Australia in 1855. It is equally significant that the party leaders felt themselves so threatened by this clerical opposition that they appealed (vainly) to Rome, and it seems likely that the death of one of the best of them, Frederick Lucas, was hastened by his labours in this battle. Perhaps even more im-

portant was the incalculable effect upon a timid and inexperienced laity, then and in after years, of the discouraging attitude of a conservative Church towards even the very diluted liberalism of the independent Irish party.

A consideration of these political weaknesses leads to one final conclusion. No one can study the history of this period without comparing and contrasting it with what happened thirty years later. For, although the Parnellite party was dominated by greater men and was altogether on a more heroic scale, it had to face many of the same problems which had defeated Lucas and Moore and Duffy. The fate of the first independent party is therefore the essential gauge whereby to measure the achievement of the later one.

F. S. L. LYONS

Trinity College, Dublin

An Anthology of Chartist Literature, compiled by Y. V. KOVALEV; pp. 413. Foreign Languages Publishing House: Moscow, 1956; Central Books: London, 1957, 10s. 6d.
The Condition of the Working Class in England, by F. ENGELS, translated and edited by W. O. HENDERSON and W. H. CHALONER; pp. xxxi + 386. Macmillan: New York, 1958, \$5.00; Blackwell: Oxford, 1958, 25s.

THE CHARTIST MOVEMENT, which arose in England in the later 1830's, inspired a considerable output of poems, novels, articles, and speeches, most of which are hidden away in the files of *The Northern Star* and other ultra-radical newspapers. Students of Chartism, therefore, owe a debt to Mr. Y. V. Kovalev, Lecturer in English and American Literature at the University of Leningrad, for collecting many of these fugitive writings together in a convenient form. His *Anthology of Chartist Literature* also provides a valuable insight into the approach to English history now adopted in the U.S.S.R., for it was compiled for the use of Russian schoolchildren and students in Soviet universities, as well as for the general reader.

Rather more than half of the anthology is devoted to poems. Some of these, notably the earlier ones, are anonymous, but prominence is given to the works of Ernest Jones, W. J. Linton, and Gerald Massey. Sections are

also assigned to extracts from novels, to essays in literary criticism (mainly eulogies of the "democratic" Muse), and to articles and speeches.

Not all will agree, however, that this collection is representative. The section entitled "Articles and Speeches" illustrates neither the diversity nor the power of Chartist thought. It includes much denunciation of the "shopocracy" by Harney and others, but not a sentence by William Lovett, the advocate of a limited cooperation with middle-class reformers, though Lovett's pen gave to Chartism its Charter. Equally unjustifiable is the neglect of Bronterre O'Brien, the most potent intellectual force in the movement and the writer of a fine polemical style.

The volume is somewhat unattractively bound and printed, and the text contains a number of errors, which may perhaps be corrected in a subsequent edition. "Clan" is substituted for "class" and (in a verse of Jones' well-known "Song of the Lower Classes") "We now" for "We know; and one is left wondering whether "Waisby Field" should be Naseby or Winceby. These are minor slips, but the compiler also wrongly ascribes to Thomas Cooper the poem "The Lion of Freedom," which Cooper explicitly disowned in a letter printed as an appendix to R. G. Gammage's *History of the Chartist Movement*.

In the Russian preface (appearing in translation elsewhere in this issue) Mr. Kovalev discusses the interaction of the Chartist Movement and its literature on the one hand and the general literature of the time on the other. Whatever may be thought of his other conclusions, he certainly exaggerates the influence of Chartism on early Victorian literature. It is too much to claim that without that stimulus the "inspired visions" of Dickens, Thackeray, and Elizabeth Gaskell would have been "unthinkable." This is to forget the impact of official reports of factory and housing conditions and the fact that before Chartism assumed national importance (in 1838-39) men of letters had shown increased awareness of the condition of the masses. In 1830-31 Carlyle in *Sartor Resartus* prophesied the division of England into "two contradictory, uncommunicating masses," and Dickens began to publish *Oliver Twist* in the winter of 1836-37.

Mr. Kovalev's method of referring to evidence is inexact. His assertion that "in his recently published book on Meredith, Jack Lindsay, in evaluating the progressive English poetry of the middle of the nineteenth century, rightly says that the life-giving fire of this poetry was lit by Chartist torches," should be compared with Mr. Lindsay's exact words: "Carlyle said of Horne, 'In this poet burns the fire of the skies,' praising the poem's weakness; but in fact the gleam that mattered came from the torches of Chartist struggle." A remark about a single poem!

The social background of Chartism has recently been illuminated by the appearance of a new translation of Engels' *The Condition of the Working Class in England* by Drs. W. O. Henderson and W. H. Chaloner of Manchester University. This valuable work will supersede in general use the translation by Mrs. F. K. Wischnewetzky first published in 1887 and reprinted at intervals since. The new edition is not only more readable; it is also fuller, including some of Engels' footnotes omitted from the popular Wischnewetzky edition. To these are added many informative editors' footnotes which both amplify the text in the light of modern scholarship and indicate where Engels is unreliable. Moreover, the new translation is the first to reproduce the exact wording of the authorities from which Engels quoted — a decided advantage in view of the liberties which he sometimes took with his sources.

In an introduction, which runs to twenty pages, the translators call attention to the main fallacies propounded in the text; they also have some useful things to say about Engels' method. The latter's description of life before the so-called Industrial Revolution is idealized, and it is not surprising to learn that he lifted most of it from a book written by an obscure surgeon, born five years after the eighteenth century had reached its close. But Drs. Henderson and Chaloner make their main contribution in showing that Engels is not reliable even when describing the condition of the working class in his own age. His account is valuable for the light which it throws on the distinguishing features of certain great towns and for the vivid portrayal of the worst social abuses of the time. But its exaggerations and omissions deprive it of the right to be considered a balanced

general statement.

Take, for example, his charge that factory-owners seduced their female operatives. A writer who asserts that "in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred the threat of dismissal is sufficient to break down the resistance of the girls," when the only evidence he can cite is "several such cases" in the Report of the Factories Enquiry Commission, is not to be commended lightly to the unwary. And when he states that "the unemployed worker has to rely on charity, begging or theft" and that "if he gets nothing, he just has to starve," his reader needs to be reminded that there was a Poor Law in Victorian England, harsh enough it may have been.

Such distortions amply justify the critical approach adopted by the editors. But there are one or two instances where Engels is more guarded in his assertions than Drs. Henderson and Chaloner imply, though not much less misleading. For example, he does not assume that all factory accidents were due to the failure to fence machinery; he admits that a worker may have been careless and have thus courted danger, but argues that it was the greed of the bourgeoisie that made him so. He is also somewhat more equivocal in describing the consequences of the Factory Act of 1833 than one would gather from the editors' introduction.

Engels' remarks on English politics are as unreliable as his descriptions of working-class conditions, and here Drs. Henderson and Chaloner would have been warranted in pointing out more of his fallacies than they do. Claims that the Reform Act of 1832 "raised the status of the bourgeoisie to that of the ruling class" and that neither monarchy nor aristocracy enjoyed "more than the outward semblance of authority," inconsistent as they are with what is known of the structure of politics at that time, should not go unchallenged, for they form an important part of Engels' case against the middle class; nor, indeed, should the assertion that the Poor Law (Inquiry) Commissioners "accepted Malthus' views without question." This is intended, however, not in criticism of the editors' useful work, but to suggest that, in some future edition, they might carry it further.

F. C. MATHER

University of Southampton

The Anti-Corn Law League, 1838-1846, by NORMAN McCORD; pp. 230. Allen and Unwin: London, 1958, 25s.

THE JUSTIFICATION FOR a new book on the Anti-Corn Law League lies in the new material available. In this book Mr. McCord has used substantial collections of the private papers of Richard Cobden, George Wilson — the League's President — and J. B. Smith, papers used hitherto either only in a limited way or virtually not at all. The result is a book which traces the "origin, development and activities of the League as a political pressure group," and which seeks, on the basis of the new evidence, to strike a happy mean between extreme views of the League as, on the one hand, an entirely respectable, almost philanthropic body, or, on the other, an association of selfish manufacturers out to lower living costs in order to reduce wages.

The new evidence certainly enables Mr. McCord to drive home some points inadequately or misleadingly dealt with before. For example, he shows that although there had long been sporadic agitation against the Corn Laws, the actual emergence of the Anti-Corn Law League in 1838 was part of a general move among leading Radicals to find some rallying cry more inspiring and influential than electoral reform. The Radicals were then badly in need of a party programme, and they had the good fortune to find one in cheap food. All the high sounding arguments which followed should not obscure the, to some extent, opportunist origin of the movement which later acquired such fame.

Again, Mr. McCord shows that, although the League came increasingly under the control of moderate men, it was not always guided with wisdom. The Plug Plot of 1842, for example, took a nasty turn which Cobden and others had not expected. But undoubtedly the League was partly to blame, for its agitators had been stirring up trouble, often irresponsibly, in the manufacturing districts in the North in preceding months. In the months following the crisis there was some fear that the League would be the object of Government action. When this action was not taken, Cobden was not above rejoicing in the hope that the Chartists might suffer where the League had escaped.

In a chapter on "The League Machine"

the author puts together details which are not easy to find elsewhere on the day-to-day running of the organisation. His short descripton gives a good picture, for example, of the League's financial and accounting arrangements in Manchester and in London. And his description of the work of the Council in Manchester properly relegates Bright to a very secondary position in comparison with Cobden.

On wider issues, this book provides useful evidence to support established views. It was not the League which made Repeal possible in 1846; the Irish famine and Peel were responsible for that. Without them the League could have laboured on for years in vain. For the League was not a body with influence in Parliament, whatever it accomplished outside; and once a measure was before the House of Commons, Cobden and his League colleagues knew that control of what lay nearest to their hearts was out of their hands. To quote the author: "There is little evidence to suggest much in the way of informal contact, much less a formal alliance, between the Government and the League in 1846. Certainly the League made a great deal of noise, but it had the part of a chorus which did not play a decisive part in the action; the decisive steps were taken in Parliament and the influence of the League was confined to whipping up enthusiasm out of doors in support of a measure which was not its own work."

When dealing with Peel, Mr. McCord takes one stage further the thesis already developed by Kitson Clark and others. Peel's break with his party in 1846 was the reverse of a sudden crisis. He had quarrelled with them repeatedly since he came into office in 1841, to the point of twice threatening resignation. These were the unavoidably open quarrels of a party in office. But Kitson Clark long ago made it clear that these differences went back to the obscurer period of opposition. Rarely can a political leader have been so consistently at loggerheads with one section or another of his followers. If only Peel could have established some genuine contact with the Radicals, men whose ideas if not whose sentiments he so often shared, the Liberal party might have been born a generation sooner. But it was not. And Mr. McCord is surely wrong to write of such a

party in the period immediately after Repeal. Palmerston was always a Whig. It was the gradual coming together of Gladstone with Cobden and Bright in the years after Peel's death which eventually made the Liberal party possible.

Two minor criticisms of a useful book which adds touches of light and shade even if it does not alter the main outlines of the picture. First, some of the references to manuscript material are unsatisfactory. Even if, for example, the Cobden papers are not yet arranged in a final form, it is surely desirable to give a full date reference to every letter quoted. Second, a select bibliography, as Mr. McCord claims, is all that is wanted. But there ought to be a reasonable standard of selection. It makes no sense to include, for example, L. S. Amery's autobiography and omit, for example, D. C. Barnes' *The English Corn Laws*. And for Palmerston's views about domestic issues there are better books than Webster's standard volumes on his foreign policy.

N. H. GIBBS

All Souls College, Oxford

Convocation in the University of London, by PERCY DUNSHEATH and MARGARET MILLER, pp. 204. Essential: Fairlawn, N. J., 1958, \$2.00; Athlone Press: London, 1958, 15s.

DR. DUNSHEATH, the present Chairman of Convocation, with the collaboration of Mrs. Miller, has here told the story of the Convocation of the University of London, the constitutional organ of the whole body of graduates, which celebrates in 1958 the centenary of its creation. London University has, in a comparatively short history, experienced more changes than any other seat of learning in Britain, and much of the detailed account given here of the successive reorganizations of 1858, 1898, and 1926 will be primarily of interest to London graduates. But apart from the purely local interest of this book, any serious work on the history of London University must be of interest to the historian of social and intellectual ideas in modern England. The University, which is still less than a century and a quarter old, is the largest of British universities, and its influence, through its external examinations, has spread through the British Empire and Commonwealth. The

of how so much has been done in so
time is of great importance. The founda-
in 1827 of the nonsectarian college in
er Street, later to become University
ege, was a direct threat to the traditional
ch-centered view of university education
ssented by Oxford and Cambridge. The
h of the social and intellectual cleavage
nglish life produced by the maintenance
l 1871 of the religious tests in the ancient
'sities is difficult for the present genera-
to appreciate; how significant it appeared
ie last century is suggested by a passage
1 the *Lancet* of 1885 quoted here, which
arks that the University of London had
n founded at a time when Oxford and
bridge had been confined to members
he Established Church, "but when that
ier was removed, the special *raison d'être*
the University of London no longer ex-
d."

The thread of Dr. Dunsheath and Mrs.
ller's narrative is the question of what that
son d'être was to be. The original Royal
charter of 1836 set up a purely examining
1 degree-giving body with no teaching
ctions; already by about 1850 some fifty
titutions were affiliated. The charter of
58, which created Convocation as a repre-
sentative body of graduates with power to
ct one-quarter of the Senate, also permitted
grees to be given to those who were not
members of any affiliated college, though the
existing graduates' organization opposed this
as being likely to cheapen the degree and
discourage the pursuit of a liberal educa-
on. In the following decades opinion among
duates became more and more strongly
invinced that the University itself should
ecome a teaching as well as an examining
dy, and Convocation played a large part
1 the negotiations leading up to the Charter
f 1898 which brought this about. By that
me, however, Convocation had changed its
ole, and had become the chief representative
f the rights of the unattached student, in
which it has continued to show great interest.

Many of the decisive acts in the Univer-
sity's life have been initiated by Convocation.
It campaigned for parliamentary representa-
tion on the same lines as Oxford and Cam-
bridge, and was successful in 1867. It took
an early interest in examinations for women,
and in 1876 urged that a new charter should

be granted enabling degrees to be given to
them. When this was done in 1878, London
became the first British university to open
its degrees to women. In the early years of
this century it took a prominent part in the
organization of the University Library; it
also took the initiative in establishing the
Athletic Union and the University Union
Society. In more recent times its activities
have reflected the increasingly close connexion
between universities and governmental policy
in modern Britain. It unsuccessfully opposed
in the 1920's the establishment of a University
Court to administer the government grant,
which had become very important in uni-
versity finance after the institution of the
University Grants Committee in 1919. It was
concerned in legal proceedings, which went
up to the King in Council as Visitor of the
University between 1950 and 1952, over the
termination of a lecturer's appointment, al-
legedly on grounds of political discrimination.
In all these ways the history of Convocation
during the last century reflects the changing
political and social patterns of the times and
displays the continuing interest of London
graduates in their old university. The authors
of this book raise, on their comparatively
small stage, many problems with far wider
historical ramifications.

JOHN ROACH

Corpus Christi College, Cambridge

Popular Fiction 100 Years Ago, by MARGARET DALZIEL; pp. vii + 188. Cohen and West: London, 1957, 20s.; Burns and Mac-
Eachern: Toronto, 1957, \$3.50.

THIS BOOK IS based on a doctoral thesis con-
cerned with English popular fiction from 1840
to 1860, and the moral attitudes reflected in it. The thesis, which is nowhere mentioned,
has been revised for the general reader. The
substance of the study has remained the same,
although the scholar looking for references to
sources will sometimes be irritated by their
absence.

In the first half of the book Dr. Dalziel
sketches the rise of cheap literature from
chapbooks, through the cheap periodicals of
the 1830's and 1840's, to the low-priced one-
volume reprints of the *Parlour* and *Railway*
libraries. She also follows the conventional
morality behind the virtuous heroine pursued

by the villain in the penny issue novels published by Edward Lloyd, and the deviations from this in the writings of G. W. M. Reynolds. She sees a change of attitude about 1841, signalled by Hepworth Dixon's attacks on popular literature in *The Daily News*. The product of this change was "a purified penny press," which ranged from the moralising of *The True Briton* to the vigorous respectability of *Cassell's Illustrated Family Paper* and *Household Words*.

In this first half, Dr. Dalziel's interest in the moral attitudes behind the story leads her both to illuminate and to distort her picture. She is drawn to fiction containing moral dilemma, and she slights other elements, such as excitement, horror, and historical interest, which were also important to the growth of popular fiction. Thus she implies that *Phoebe, the Miller's Daughter*, a story of virtue betrayed but finally triumphant, is typical of the publications of Edward Lloyd. But other kinds of popular penny issue novels were being circulated at this time by Lloyd, and by some fifty smaller publishers — plagiarisms of Dickens, Ainsworth, and other major novelists; nautical, Gothic, and historical novels; novels based on popular crimes and criminals; and a flood of American importations introduced towards the end of the 1840's. These Dr. Dalziel only mentions, or omits altogether. (Lloyd, incidentally, began publishing penny issues five years before 1841, the date Dr. Dalziel gives.) Similarly, she gives G. W. M. Reynolds, who fascinates the social historian, an excellent chapter to himself as "the most popular writer of his time," but the novelist J. F. Smith, for whom a similar claim has been made, has only a passing mention.

The second half of the book sets out to consider individually such themes as the hero, the heroine, the relationships between men and women, and class, work, and money. Dr. Dalziel's definition of "popular fiction" has not been very precise — she does not indicate that there was a distinction even between the classes reading *Lloyd's Penny Weekly Miscellany* and *Household Words* — and here she widens it still further by including better-known writers such as Bulwer and Marryat who appear in cheap reprints. She moreover takes examples indiscriminately from works published between the 1830's and 1860. Her first chapters reveal the changing intellectual

and moral tones of the three decades, and her claim that all the fiction under review reveals "a splendid unanimity" on the main moral issues must probably be taken broadly.

It is easy, however, to find shortcomings in a book which covers such an immense field in a comparatively small space. Dr. Dalziel has read sympathetically and widely, particularly in the middle-class fiction of the later part of her period. Her chapters on the heroine, pure, weak, and beautiful, and on the hero, poised in literary tradition between the man of sentiment and the man of action, are especially valuable. She always works from examples and analyses them acutely.

In her conclusion she compares Victorian popular fiction with that of today. She has not plumbed all the depths of Victorian fiction, omitting the popular cheap translations from the French and the indecent publications that kept the Society for the Suppression of Vice busy. She is hardly fair to take Mickey Spillane as typifying our popular fiction. Nevertheless she is probably right in seeing a hundred years of general literacy as bringing degeneration in popular taste. The book makes a useful introduction to a little-known field.

W. L. G. JAMES

Jesus College, Oxford

Through a Glass Darkly: Spiritualism in the Browning Circle, by KATHERINE H. PORTER, pp. 160. University of Kansas Press: Lawrence, Kan., 1958, \$3.50.

Bulwer-Lytton's Novels and "Isis Unveiled," by S. B. LILJEGREN; pp. 60. Essays and Studies on English Language and Literature, No. 18. Upsala University Press: Upsala, 1957; Harvard University Press: Cambridge, Mass., 1957, \$2.00.

BOTH OF THESE books explore one of the curious by-ways of Victorian life and letters — the occult. Miss Porter's *Through a Glass Darkly* gives a good picture of the vogue of spiritualism among a number of distinguished Victorian writers and the lesser figures surrounding them. Professor Liljegren's *Bulwer-Lytton's Novels and "Isis Unveiled"* is a source study of Egyptian "cult ideas" in Madame Blavatsky's first theosophical work, *Isis Unveiled*.

Spiritualism, as Miss Porter shows, was one of the most popular forms of the occult in

century which "went in" for mesmerism, fairvoyance, electro-biology, crystal-gazing, and other forms of the mysterious and supernatural. It flourished in England in the 'fifties and 'sixties where the outstanding mediums were a Mrs. Hayden from America and the much better known Daniel Dunglas Home or Hume), and where the typical seance included table rapping, table tipping, and communications by "spirit voices." Although the interest in spiritualism was widespread in Victorian England and continued until some time after the close of the century, Miss Porter has confined her study to its impact at mid-century upon a group of intellectuals, the Brownings and the friends and acquaintances who composed their circle, with the addition of a few outsiders.

The evidence is drawn chiefly from letters and biographies, including some fresh material on the Brownings, and the general picture is of considerable interest to students of the period. As might be expected, there were believers, skeptics, and those who suspended judgment. The most engaging chapter in the book is that on the Brownings in which, relying upon both unpublished letters and the originals of letters which had suffered deletions in publication, the author demonstrates that Mrs. Browning was somewhat less than the completely credulous person she is sometimes taken to be, and that Browning himself, while never a believer, was for a time genuinely interested in spiritualism. Among those who had complete faith were Frederick Tennyson and James Jackson Jarves, the American art collector, while the half-believers and those who suspended judgment included Bulwer-Lytton, his son, "Owen Meredith," William Wetmore Story, Tom Trollope, and Alfred Tennyson. It was Dickens, however, who was the complete skeptic, as Miss Porter shows by tracing his writings on the subject of spiritualism through the period of its vogue.

Professor Liljegren's study is a continuation and an expansion of an earlier essay published in 1930 on the work of Madame Blavatsky, the "Priestess of Isis," and founder of the Theosophical Society. Disavowing any religious or moral intent, he is able to demonstrate in convincing detail that while in later life Madame Blavatsky always insisted that the source of her inspiration and theosophical ideas was India, in actuality a main source

was Egypt, and that in *Isis Unveiled* she made considerable use of four of Bulwer-Lytton's novels — *The Last Days of Pompeii*, *Zanoni*, *A Strange Story*, and *The Coming Race* — for details concerning Egyptian cults, magical practices, and lore.

Studies such as those of Professor Liljegren and Miss Porter raise the question of why the occult in its various aspects appealed so strongly to the nineteenth century. Perhaps no one answer can be given; the conventional human love of the mysterious and the marvelous appears in any age, although the nineteenth century seems to have been drawn in this direction with a peculiar force. Miss Porter suggests that spiritualism received a hearing among the intellectuals "because basically the unsettling discoveries of science were at war with a cultural inheritance of a belief in immortality," and certainly nineteenth-century followers of the occult were interested in both science and religion. In a paradoxical way the rise of science both limited and freed the human imagination; it emphasized the verifiable fact but at the same time bred a desire to escape from the materialism of the fact. Men like Dr. John Elliotson, the mesmerist, and Bulwer-Lytton sought knowledge for practical ends, while others, as Miss Porter points out, were religiously motivated. A late, and distinguished, example of the persistent interest in the occult is Yeats who, as he tells us, turned from both science and the religion of his childhood to the search for a new religion and the "spiritist fact."

A. L. BADER

University of Michigan

The Boer War, by EDGAR HOLT; pp. 317. Putnam: London, 1958, 25s.

"THE OBJECT OF this book is simply to tell the story of the Boer War and the men who made it and fought in it." So opens the Author's Note to this book, and in the light of this object the book must be adjudged a largely successful attempt to portray the fluctuating fortunes of war in South Africa at the close of the Victorian era. Largely successful, but possibly not wholly so, for two reasons. First, the narrative is markedly one-sided: the author looks at the war through the eyes of the British, and for the most part leaves out of account its conduct from the Boer point of

view. This is unfortunate: an objective appraisal of the Boer standpoint has yet to be undertaken, and it would seem that here a favourable opportunity to provide one has been neglected. Dismissed in one sentence is Smuts' drive deep into the heart of Cape Colony during the last nine months of the war — "a great saga" in itself, as the author admits; only fleeting references are made to Hertzog's and Kritzinger's incursions into the Colony, to the exploits of the redoubtable De Wet throughout most of the war, to De la Rey's daringly-conceived and brilliantly-executed stratagems in the Western Transvaal, to Botha's genius both as organiser and commander in the field. It is the most disappointing feature of the book that such aspects of the war as these are only cursorily touched upon.

The second defect involves the disproportionate emphasis which the author gives to the opening phases of the war. Thus, one hundred pages are devoted to the first four months of hostilities, a further forty pages to the following four months, and a final fifty only to the concluding two years of operations. This has the unhappy effect of magnifying the importance of the earlier — and from the British viewpoint less successful — stages of the war; moreover it destroys the balance of the book. It would have been apposite to illustrate in greater detail the effects, social and economic as well as military, of the new methods of warfare introduced by Roberts and Kitchener to subdue the elusive foe — Roberts' farm-burning policy, Kitchener's blockhouse ("blockhead" to De Wet) system with its accompaniment of organised drives within vast barbed-wire entanglements, and the consequent creation of the concentration camps.

These considerations and a few minor blemishes apart, Mr. Holt writes with a broad grasp of his subject. Although his book, as its title implies, is primarily a military history, he unfolds his story against the political background — the relationship between the governments of the United Kingdom and the Boer Republics during the preceding generation. A Prologue which recounts the circumstances of Majuba Hill, stormed and taken by the Boers in 1881, is followed by a useful survey of the political developments of the years which ended the "Century of Wrong" and

culminated in the "Second War of Independence." Mr. Holt also discusses the personalities behind these events — the mounting aggressiveness of Chamberlain, the cold inflexibility of Milner, the intractable obstinacy of Kruger. With the advent of war, and the greater preparedness of the Boers for the opening campaign, the inquiring reader is left wondering what might have happened if more adventurous counsels had prevailed in the Boer camp, and if Joubert had pressed home the advantage gained through initial success with a sweep to the sea. Misconceived tactics on the part of the British, however, were matched by irresolute action on the part of the Boers. Instead of "loosing their horsemen," as advocated by Botha and De Wet, with the possibility of inflicting a decisive reverse on the British before the arrival of their reinforcements, the Boers preferred the less audacious alternative of besieging Ladysmith, Kimberley, and Mafeking, and thus locking up their forces for several crucial months. The breathing space which the British were afforded enabled them to build up their strength with such effect that in the end sheer weight of numbers told its inevitable story — 450,000 imperial and colonial troops combatting 87,000 Boers, of whom not more than 50,000 were in the field at any one time. So the war — a "white man's war" exclusively, thanks to a determined resolve on both sides not to enlist non-Europeans — was won. But the legacy of the war is still with us, in the form of an abiding bitterness which continues to poison the relations between Boers and British in South Africa, and which serves to set at nought that ideal of a united nation (as between the two white races) which the greatest of South African statesmen have constantly striven to promote.

Having relied solely on secondary authorities for his material, Mr. Holt has been unable to add to our knowledge or modify existing arguments. Within this self-imposed limitation, however, he has provided a lucid and lively account, a sound and competent analysis of the South African War. The book is handsomely produced, and its value as well as its appearance is enhanced not least by twelve pages of well-chosen illustrations.

G. B. PYRAH

The University, Leicester

A January, 1959 Publication
edited by Walter E. Houghton, Wellesley College
and G. Robert Stange, University of Minnesota



THE VICTORIAN

draws fully from the recognized canon of Victorian poets and reflects twentieth century re-evaluation of their work.

POETRY

juxtaposes poetic theory with the poetry, in prose selections by the poets themselves and in an Appendix of essays, lectures, and reviews written by critics and scholars during the Victorian period.

AND

in a fine critical introduction acquaints the student with the thought and temper of the period.

POETICS

through a generous introduction to each poet and abundant, often original, annotation provides a broad basis for critical study and discussion.

may be economically coupled with William E. Buckler's **PROSE OF THE VICTORIAN PERIOD** (Houghton Mifflin, 1958, xxxi + 570 pp.; cloth, \$3.25, paperbound, \$1.65) for a complete course in Victorian literature.

xxiv + 854 pages

HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY

Boston 7

New York 16

Chicago 16

Dallas 1

Palo Alto

From Jane Austen to Joseph Conrad

Edited by Robert C. Rathburn and Martin Steinmann, Jr. The nineteenth-century British novel is explored in 20 essays by as many contributors, each written especially for this volume. Among the contributors are David Daiches, Douglas Bush, Robert B. Heilman, Arthur Mizener, William Van O'Connor, Bradford A. Booth, W. Y. Tindall, Yvonne ffrench, and J. Y. T. Greig. \$5.75

Ireland and the American Emigration, 1850-1900

By Arnold Schrier. What effect did the exodus to America have upon Ireland itself? Students of folklore, social history and economics will find this a valuable book. \$4.50

British Emigration to North America

By Wilbur S. Shepperson. A study of the conditions and movements in Britain which caused large numbers of her citizens to emigrate to North America during an industrially flourishing and financially prosperous era, the early Victorian period. "A valuable contribution." —*Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. Illustrated. \$5.00

From your bookstore, or from the



University of Minnesota Press
Minneapolis 14, Minnesota



Culture and Society

RAYMOND WILLIAMS

Mr. Williams is concerned with the idea of culture as it has developed in Britain from 1780 to 1950. He considers culture in terms of social relations as well as in its purely artistic sense. The idea, he suggests, came into English thought during the Industrial Revolution. Its growth is traced through the works of Burke, Cobbett, the Romantic poets, J. S. Mill, Carlyle, Arnold; the "industrial novels" of Mrs. Gaskell, Dickens, Kingsley, and others; and the writings of Ruskin and Morris, Shaw, Lawrence, Eliot, Tawney, and the Marxist critics. With its learning, its good sense and independence of mind, its refusal to despair of modern civilization, and above all its insistence upon the living relationships between artistic and social development, this may well prove to be one of the seminal books of our time.

\$5.00

The Advent of the British Labour Party

PHILIP P. POIRIER

Based upon unpublished private papers and official documents, this study of the British Labour Party centers on a crucial period of its history, from the turn of the century to its emergence as a major political force in the General Election of 1906. Dr. Poirier re-examines the role of the Fabian Society, assesses the contribution of the socialists of the Independent Labour Party, and offers new information on key figures. He relates the Labour movement to the broader forces of change in British life. "Professor Poirier in this fascinating account of the early years of our great political machine shows, with great skill, the interweaving of the Party and the Movement. . . . [He] has a good deal that is new to say, and a good deal that is not new is set in a new framework."—D. W. Brogan in *The Spectator*.

\$4.50

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS
2960 Broadway • New York 27, N. Y.



ἀριθμητικος: Alfred North Whitehead, when asked how the Victorian Age would be ranked culturally, replied equivocally but quotably, "It will be ranked among the world's few great ages, but as the least of them" (Price, *Dialogues of ANW*, p. 270). Whitehead, skilled at reckoning, said (on the same page) that he would begin the Victorian Age in 1830, "ending it of course at 1914," thus choosing our own not unanimously accepted termini.

ANNUS MIRABILIS: In Whitehead's salon it was also said (p. 118) that "the year 1859 was the climax of the nineteenth century." As 1959 comes round, this claim is being renewed. Furthermore, we think 1859 important not only as climax of the last century but as overture to this. But it would take a book to spell out *this* claim; we are therefore assembling one. It will contain sixteen essays—three parts of five essays each, and an intro-

ductory essay by Howard Mumford Jones. The first part will concentrate on religion, science, and education; the essayists will be Noël Annan, Philip Appleman, George Haines, R. V. Sampson, and Basil Willey. Society in its political and economic aspects will form the subject of the second set of essays, by W. O. Aydelotte, Derek Beales, G. D. H. Cole, and R. D. McCallum. In the final section, Richard D. Altick, J. A. Banks, G. Armour Craig, William A. Madden, and Michael Wolff will write on cultural activities, especially in their popular forms. The book will, if men keep deadlines, appear in the fall of 1959 and will be published by the Indiana University Press.

1859 ONCE MORE: The *Colby Library Quarterly* for March will celebrate the greatness of 1859, "the most phenomenally productive year of the entire Victorian Age." Of special interest is Carl J. Weber's "Preparing for the Centenary of FitzGerald's *Rubáiyát*." The article, an attack upon some sacred cows of FitzGerald scholarship, will be a fitting com-

THE ROMANTIC ASSERTION

by R. A. FOAKES

A review of the language of 19th-century poetry, in which Mr. Foakes shows that it has its own set of images—rooted in man's common experience rather than in an individual vision—and a related set of "value words."

\$3.00

THE EARLY COLLECTED EDITIONS OF SHELLEY'S POEMS

by CHARLES H. TAYLOR, JR.

A survey of the earliest texts of Shelley's poems that distinguishes between the relevant and worthless variants appearing in Mrs. Shelley's collected edition of 1839.

\$4.00

Yale

University Press, New Haven, Connecticut

panion piece to the Colby College Press's forthcoming Centennial Edition of the *Rubáiyát*.

GOTHIC SURVIVAL: The Victorian Society, a new ward of William Morris's Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, intends to undertake "the study and appreciation of Victorian architecture and associated arts with a view to the preservation of outstanding examples" and hopes "to stimulate appreciation and encourage research by means of lectures, exhibitions and privileged visits which will make known the names and achievements of architects and craftsmen between 1837 and 1914." Further information can be obtained from the Society at 55 Great Ormond Street, London, W. C. 1.

"**THIS AGE OF PERIODICALS**": Wilkie Collins' characterization has yet to be reflected in Victorian studies. The very importance and scope of the periodicals have prevented any systematic treatment. In their pages lies a mass of materials in all fields (literature, politics, economics, science, religion, art, philosophy, travel). The scholar knows that somewhere in those rows of books will be the answer to recurrent questions: what did the Victorians think of China? of de Toqueville? of mesmerism? what was the contemporary reaction to Mill's *Logic* or George Eliot's *Middlemarch*?; and that somewhere else might readily be found the authorship of this review of *In Memoriam* or that article on paper currency. But such questions can never be answered, except here and there, and that partly by accident, until we possess some sort of index to the periodicals which will list the articles under each in chronological order, indicating the subject, giving the authors of books reviewed, and tracking down the identity of the writers.

An attempt is now being made to bring some order into this chaos. The project has been given its start by a grant from Wellesley College and will be known as The Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals. There will be maintained at Wellesley a registry of information — authors of anonymous articles, reviews and notices of books, circulation and readership, editors and staff writers, proprietors, and whatever else comes to be considered important. The compilers will gradually build a

master-file (a card for each article) for the periodicals, title by title, beginning with the more important ones. From these cards various indexes will be made. The published volumes which, it is hoped, will result from this analysis may very well contain at least three indexes (to subjects, authors of books reviewed, and to writers of articles and reviews) as well as records of the administrative history of the periodicals treated.

Of course such a plan requires the cooperation not only of all those already working with the periodicals but of those likely to encounter relevant information. Collections of reprinted essays and publishers' records, memoirs, letters, and diaries, printed and in manuscript, being studied on their own account, will contain a vast number of hitherto uncoordinated details of great value to the student of the periodicals. Anyone running into such details — evidence of the authorship of anonymous articles or of comment on a particular article or review for example — is asked to transmit them so that they can be recorded and thus made available upon request. It will be some time before the information so gathered can be published. The files will be open for consultation from the very beginning, and **VICTORIAN STUDIES** will report from time to time on the progress of the project.

Requests for specific information should be addressed either to Walter E. Houghton, The Wellesley Index, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass., who is the general editor, or to Michael Wolff at **VICTORIAN STUDIES**.

ARGUMENT FROM DESIGN: Admirers of the physical appearance of VS will share our pleasure in the following news. William Friedman, Design Consultant of **VICTORIAN STUDIES**, is organizing a major exhibition, entitled *20th Century Design: U. S. A.*, and has therefore been appointed Visiting Curator of Design at the Albright Art Gallery, Buffalo, N. Y. The exhibition is intended to show present-day accomplishments and review critically the creative productivity of the past half-century in American design and focus attention on those articles that might be termed the "classics" of the period. It will open in Buffalo in April and will be shown during 1956-60 at seven other co-sponsoring museums across the country.



CONTRIBUTORS

CYRIL BIBBY, Principal Lecturer in the College of S. Mark and S. John, University of London Institute of Education. Initially trained as a physical scientist, he later did research in quaternary prehistory, transferring scientific interests to biology. Has recently completed a new biography of T. H. Huxley.

W. H. CHALONER, Senior Lecturer in Modern Economic History at the University of Manchester.

J. B. CONACHER, Assistant Professor of History, University of Toronto; general editor of Champlain Society publications and a former editor of the *Canadian Historical Review*.

Has written articles on the Peelites and other topics and is now working on a book on the Peelites.

CHARLES T. DOUGHERTY, Associate Professor of English at Saint Louis University. Now working on a book on Ruskin.

E. D. H. JOHNSON, Associate Professor of English, Princeton University. Author of *The Alien Vision of Victorian Poetry*. At present engaged on a study of autobiographical fiction in the nineteenth century.

YURI V. KOVALEV, Lecturer on English and American Literature at the University of Leningrad. Author of articles on many aspects of nineteenth-century literature. Now studying late-Victorian authors.

HOMER C. WELSH, Acting Director of the Department of Modern Languages, Saint Louis University.



ADVICE TO CONTRIBUTORS

VICTORIAN STUDIES encourages contributors always to state or clearly imply the relevance of their work not just to a particular branch of knowledge but to the whole Victorian age. Such a statement or implication need not involve a concession in depth or detail, but it does require a deliberate attempt to "place" the article in its Victorian context and so to give a clear sense of its likely significance to a given reader of VICTORIAN STUDIES.

Manuscripts should be styled to accord with the *MLA Style Sheet* (copies of which can be had from the Treasurer, Modern Language Association, 6 Washington Square North, New York 3, N. Y., for 50¢). All matter should be double-spaced and footnotes should be typed together at the end of the article. An editorial decision can usually be reached more quickly if two copies are submitted. A stamped, self-addressed envelope should accompany all manuscripts. Authors should, of course, retain a copy for themselves.

193 *David Roberts* : JEREMY BENTHAM AND THE VICTORIAN
ADMINISTRATIVE STATE

211 *Sir Charles Tennyson* : THEY TAUGHT THE WORLD TO PLAY

223 *Harry Stone* : DICKENS AND THE JEWS

254 *Kenneth Allott* : MATTHEW ARNOLD'S READING-LISTS
IN THREE EARLY DIARIES

267 : BOOK REVIEWS

285 : ADVERTISEMENTS

286 : CONTRIBUTORS

editors Philip Appleman William A. Madden Michael Wolff

book review editor Donald J. Gray

associate editor (England) G. F. A. Best

executive secretary Kay Dinsmoor *editorial assistant* Fred M. Kimmey

advisory board John Alford Richard D. Altick Noel Annan William O. Aydelotte

Asa Briggs Jerome H. Buckley Leon Edel Gordon S. Haight

T. W. Hutchison Howard Mumford Jones Henri Peyre Anthony Quinton

Gordon N. Ray Donald Smalley Geoffrey Tillotson R. K. Webb

editorial consultant William Riley Parker

design consultant William Friedman

David Roberts

JEREMY BENTHAM

AND THE VICTORIAN ADMINISTRATIVE STATE

N 1830 Jeremy Bentham published the first volume of his *Constitutional Code*. Two years later, with the monumental *Code* nearly completed, he died. In 1841 his friend John Bowring, using in places the author's rough notes, published it in its entirety. The world thus received from a philosopher already famous for his radical attacks on institutions a complete constitution suitable for any country and for all time. Its massive detail, dealing with every facet of government, was exactingly subordinated to universally valid, rational, and efficient principles. Manhood suffrage, the secret ballot, and a single chamber legislature would insure a true democracy; trained judges, simple rules of evidence, and a codified law would guarantee justice; and thirteen ministries supervising locally elected authorities would secure clean towns, free public education, effective police, good roads, and efficient poor relief. The government would so regulate society that man's own self-interest would promote the greatest happiness.

The *Code*, for its time, was radical and impertinent. It asked the aristocracy to forego power; it recommended the reconstruction of

England's sacred legal system; and, in an age when local government formed the palladium of English liberties and the small central government consisted mainly of customs officials and excise men chosen by favoritism, it asked for a large central administration staffed by paid and trained experts chosen by examination. Thirteen ministers were to preside over an extensive central bureaucracy. There were to be ministers of Education, Health, and Indigence, all at the time unknown to England's constitution. And stranger yet were the Ministries of Preventive Service, Elections, and Legislation. The other Ministries listed, those of Trade, Interior, Domain, Foreign Affairs, Finance, Army, and Navy, already had their counterparts in the English government; but the Ministries under the *Code* were to enjoy considerably more power than the traditional departments which constituted the English government. The Minister of Interior, for example, was to regulate all modes of transportation and the Minister of Trade was to collect and publish statistics on every aspect of the economy. The *Code* gave all thirteen Ministers ample powers. They could inspect, advise, and dismiss local officials, they could issue rules and regulations, hold inquiries, and publish reports, and they could formulate policies. At the apex of a uniform and symmetrical bureaucracy, they were to supervise the district-elected "headmen" and the district schools and health authorities; and they were to require that mines and factories be kept healthy.¹

Bentham wished this administrative state to be active and useful, but not despotic. He had the radical's fear of government, which he said was "taken in itself one vast evil," yet he saw at every turn its usefulness in ordering social affairs (*Works*, IX, 24). To square the circle, to reconcile individual liberty and collective welfare, he contrived a system of checks and balances. He hoped that an elected sovereign legislature would keep check on ambitious ministers, that a Public Opinion Tribunal would publicize their misgovernment, and that a just appreciation of the virtues of *laissez-faire* capitalism would prevent any undue meddling in the economy. A balance between local and central government and a belief in *laissez faire* were two major themes of this administrative state, while the main technique for reconciling freedom with an efficient and active government was the principle of inspection. By inspection of school boards, poor law authorities, prisons, and asylums, central bureaus could insure local efficiency without de-

¹ John Bowring, ed., *The Complete Works of Jeremy Bentham* (London, 1843), IX, 98-118, 303, 428-454, 512-525, 612-614; hereafter referred to as *Works*.

stroying local autonomy. The problem which filled de Tocqueville with forebodings and bothered John Stuart Mill, the encroachments of a centralized state, was for Bentham dispelled by the principle of central inspection.² The great end for which this administrative structure was fashioned was of course the greatest happiness to the greatest number, a condition which Bentham hoped to achieve by the government's insuring the rights of property and the liberty of the individual while at the same time it guaranteed to all equal rights and promoted for all an abundance of wealth — all noble aims, though not without serious contradictions (*Works*, IX, 11-22). In the *Constitutional Code*, however, Bentham felt that he had resolved these contradictions, and had offered the English people a neat and comprehensive blueprint for an administrative state that was both efficient and benevolent.

Nothing differed more from that blueprint than England's public administration in 1833. It was not orderly, it was not planned, it was not centralized, it was not efficient, and it did little for the well-being of the citizens. The Home Office employed only thirty persons and the Board of Trade but twenty.³ The central government did nothing about education, health, and poor relief. In the countryside 15,000 parishes administered in a haphazard fashion poor relief, highways, and police; and in the growing towns a medley of magistrates, councils, and statutory authorities ruled as they wished, tolerating filthy streets and wretched prisons. Neither local nor central government concerned themselves with the widespread ignorance of urban workers, nor with the exploitation of child labor in textile mills.

By the 1850's the scene had altered. A series of momentous social reforms had brought about an administrative revolution. In 1834 Parliament established the Poor Law Commission, in 1839 the Education Committee of the Privy Council, and in 1848 a Board of Health, each with a staff of professional servants who were to inspect local authorities. Here were Bentham's Ministries of Indigence, Education, and Health. In 1833, 1835, and 1842 Parliament attached to the Home Office inspectors of factories, prisons, and mines. In 1841 it set up a Railway Board and in 1845 it made the Metropolitan Lunacy Commissioners a national agency. In 1850 it created a Merchant Marine Department and in 1853 a Charity Commission and a Department of

² John Stuart Mill, *Autobiography* (New York, 1924), pp. 134-136. See also Mill's essay on Bentham, in *Mill on Bentham and Coleridge*, ed. F. R. Leavis (London, 1950).

³ *Parliamentary Papers of Great Britain*, 1833, XXIII, "Finance and Accounts," pp. 439 and 465.

Science and Art. Each of these twelve new central departments had inspectors with powers to carry out the increased functions recommended in the *Constitutional Code*. Bentham's blueprint for an administrative state had been translated, albeit very roughly, into the reality of the mid-Victorian administrative state.

THE OBVIOUS SIMILARITIES between Bentham's *Code* and the mid-Victorian administrative state suggests a possible causal relation. That some of the leading architects of that state were disciples of Bentham makes the suggestion even more appealing, and raises at once an interesting problem in intellectual and administrative history. How important were the ideas of Bentham in fashioning the Victorian administrative state? What influence did this retiring, eccentric philosopher have upon the history of his time? A. V. Dicey, Sidney and Beatrice Webb, B. L. Hutchins, Elie Halévy, and Samuel Finer, with varying emphasis, consider his influence on the growth of English government to have been of profound importance.⁴ The distinguished economic historian, Sir John Clapham, wrote that the nineteenth-century inspectorates rested "on foundations laid for them by Jeremy Bentham," and the late J. Bartlett Brebner, in his revisionist article, "Laissez Faire and State Intervention in Nineteenth Century Britain," argued that the Victorian administrative state conformed to the *Constitutional Code*, that Bentham's secretary, Edwin Chadwick, was "the architect of most of [that] state intervention," and that even the aristocracy in imposing "intervention on nearly every economic activity . . . practically always [kept] as close as possible to Bentham's model of artificial identification of interests by central authority and local inspection." The belief that Bentham's ideas have had a striking effect on nineteenth-century governmental changes is one of wide currency. Even G. M. Trevelyan gives it his blessing. "It would be difficult to find," he writes, "a better instance of that favourite maxim of our grandfathers' that the pen is mightier than the sword than the effect upon British Institutions of the uneventful life of Jeremy Bentham."⁵

⁴ A. V. Dicey, *Law and Public Opinion in England* (London, 1905), pp. 305-309; Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *English Poor Law History*, Part II (London, 1929), I, 26-32; B. L. Hutchins, *The Public Health Agitation* (London, 1929), p. 140; Elie Halévy, *The History of the English People in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1950), III, 98-129; Samuel Finer, *The Life and Times of Edwin Chadwick* (London, 1952), pp. 12-37 and 74-75.

⁵ Sir John Clapham, "Work and Wages," *Early Victorian England* (G. M. Young, ed., London, 1934), I, 46-47; J. Bartlett Brebner, "Laissez Faire and State Intervention

His life at Queen Square was indeed uneventful, but the disciples who visited there were men of energy and action. Edwin Chadwick, his private secretary in his last years, and Southwood Smith, one of his most intimate friends, both sat on the Factory Commission of 1833, and both, along with their friend Dr. James Kay (the future Sir James Kay Shuttleworth), were destined for bureaucratic positions of great influence.⁶ James Mill, Bentham's closest friend, gathered around himself and his son a group of young intellectuals who called themselves Utilitarians. The most important of these were John and Edward Romilly, George Grote, Charles Buller, Arthur Roebuck, and Sir William Molesworth, all of whom sat in the reformed House of Commons. Other friends of Bentham in the Commons were Joseph Hume, Henry Warburton, and Edward Strutt. Albany Fonblanque, John Black, and John Bowring, all admirers of Bentham, edited, respectively, the *Examiner*, the *Morning Chronicle*, and the *Westminster Review*, and many of the writers for the *Edinburgh Review*, the *Globe*, and the *Scotsman*, looked favorably on the ideas of England's celebrated philosopher.⁷

His influence even penetrated into the House of Lords, Oxford, and Cambridge, and into the salons of Whig peers. Lord Brougham argued the cause of public education in the House of Lords and Nassau Senior and Charles Austin lectured to young Oxonians and Cantabrigians on political economy and law reform. Charles Austin took the same ideas to Bowood in rural Wiltshire, where the first Marquis of Lansdowne had entertained Bentham and where his son, the third Marquis, once heard Austin and Lord Macaulay engage in an eight-hour intellectual joust.⁸ Holland House, too, occasionally heard Philosophical Radicals declaim with a Benthamite vigor against Tory institutions. A Whig might be offended by such arid expressions as the "aptitude maximization principle," or the "elictive, statistic, inspective, melioration suggestive, and locative functions" of central ministers, but he could applaud the noble and reasonable rules for politics and ethics laid down in Bentham's *Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation* and could readily comprehend the principle of the greatest happiness to the greatest number. Even the witty Canon of St. Paul's,

in Nineteenth Century Britain," *Journal of Economic History*, VIII (1948), Supplement, 59-73; G. M. Trevelyan, *Britain in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1937), p. 181.

⁶ Mrs. C. L. Lewes, *Dr. Southwood Smith, A Retrospect* (London, 1889), pp. 20-47; Frank Smith, *Life of Sir James Kay Shuttleworth* (London, 1923), pp. 26-27.

⁷ Leslie Stephen, *Utilitarianism* (London, 1950), II, 28-32, III, 26-30; Mill, *Autobiography*, p. 136.

⁸ Sir G. O. Trevelyan, *Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay* (London, 1901), pp. 56-57.

Sydney Smith, confessed he had read all of Bentham, and the Irish radical Daniel O'Connell boasted he was a disciple (*Works*, X, 560, 597). The Chadwicks and Austins, the Sydney Smiths and Lord Broughams, constituted, to be sure, only a small minority of English society. The great bulk of the governing class thought Bentham's ideas crotchety and subversive. But the Benthamites possessed ability, purpose, and a creed. Through them Bentham had his greatest influence. They alone could be expected to read the laborious, detailed, rigorous schemes of the *Constitutional Code*. "He acted upon the destinies of his race," claimed Bulwer-Lytton in 1832, "by influencing the thoughts of the minute fraction who think."⁹ Bulwer-Lytton, as did Trevelyan a century later, estimated highly the power of ideas in shaping history.

Such generalizations, seductively attractive to intellectual historians and political philosophers, are illuminating but dangerous, and always difficult to prove. Connections between the ideas of one man and political action inevitably are involved and elusive; yet they must be closely examined if the history of an age is to be understood. Did Bentham's ideas define the Victorian administrative state?

THE ANSWER TO THAT QUESTION can best be found by looking at Bentham's particular influence on Parliamentary legislation in the 1830's and 1840's. Did his idea of central inspection, for example, define, as B. L. Hutchins asserts, the Factory Act of 1833? There is some evidence to suggest that it did. Both Edwin Chadwick and Southwood Smith (along with Thomas Tooke) sat on the government's Factory Commission of 1833. They wrote the Commission's report and helped prepare the bill which would exclude from textile factories all children below nine years of age, and would limit to eight hours the labor of those between nine and thirteen.¹⁰ Central inspectors were to enforce the act and factory owners were to provide the children with two hours of schooling. The clauses which provided for central inspection and factory schools gave the act a Benthamite stamp. But the Benthamites on the Commission did not initiate the reforms nor did they give them their final form. These reforms had their origin in the agitation of Evangelicals and Tories like Lord Ashley and Richard Oastler, to whom Benthamism was an anathema. And it was the unphilosophical Whig, Lord Althorp,

⁹ Bulwer-Lytton, *England and the English* (London, 1833), II, 108.

¹⁰ Edwin Chadwick Manuscripts, University College, London, Chadwick to Normanby, 12 May 1841.

who insisted that the bill prohibit young people and women from working over twelve hours,¹¹ a provision which Chadwick called pernicious. He considered any regulation of adult women an uncalled-for interference with capital. Because the Whigs included this pernicious clause and because they dropped the effective education clause, Chadwick disclaimed any responsibility for the act.¹²

Nor, for that matter, is there any suggestion found anywhere in the *Constitutional Code* that the government should regulate hours of labor. Bentham's faith in *laissez faire* ran deep. He wished the government to regulate many things, but the economy was not one of them; he wished inspectors to guarantee that factories were sanitary, but not that working hours be limited. Though inclining towards collectivism on social questions, in economic matters he remained an individualist. In the bulky reports of the assistant factory commissioners in 1833 there is no reference to his *Code*. What these records do show is that the idea of central inspection was a commonplace and that the larger manufacturers favored it in order to prevent isolated mills from working longer hours.¹³ Inspection of manufacturers was no new device in a country where hundreds of excise men had long supervised the making of spirits, glass, and paper.¹⁴

THE POOR LAW AMENDMENT ACT OF 1834 appears at first glance to have been more completely colored by Benthamism than the Factory Act. Chadwick's influence was again apparent to everyone. Along with Nassau Senior, the head of the Commission to inquire into the poor laws, he wrote the famous report calling for a centralized poor law administration. Following these recommendations Parliament passed an act establishing a central board of three commissioners to formulate policy, and nine assistant commissioners to inspect and supervise locally elected boards of guardians. The inspectors were to insure, through a strict policy, that relief to the poor was much less attractive than the lot of the common laborer.¹⁵ Some of the principal features of this act, such as those providing for central control, inspection, and local paid officials, can be found in the *Code*, while Bentham in his *Pauper Man-*

¹¹ Cecil Driver, *Richard Oastler, Tory Radical* (New York, 1946), pp. 100-177 and 245-246.

¹² Chadwick MSS, memo on central administration, c. 1841, and Chadwick to Russell, 10 July 1838.

¹³ *Parliamentary Papers*, 1833, XX, "Factory Report," p. 68.

¹⁴ *Parliamentary Papers*, 1834, XXIV, "Seventh Excise Report," pp. 110-113.

¹⁵ Finer, *Chadwick*, pp. 39-50.

agement Scheme urged that workhouses be established and relief strictly apportioned (*Works*, IX, 441; XVIII, 361 ff.). Out of mere default the refashioning of England's poor law had fallen to Benthamites. Tory and Whig leaders had despaired of any solution to the chaos of badly administered parish relief.¹⁶ They feared that revolutionary measure of centralization which alone could bring order out of chaos, yet they had no alternative suggestion. In a spirit of resignation they turned the problem over to Nassau Senior's Commission. Senior himself, in 1831, had hoped that the county J.P.'s could solve the problem, and Bentham much earlier had placed his hopes in a private joint stock company.¹⁷ It was Edwin Chadwick who had the audacity to make a complete break with the past and who called for an effective centralization of poor relief. He was the one person able to grapple with the welter of inefficient local authorities and construct an efficient measure of control over them. He collected more evidence than any other Commissioner, wrote more reports, and recommended more reforms. He helped the Cabinet draw up the Poor Law Amendment Bill, briefed M.P.'s on its merits, and wrote in the *Globe* defending it.¹⁸ When Tories and Whigs proved unable to construct a workable solution, his industry and genius brought England its first revolutionary measure of administrative centralization.

Chadwick's influence was profound on the growth of the central government. But were his reforms inspired by Bentham? This is a question that raises one of the most difficult problems facing anyone who attempts to assess the role of ideas in determining political action. What influence arises from personal relations, relations that appear so intangible to the historian? Chadwick himself, after admitting that in fields which he had not investigated he owed a great debt to Bentham, wrote quite explicitly, "My own responsible measures have invariably been the result of my own independent labour." John Stuart Mill was so impressed by that "independent labour" that he called Chadwick "one of the organizing and contriving minds of the age."¹⁹ Chadwick, before he was Bentham's secretary, had written articles on

¹⁶ Add. MSS. 40447, Peel Papers (British Museum), Graham to Peel, 9 Jan. 1840; T. C. Hansard, ed., *The Parliamentary Debates of Great Britain* (henceforth cited as Hansard), 1828, XVIII, 1544, and 1830, XXIII, 534.

¹⁷ Chadwick MSS, Senior's memo to Lord Brougham, Jan. 1833; Bentham, *Works*, VIII, 361.

¹⁸ Chadwick MSS, letters of Chadwick to Lord Althorp in April 1838.

¹⁹ Bentham MSS, University College, London, Box 155, p. 110, Chadwick to the President of the Law Amendment Society; Finer, *Chadwick*, p. 2.

life insurance, police, and French charities that demonstrated a zeal for social investigation, an empirical cast of mind, and a talent for administrative criticism.²⁰ He applied these talents to the New Poor Law, a law which departs from several of Bentham's most insistent strictures. A board of three commissioners and not one minister administered the law, though Bentham called all such boards screens for hiding waste and inefficiency. The new law had no sign of Bentham's beloved "duty and interest junction principle," whereby pauper labor would pay the costs of poor relief, and no sign of the panopticon, Bentham's hexagonal structure suitable for prisons, asylums, or workhouses.²¹ Furthermore, the chief principle of the Poor Law Report, the urging of a strict workhouse relief, was a common notion, stemming not so much from Bentham as from the severe doctrines of the economists. In October 1832 even the Tory *Quarterly Review* argued for workhouses, and later astonished the editor of the *Law Magazine* by boasting that they had suggested the idea of a central authority supervising poor relief.²² The plea for some central control (usually quite limited) and for larger units of administration was in fact more than a century old: William Hay had suggested it in 1735, and other poor law reformers had written of its need.²³ The New Poor Law reflected many commonly accepted notions just as it reflected some Benthamite suggestions; but its main themes and its general construction came from the mind of Edwin Chadwick.

Parliament passed the bill by an overwhelming majority. It did not need the votes of the few Benthamites in the Commons. Nor were the country gentlemen and magistrates persuaded by Benthamite logic. There was no need for that. They were already prepared to support the bill from a desire to rid themselves of burdensome duties and rates. In order to secure lower poor rates they would accept that measure of centralization designed for them by Edwin Chadwick. The Poor Law Amendment Act thus had its origin in the conjunction of "one of the organizing and contriving minds of the age" with the economic interests and administrative necessities of the time.

²⁰ Edwin Chadwick, "On the Means of Insurance," *Westminster Review*, IX (1828), 384-421; "On Preventive Police" and "Medical Charities in Review," *London Review*, I (1830), 252-308 and 536-65.

²¹ *Works*, VIII, 361 ff.; IV, 39-59, 6-7, and 214-219.

²² Stephen, *Utilitarianism*, II, 223; *Quarterly Review*, Oct. 1832, pp. 332-334, and Aug. 1834, p. 233; *Law Magazine*, May 1835, p. 438.

²³ William Hay, "Remarks on the Laws Relating to the Poor," *Works* (London, 1794), I, 78-91, 155, and 191; Patrick Colquhoun, *The State of Indigence and the Situation of the Casual Poor* (London, 1799).

THE PRIVY COUNCIL'S ORDER OF 1839 to establish a Committee on Education with inspectors of schools, was also penned by friends of Jeremy Bentham. The President of the Privy Council, the nominal author of the order, was the third Marquis of Lansdowne, and its real author was James Kay. Lansdowne's father had been for many years Bentham's patron. Bentham spent many enjoyable months at Bowood, and on his advice the future third Marquis was sent to Edinburgh rather than Oxford. In the 1830's Benthamites still visited Bowood, and Lansdowne counted them among his friends. James Kay was also a friend of the Benthamites, especially of Edwin Chadwick, with whom he had much in common.²⁴ Both came from Nonconformist manufacturing cities; both were energetic, dedicated, and sturdily independent; both reflected their middle-class origins. From their experience in Manchester and London they became aware of the need for the government to end both the profound ignorance of the working class and the unsanitary state of the industrial towns. Both men were attracted to Benthamism, but brought to their reading of Bentham social attitudes already formed. The education order which Kay helped Lansdowne draw up was quite simple: the government would establish a normal school and would aid and inspect church schools of all denominations. As simple and modest as this proposal seemed to the Whigs, to the Tories and Churchmen it was blasphemy. Their hostility forced the abandonment of the normal school, and threatened the whole measure itself. Lansdowne told Russell to hold firm even if beaten, because, he added, "we are so decidedly right." The appropriation of £30,000 to carry out the order passed the Commons by two votes.²⁵ It would not have passed but for the Benthamites in Parliament — for Grote, Buller, Hume, Molesworth, and Roebuck.

According to the same sort of calculation, however, it would not have passed except for the Irish members. Outraged Tory journals even ascribed the origins of the measure to "that junto of papists, infidels and radicals which forms the Irish Board of Education," and blamed most of all John Wyse, the Irish M.P. who headed the Central Society for Education. Wyse could and did retort that the Tory Lord Stanley, the

²⁴ DNB; Thomas Adkins, *History of St. John College, Battersea* (London, 1901), p. 27; Public Record Office, Russell MSS, 22/30/4, Lansdowne to Russell, 1839.

²⁵ Hansard, 1839, XLVIII, 793; Odo Russell, *The Early Correspondence of Lord John Russell* (London, 1913), II, 269; the *Standard*, 21 May 1839, citing the *Morning Herald*.

most hostile opponent of the new order and no Benthamite, had strengthened in 1831 the control of the Irish Board of Education over Irish schools.²⁶ Wyse could also have added that it was the Tories in 1824 who established that central Board, and gave it power to inspect schools. Central inspection of schools was in fact a commonplace notion; education reformers of all parties knew of its effectiveness on the Continent, in Ireland, and in America; the British Society and the Church of England's National Society had inspectors, and in arguing for school inspection Lansdowne cited their experiences. Not once did he cite Bentham's *Code*.²⁷ What persuaded the Commons to support the education order were the dangers of a badly educated working class addicted to drink and crime. This problem, particularly acute in the new industrial towns, had to be answered. Yet the religious jealousies made its solution difficult. These prevented the creation of secular, local, rate-supported schools, while the poverty of church schools made purely voluntary schools inadequate. The only workable answer was to aid these voluntary schools and to inspect them in order to see that the aid was not misspent. In 1839 Parliament grudgingly accepted that compromise. It was a far cry from the local rate-supported schools of Bentham's *Code*.

CONDITIONS IN THE MANUFACTURING TOWNS demanded sanitary improvements as insistently as they did educational reform. Open sewers, stagnant cesspools, impure water, refuse-littered streets, overcrowded, squalid tenements: all these brought disease and misery to the working classes, and a mortality rate in towns that was twice as great as in the countryside. To Edwin Chadwick, Southwood Smith, and James Kay, all employees of the Poor Law Commission and all Benthamites, these evils were intolerable and unnecessary. In their reports to the Poor Law Commission in 1838 and 1839 they exposed the unhealthy conditions of these towns and urged reforms. Chadwick's graphic report of 1842 made a deep impression on the governing class. The Bishop of London demanded reform, and many a member of Commons agreed.²⁸ Sir

²⁶ Hansard, 1839, XLVII, 530-531.

²⁷ Victor Cousin, *Education in Holland* (London, 1838); "The Education Bill," *Edinburgh Review*, Jan. 1838, 439-449; Rev. Thaddeus O'Malley, *A Brief Sketch of the State of Popular Education in Holland, Prussia, Belgium and France* (London, 1838); Henry Dunn, *National Education* (London, 1838), pp. 10-21; Hansard, 1839, XLVIII, 1270.

²⁸ R. A. Lewis, *Edwin Chadwick and the Public Health Movement* (London, 1952), pp. 29-60; *Parliamentary Papers*, 1839, XX, appendices, and 1842, XXVI, "Sanitary Conditions of the Labouring Classes."

Robert Peel, faced with these demands, postponed any drastic reform by appointing the Health of Towns Commission to investigate that which had already been investigated. The Commission included engineers and politicians, but no Benthamites. They corroborated Chadwick's report and recommended both central and local boards of health. These recommendations were incorporated into Lord Morpeth's Public Health Act of 1848.²⁹ Chadwick was a close friend of Lord Morpeth and the acknowledged leader of the sanitary movement. He was close to government leaders and later became a member of the General Board of Health. The Hammonds in their *Lord Shaftesbury* thus concluded that the Public Health Act was Chadwick's act. But this was not Chadwick's view of the situation. He met once with those who drew up the Bill. Thereafter he merely wrote notes expressing his vexation at being ignored. "I have never been able," he told Lord Campbell, "to take any part in the framework or details of the bill since the first meeting at Lord Morpeth's." A timid Cabinet and a Parliament fearful of centralization curtailed the Bill's power so decisively that an exasperated Chadwick finally wrote, "the health bill which passed is a mere wreck of what was intended," and he disclaimed, as he had on the Factory Act, any responsibility for the measure.³⁰ The Act was not Chadwick's, nor was it particularly Benthamite; rather it was a compromise between the demands of powerful local interests to be let alone and the insistence of Parliament that the intolerable conditions of the towns be remedied, even if it meant the creation of a central department. The idea of a central department was also no innovation. Charles Greville, no Benthamite, had headed a temporary Central Board in 1830, and had sent medical inspectors to visit local authorities.³¹ By 1848 the idea of central inspection was certainly no longer a novelty.

THE SAME RESPONSE to pressing social evils led to other minor reforms — of prisons, insane asylums, private charities, railways, and merchant marine service — all of which added more central agencies to the growing administrative state. The Prison Act of 1835, which provided for the central inspection of prisons, arose not from the ratiocinations of Ben-

²⁹ Parliamentary Papers, 1844, XXIV, "First Report," p. 1; and 1845, XXVI, "Second Report," p. 269; Chadwick MSS, Chadwick to C. May, 20 July 1852: "the Public Health Act is mainly founded on the report signed by Sir W. Cubitt and drawn up by Robert Stephenson."

³⁰ Chadwick MSS, Chadwick to Lord Campbell, 26 July 1848; John and Barbara Hammond, *Lord Shaftesbury* (London, 1923), p. 163.

³¹ Public Record Office, P.R.O./P.C., I, 105.

thamites, but from the persuasions of the Evangelicals. They fought for and drew up the Prison Act of 1835. The Evangelicals were supported by some interested peers, such as the Duke of Richmond, who personally investigated some of the grimmest of London prisons. The peers found that central inspection was a necessity. Many county magistrates, probably none of whom were learned in the *Code*, confessed to the Lords' Select Committee on Prisons that only inspection could establish a uniform discipline and end gross abuse. The Act which established such inspection owed its origins to a few peers and to the hard-working Evangelicals of the Prison Discipline Society.³² There was no trace in the Act of Bentham's panopticon scheme. Its chief feature, a great faith in separate confinement (which Bentham opposed), was copied from Philadelphia prisons. Chadwick, a severe critic of *ad hoc* reform, condemned the Act as the improvisation of "a mere voluntary society."³³ He would have had no better estimation of Lord Ashley's Lunacy Act of 1845, for it too owed its origins to the humanitarian work of Evangelicals. The Lunacy Act, with its twenty-six Commissioners performing different functions, was a cumbersome agency. Furthermore there was nothing symmetrical or uniform in the chaos of local asylums, private hospitals, and workhouses which that Commission supervised.³⁴ No Benthamite helped Ashley in fashioning this Lunacy Commission, and the *Code* says little about such problems, yet it was of such bricks that the Victorian administrative state was built.

The *Code* did call for the inspection of all modes of transportation, though it failed to mention the railway (*Works*, IX, 441). Neither Lord Seymour, the Whig author of the Railway Act of 1840 which established the Railway Board, nor Gladstone, the Tory author of the Act of 1842 extending the powers of the Board, frequented Utilitarian circles. And Henry Labouchere, who drew up and carried through Parliament an Act establishing a Merchant Marine Board, did not count himself an admirer of Bentham.³⁵ The *Code* in fact specifically

³² *Parliamentary Papers*, 1835, XI, "Select Committee on Prisons," pp. 1-5, 16, 67, 129, 177, and 290; T. F. Buxton, *Memoirs* (London, 1848), pp. 64-80; Rev. W. Clay, *Memoirs of John Clay* (London, 1861), pp. 80-170.

³³ *Law Magazine*, Aug. 1835, pp. 31-46; Chadwick MSS, memo on central administration, c. 1841.

³⁴ Kathleen Jones, *Lunacy, Law and Conscience* (London, 1945), pp. 170-195.

³⁵ DNB; Hansard, 1842, LXI, 165-170; Russell MSS, P.R.O. 30/22/7, Labouchere to Russell, Jan. 1848; Hansard, 1850, CXII, 111; Oliver MacDonagh, in "Delegated Legislation and Administrative Discretion in the 1850's" in *Victorian Studies*, II (1958), 29-44 shows in detail how the establishment and growth of the Emigration Commissioners occurred and how it reflected practical concerns. He makes no mention of Bentham's ideas at work.

exempted merchant shipping from the regulations of the Ministry of Interior. It is of course very doubtful if Labouchere ever read the *Code*, or ever attended upon the sage of Queen Square. Like Lord Ashley, Lord Seymour, and Gladstone, Labouchere planned these reforms to meet the urgent problems of an industrial age, not to fulfill the ideals of a philosopher. Local government could not handle these new problems, and their neglect had permitted abuses to arise which the conscience of the Victorian governing class could not endure. The only means to remedy these abuses was to empower the central government to intervene. In this *ad hoc* manner, and not from reading the *Constitutional Code*, did Parliament lay the basis for the early Victorian administrative state.

THE ABOVE SKETCH of the connections between the ideas of Jeremy Bentham and the creation of a more centralized administration in England raises doubts about the all-pervasive influence of his political philosophy. At first glance there appear many immediate and close ties between Bentham and administrative reform. Disciples of Bentham planned great measures of reform, his admirers defended them in the Commons, and Utilitarian journals espoused them in learned articles. Did not Bentham's friend John Austin, in an article in the *Edinburgh Review* (Jan. 1847) entitled "Centralization," argue frankly for a centralized administration? Did not the Utilitarian *Westminster Review* argue frequently and at length for social, governmental, and legal reforms?³⁶ And in the Common did not his followers, like Lord Brougham, Charles Buller, and John Roebuck, champion law reform, factory regulations, and state aid to, and inspection of, schools. Was there not, as Bentham's old friend Joseph Hume confessed, a new spirit of improvement which pervaded society?³⁷ Was it not a spirit at once rational, questioning, innovating, a Benthamite spirit, dedicated to the greatest good of the greatest number? The historian is indeed sorely tempted to see in that spirit the inspiration of Bentham's ideas and thus to agree with Trevelyan that "his principles were beginning to invade the seats of power," or with J. Bartlett Brebner, that the growth of state intervention was "Benthamite, Benthamite in the sense of conforming

³⁶ *Westminster Review*, on factories, Apr. 1833; poor law, Apr. 1834; law reform, Oct. 1834; prisons, Oct. 1835; education, June 1840; lunacy, Apr. 1842; law reform, Feb. 1843; railways, Sept. 1844; lunacy, Mar. 1846; mining, July 1842.

³⁷ Hansard, 1838, XVIII, 127-255; 1833, XX, 139-160; 1836, XXV, 51; 1844, LXXIV, 958; 1853, CXXIV, 1249.

to that forbidding, detailed blueprint for a collective state, the *Constitutional Code*.³⁸

Yet when each particular reform is closely scrutinized Bentham's ideas seem less and less to have been the decisive factor. Austin's article on centralization appeared in January of 1847, which was after, not before, the major reforms had set the pattern of the new administrative state. In like manner the articles in the *Westminster Review* on education, railways, and prisons, came after Parliament had passed its measure of reform. Furthermore most of the other articles neither outlined nor argued for any scheme of administrative improvement, but merely described conditions in mines, asylums, and factories. And none of them cited the *Code*.

It is also dangerous to assume that these articles, or the speeches of Brougham, Buller, and Roebuck, were invariably inspired by Bentham. Brougham was so often at variance with true Utilitarian doctrine that Bentham despaired of the wayward efforts of this unpredictable Scotsman. As for the kindly, reasonable, liberal-minded Buller, who can say whence arose his compassion for the working classes and zeal for reform? Did he learn it from Bentham's writings or from the stern lectures given him by his tutor, Thomas Carlyle? He was twenty-one when he joined John Stuart Mill's Utilitarian circle in London. His friend George Grote was twenty-four when he joined that circle and Chadwick and Roebuck were twenty-five when they first met the Benthamites.³⁹ It is quite possible that their passion for reform, their critical intelligence, their radical sentiments were by then deeply ingrained. In Bentham they found the same rationalism and the same zeal for improvement, only bolder, more systematic, and more brilliantly expressed.

What indeed was remarkable about Bentham was not so much his influence over numerous men, but the foresight, the clarity, and the logic with which he expressed those truths which other forces, far stronger than his own ideas, would bring to pass. He saw more comprehensively than his contemporaries the necessity of an expanded administrative state. He saw the anachronisms and inefficiencies in English law and administration, and the need to reform both. He saw the importance of government by paid, professional civil servants. He saw the failures of local government and the need of a stronger central

³⁸ Trevelyan, *Britain in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 181; Brebner, *JEH*, p. 63.

³⁹ DNB; Bentham, *Works*, X, 588-597; Mill, *Autobiography*, p. 89; R. E. Leader, ed., *Life and Letters of J. A. Roebuck* (London, 1897), pp. 25-28; Finer, *Chadwick*, p. 11; Mrs. Grote, *The Personal Life of George Grote* (London, 1873), p. 22.

administration. And since, like so many Englishmen, he feared an over-bearing centralization, he realized that the necessary central controls could be best applied through central inspection. None of the truths which he saw were wholly new, certainly not the key idea of central inspection. The reformers of English prisons and schools not only knew of American and Continental schemes for inspection, but of British inspectors of Irish prisons and schools; factory reformers knew of the inspections of excise surveyors, and sanitary reformers knew of the Central Board of Health of 1831.⁴⁰ Bentham did not introduce the principle of central inspection to England, he only called for its systematic application.

Neither did he introduce, *de novo*, those Utilitarian principles that were so fundamental to the reforming spirit of the age and to the legislation which led to the Victorian administrative state. He candidly admitted that he learned of the greatest happiness principle from reading Joseph Priestley.⁴¹ The idea that happiness defines the good is at least as old as Aristotle. Bentham gave it a clear and logical application and embodied it in a succinct and dogmatic principle that was appealing to an age increasingly doubtful of theological and metaphysical systems of ethics. His exaggerated application of that principle won him sharp criticism. He made it a formula too neat, too simplified, too all embracing to serve as an explanation of the complexities and passions of human nature. John Stuart Mill in his *Autobiography* recognizes its shallowness and its limits. Still, on matters of legislation it was and is a widely approved and useful guide.

The simple calculation of doing the greatest good to the greatest number, and not God's will or natural law, offered Victorian social reformers a strong justification for the establishment of a larger and more active state, one guaranteeing the well-being of the factory worker, the railway passenger, and the tenement dweller. Even the jaunty and unphilosophical Palmerston openly confessed it in arguing for the repeal of the Corn Laws. We must follow, he said, "the fundamental maxim which bids us legislate for the good of the many and not the few." *The Times*, the declared enemy of Benthamites, also confessed in 1845, "It is a settled principle of every constitution however liberal that the legislature is not merely empowered, but obliged to interfere at all times . . .

⁴⁰ *Index to Parliamentary Papers* (London, 1938), pp. 420 and 480. By 1835 the inspectors of Irish prisons had made twelve annual reports and by 1839 the Irish Education Commissioners had made fifteen annual reports.

⁴¹ Elie Halévy, *The Growth of Philosophic Radicalism* (London, 1955), p. 22.

where the general advantage of the community requires it."⁴² It is unlikely that either Palmerston or John Delane, editor of *The Times* in 1845, read much of Bentham. Palmerston's teacher was the Scottish moral philosopher Dugald Stewart of Glasgow University; and Delane was educated first at Kings College, London, a college founded in protest against the Benthamite University College, and secondly at Magdalen College, Oxford, hardly a seat of Benthamism.⁴³ It is much more likely that Palmerston and Delane, both pre-eminently sensitive to public opinion, realized that in a representative government legislation must bring the greatest good to the greatest number (or at least appear to do so). Like the principle of central inspection, the idea that the aim of legislation is to promote the general good is almost a commonplace notion, an implicit axiom of human affairs, and one bound to become more explicit in a more rational and democratic age. Bentham had the forthrightness to give a logical formulation to what others, from Palmerston to Delane, felt to be quite true. His cogent expression of this principle won the admiration of men already eager for improvements; but it was not necessarily his statement of it which made these men determined reformers, nor did his writings define the events which impelled them to pass effective legislation.

Had Bentham never written his epochal works, Victorian reformers would probably have contrived their poor laws, factory acts, and educational schemes, all fitted out with central inspectors.⁴⁴ Such social legislation was in fact a necessity, the necessity of the factory, the jerry-built town, the discontented and ignorant proletariat. Not Bentham's *Code*, but the reports on Sunderland's cholera epidemic, deeply moved Greville, the Whigs' gossiping clerk of the Privy Council. He had never heard, he wrote in 1831, of such misery and human degradation. It filled him with forebodings of revolution and persuaded him that these wretched conditions must be ameliorated. Macaulay felt the same. "Civilization is threatened," he said in referring to urban conditions, "by a barbarism it has engendered." In 1848 *The Times* put it

⁴² Hansard, 1846, LXXXV, 256; *The Times*, 26 Dec. 1845.

⁴³ Arthur I. Dasent, *John T. Delane, Editor of the Times* (London, 1908), I, 1-22; H. C. F. Bell, *Lord Palmerston* (London, 1936), I, 7. There is no mention of Bentham in any of the four biographies of Palmerston nor in either of the two biographies of Delane.

⁴⁴ Oliver MacDonagh in "The Nineteenth Century Revolution in Government: A Re-appraisal," *Historical Journal*, I (1958), 52-67, considers the correlation between the pressure for social reform and the resulting administrative growth "up to a point true," but cautions that the correlation is not exact. In this brilliant study of the processes of administrative growth, MacDonagh warns of ascribing too great an influence to the ideas of Bentham.

more bluntly: "A great town is a great evil."⁴⁵ In the towns came the exploitation of children, a concentrated and dangerous ignorance, and foul sewerage, bad water, and cholera; in the towns crime mounted, while poverty, aggravated by industrial depressions, was quick to strike. The conditions of the towns overwhelmed James Kay and Edwin Chadwick, and impressed members of Parliament more vividly than the dull detail of Bentham's *Code*; and they demanded more insistently those reforms which brought into existence, as a sheer necessity, the Victorian administrative state. The urban problems were simply too great for antiquated local authorities. Town councils failed to lay good drains and voluntary societies failed to build good schools. As a result the central government had to aid and supervise these local authorities in the promotion of health and education and in the administration of prisons, the poor law, and asylums for the insane. And for similar reasons it had to regulate privately owned mines, factories, and merchant shipping. The political power and the entrenched interests of local authorities and private property ruled out complete central management, so in most cases the compromise reached was that of central inspection, and hence the development of those inspectorates which Clapham rightly saw as the basis of the Victorian administrative state, but too enthusiastically attributed to the ideas of Bentham.

The ideas of Bentham had, to be sure, an influence on the growth of the central administration. His perceptive and telling attacks on old institutions pleased men anxious for reform, and the coherence and completeness of the *Code* excited those few of similar ideas who laboriously waded through its formidable detail. Above all it excited those able to see the needs of the future. But to foresee future developments, to inspire veneration, and to lay down principles that justify change, is not always to cause those developments nor to govern the actions of those men. The Victorian administrative state was a practical contrivance shaped by men of various persuasions, all of whom were disturbed at the existence of ignorance, disease, and misery in their changing society. It was a very confused and disjointed state, and in all probability Bentham himself, the passionate lover of logic and efficiency, would have vigorously disclaimed its authorship.

Dartmouth College

⁴⁵ Lytton Stachey, ed., *The Memoirs of Charles Greville* (London, 1938), II, 219; R. H. Mottram, "Town Life" *Early Victorian England*, I, 68; *The Times*, 10 May 1848.

Sir Charles Tennyson

THEY TAUGHT THE WORLD TO PLAY



NE ACHIEVEMENT OF VICTORIAN ENGLAND has, I think, not been adequately appreciated. She was the world's games-master. It was, of course, the onset of the industrial revolution, with the accompanying rapid growth of urban populations, which forced on the development of organised games in Britain. The British had always been much addicted to sport — the gentry to racing, hunting and hawking, shooting, fishing, and fencing; the rustic population to poaching, quoits, skittles, and crude forms of football, hockey, stool-ball, and other precursors of cricket; running, jumping, swimming, boxing, wrestling, and feats of strength were also national pastimes in Britain, as all over the world, time out of mind.

But it was in the development of ball games — football, cricket, lawn tennis, and golf, in particular — that Victorian Britain's chief contribution was made. Of these football has from the international point of view been the most important, though lawn tennis and golf are today pressing it hard. A primitive kind of football had existed in Britain for centuries, with its object, of course, being to kick a ball over the op-

ponent's line, or between two posts or marks, or even against a tree or some other fixed object. (It is interesting that in the Eton College "Wall Game," the goals today are still the trunk of an old elm tree at one end of the ground and a door in an old brick wall at the other.) But in these old games there were practically no rules. Whole villages were often involved and no holds were barred, so that, according to Philip Stubbes, the sixteenth-century Puritan writer, sometimes necks were broken, sometimes backs, sometimes legs, sometimes arms; and sometimes one part thrust out of joint, sometimes another. The crystallisation of this crude sport into games with defined rules and penalties was chiefly due to that typically Victorian institution, the Public School. During the first half of the century the leading schools all seem to have taken the matter in hand and it is significant of British initiative and individualism that today many of the schools still stick to the games which they then evolved and which are not played elsewhere, Winchester and Harrow each having their own game and Eton having two special forms of football, the "Field Game" and the "Wall Game."

Most significant of all was the development at Rugby School of the practice of catching and running with the ball said to have been due to William Webb Ellis, who, infuriated at the inability of either side to score in a house match, caught the ball and ran with it over the opponents' line. From this historic action sprang what was afterwards to be known as the "Rugby" game. From the schools the game, in both its forms — that which allowed catching and running with the ball, and that which allowed kicking only — spread to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, but it was not until 1863 that the rules of the kicking game were crystallised by the formation of the London Football Association, thus forming the basis of what has since been known as "Association Football." Oxford played a leading part in developing the "carrying" game and in 1871 seventeen clubs and three schools joined to form the "Rugby Union," adopting the rules evolved by Rugby School, with only slight modifications.

In America the diversity of rules continued until 1876, when the universities of Princeton, Yale, Harvard, and Columbia adopted the Rugby Union code and formed an Inter-Collegiate Football Association. From this developed the American national game, which swept across the continent during the next fifteen years, more or less ousting the Association type of game.

The American game passed into Canada in due course, while the British Rugby game quickly took root in New Zealand and Australia, developing in the latter country alongside of a national variant.

South Africa followed suit more slowly — partly, no doubt, for political reasons and partly because the Association game had already obtained a strong foothold there — but after the Boer War progress was rapid. At the end of the nineteenth century France began to take an interest in the game. I remember in about 1900, watching a match between the Racing Club de Paris and Trinity College, Cambridge, which suggested that at that date French Rugby football was still rather primitive. Now France, England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa all play International matches on equal terms, while there has been some development of the game in South American countries.

Meanwhile, “Association” was becoming the British national game of football *par excellence*. The legalisation of professionalism in 1885 was a decisive event, and public interest in the Football Association Cup-ties became intense and absorbing, the fascination of League and International matches being almost as great. When Queen Victoria died the game had, however, not spread widely outside the United Kingdom. I had clear evidence of this in 1899 when with one or two other Englishmen, I tried to arouse an interest in it among the students at the University of Jena in Germany. The young Germans had neither shorts nor football boots. They turned up to play in their ordinary clothes and it was evident then that they knew nothing of the game and that their ball sense was practically undeveloped. The next few years showed remarkable progress and today Association football is the national winter game of the U.S.S.R. and of practically every European country, besides being well established in Japan, South America, and many parts of the Indian and African continents where one would have thought the climate eminently unsuitable. Since the Second World War a European Championship and a World Cup Competition have been started which excite great enthusiasm in all football playing countries.

Football, therefore, in one or other of the two main forms evolved by the energies of Victorian England, may be said to be providing for the recreation of every country in the world except perhaps China and the icebound territories about the Poles.

Hockey, like football, is one of the oldest and, in its primitive form, most widely diffused of games. It differs from football in being well suited for women and today takes the place of football in women's schools and colleges in many countries. It is also a fast and skilful game for men. The game's development has, however, been comparatively slow, and it was not until 1875 that it began to be played in its

modern form, the pioneers being clubs formed in England. In 1886 a Hockey Association was formed there and the first steps taken in organising and regularising the game. By 1926 over 1,000 clubs had become affiliated — mostly English. Meanwhile, the game had been spreading rapidly through Europe and in the British Empire, particularly in India where a federation was formed in 1925 and there were said to be at least 3,000 teams in existence. Hockey was introduced in the U.S.A. when Miss Constance Applebee, a member of the British School of Physical Education, demonstrated it at a Harvard Summer School in 1901. It rapidly became the most popular outdoor recreation for American women. The United States Field Hockey Association was formed in 1922, and an International Hockey Federation came into existence in 1927 in accordance with the resolutions of an international conference held near London in 1924, the first international tournament being held in Copenhagen ten years later. Though hockey does not rival football in popular appeal, it takes rank as one of the great international games and undoubtedly owes its position to the enthusiasm and organising ability of the Victorians.

Cricket, which is essentially the national summer game of the English, has spread through almost the whole of the British Commonwealth of Nations, but has not so much attracted other countries, partly perhaps because of the long time taken by each game (three days being allotted to a first-class match and five to an international, or "Test" match), and partly because of the great importance of really good grass pitches for a high standard of play. In England the game had become widely popular in London and the southern counties by the middle of the eighteenth century, and its orderly development was ensured by the foundation in 1788 of the Marylebone Cricket Club, known familiarly as the M. C. C., which has ever since been the accepted authority for regulation and policy wherever the game is played, while its ground, called "Lord's" after the man who first established it in 1809, is the mecca of cricketers all the world over. Competition between the English counties developed gradually through the nineteenth century and was systematised and officially established in 1873 when the M. C. C. laid down rules governing the qualification of players for county teams. During the next twenty years the game, stimulated by the growth of interest in the County Championship Competition, grew rapidly in skill and popularity, largely owing to the leadership of the huge, black-bearded Gloucestershire physician, W. G. Grace (known throughout the British Empire as "W. G."), a legendary figure whom no one who saw him play, as I was lucky enough to do in the later years

of his long and almost miraculous prime, will ever forget. I particularly remember two matches in the late 1890's, when "W. G." over fifty years old and so portly that his bat looked like a match-stick in his hands and he could only lumber across the pitch at a little over walking pace, defied the cream of Britain's professional bowling, for the best part of a steaming summer afternoon, on Lord's cricket ground, while great batsmen, twenty or thirty years his juniors, floundered helplessly or ignominiously failed.

"W. G." did more than any man to make cricket a national pastime, although Englishmen had already carried it into every country where they effected any substantial settlement during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, playing it in Lisbon before the battle of Busaco, on the Prater during the Congress of Vienna, and under the British Protectorate (1815-63) in Corfu. There is even a record of my great uncle Frederick, Victorian poet and eccentric and eldest brother of Alfred Tennyson, playing against the crew of a British man-of-war at Naples in the early 1840's. But the game took no permanent root outside the British Commonwealth of Nations except in Denmark, Holland, and the Argentine, where there are small but enthusiastic clubs. Nor, though the first overseas tour ever made by a team of English professional players was to the U. S. A. in 1859, has cricket ever secured a large following there.

But in practically all parts of the British Commonwealth except Canada the game has won immense popularity. In Australia, following the visit of the first English team in 1861-62, progress was rapid and in 1877 an Australian eleven actually defeated England in the first of all "Test Matches." South African cricket began to blossom during the 1890's, and developed rapidly after the turn of the century, so that the Union can now hold its own both with the Mother Country and with Australia. New Zealand with its small population hardly reaches the same standard, though the popularity of the game is as great there as anywhere, and cricket is the national game of India, Pakistan, and the West Indies, which are all strong enough to take part in international contests with the other Commonwealth countries. When one takes into account the considerable amount of play in East and West Africa, Malaya, Hong Kong, and Ceylon, as well as in Scotland and Ireland, where the game has never been fully acclimatised, its importance among the world's recreational activities becomes evident.

Lawn tennis is not as fine a game as cricket or football, but its gladiatorial qualities are striking, it requires little space, and it is relatively cheap to play. Its history has certainly been remarkable. It

was invented by an English half-pay major, Walter Clopton Wingfield, in 1874, and patented under the name "Sphairistike." It was, of course, an application to out-of-doors play of the old French game of Royal Tennis (*Jeu de Paume*), and was at first played on a grass court shaped like an hour glass, with heavily strung, lop-sided rackets like those used in the French game. "Lawn tennis" spread rapidly in the British Isles and soon developed into the game that we know today, so far as shape of court, rackets, rules of play, and scoring are concerned.

An important step was made when the All-England Croquet Club at Wimbledon took lawn tennis under its wing in 1877, and the first championships were held there in 1884. (The modern game of croquet seems to have started in England in the 1850's — perhaps founded on an ancient French game. Ironically enough, it suffered severely from the popularity of lawn tennis in the 1870's and 1880's. In about 1894 the implements were improved and a more scientific game made possible. It is now widely popular in the British Dominions and in the U. S. A.) A link with that not-so-distant past is provided by Miss Lottie Dodd, who was the lady champion (in the fourth competition of the series) in 1887 and is still alive and active today. In 1886 the Lawn Tennis Association was formed and the All-England Lawn Tennis and Croquet Club is until this day the official governing body of British lawn tennis, and its annual championship meeting the most important in the world held on grass courts, which all British players regard as the highest form of the game.

The spread of lawn tennis throughout the world has been spectacular. Until 1907 it remained essentially British and the brothers Doherty, who more or less monopolised the championships from 1898 until 1906, may be regarded as the creators of the modern game, though they did not attain the tremendous power of stroke which has developed in recent years.

In 1907 the British domination was broken when Norman Brookes of Australia won the Wimbledon Championship. Since then Britain has, except for a brief sequence in the 1930's, given away successively to France, the U. S. A., and the Commonwealth of Australia, which, though only possessing a population of about eight millions, has for the last few years proved invincible.

The International Lawn Tennis Federation, which was founded in 1912, confirmed the position of lawn tennis as a world pastime, and the Davis Cup, established in 1903, and at first only competed for by the U. S. A. and Great Britain, gradually attracted more and more nations. In 1933 there were thirty-two nations in the competition; today

there are thirty-seven, with an elaborate organisation of zonal ties, and the U. S. S. R. have announced their intention of joining in the near future.

In addition to its spectacular appeal, lawn tennis may claim to be the most widely played game in existence. It is well suited to women as well as men, its relative cheapness brings it within the reach of all classes, and the invention of efficient hard courts enables it to be played in almost all climates.

Closely linked with lawn tennis are two indoor games, one at least of which would probably never have come into existence but for Major Wingfield's epoch-making invention — table tennis and badminton. Both of these originated in Victorian England and seem in a fair way to spread all over the world; they are very fast and exciting, cheap to play, and, being essentially indoor games, not dependent upon climate.

It is impossible to date or even identify accurately the origin of table tennis. As soon as lawn tennis began to be popular, people commenced improvising a table game, using perhaps cigar-box lids for bats, corks for balls, and a row of books for a net. In 1884 a "Miniature Indoor Lawn Tennis" was being advertised by the well-known British sports goods firm of F. H. Ayres. In 1891 a famous British athlete, James Gibb, brought back from America some small celluloid balls which gave the game new possibilities. These were soon being used with a bat with a hollow parchment or vellum face, and in the late 1890's there suddenly started a national craze for what was called "Ping Pong" — I remember well that when I was at Cambridge at the turn of the century one could not walk through the narrow streets of the old town without one's ears being continuously assailed by the monotonous "ping pong, ping pong" of the celluloid ball colliding with the vellum bat in countless students' lodgings. Tournaments now began to be organised, a "Ping Pong Association" was formed, and before the death of Queen Victoria some kind of championship came into being. In 1902 the game was introduced into Japan and central Europe, where also it achieved wide popularity. But the great development came after the First World War. In 1922 the Ping Pong Association was converted into the Table Tennis Association after a mammoth tournament in London, and visitors to Britain took the game back with them to America, Australia, France, Spain, and Sweden. In 1927 a new constitution was drawn up for the Association and the rules revised. At about the same time an International Table Tennis Federation of twenty-nine nations was formed, with a British President, the Hon. Ivor Montagu. Today the

game is played all over the world and national and international table tennis contests arouse the keenest interest.

“Badminton,” which owes its name to the famous estate of the Duke of Beaufort in Gloucestershire, one of the great sporting centres of Britain, descends from the old nursery game of battledore and shuttlecock, which had been played in Europe and Asia for thousands of years. It seems to have preceded lawn tennis in England, since it is said to have been played here first in 1873. Possibly it gave Major Wingfield the idea for his invention. It certainly would never have obtained its world-wide success but for the development work carried out in England during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The Poona rules for the game were drawn up in 1876, and in 1877 the Bath Badminton Club framed a code based on these which was the basis of the code later adopted by the Badminton Association (established in 1895). All-England Championships were instituted in 1899 and International matches began to be played soon after. By 1937 there were more than 1,200 clubs in England alone, and 230 in the U. S. A. The game is now played all over the world and the Far Eastern peoples have developed an extraordinary skill in it.

Golf is Scotland’s contribution to world sport. The game was popular in that country as early as the fifteenth century. There is a tradition that Mary Queen of Scots was playing at it when the news of Darnley’s death was brought to her, and Charles I is said to have been a devotee. In those early days it was played with a ball stuffed with feathers, very erratic and short-lived, and only wooden clubs. Courses were no doubt comparatively short, rough, and little cared for, but most towns and villages in the Scottish lowlands — especially those near the coast — had courses on which the whole population played as a matter of right. The introduction in the middle nineteenth century of balls made from gutta percha and clubs with iron heads contributed greatly to the game’s development, but it made little progress outside Scotland until the second half of the nineteenth century. Although it is stated by some historians that the course at Blackheath in the outskirts of London was established by James I of England in 1608 for the recreation of his court, the development of the game in England, which was to lead to its wide diffusion throughout the world, really dates from the foundation of the fine course at Westward Ho! in North Devon in 1864. In the same year General William Nelson Hutchinson went to live at Northam close by, and his five-year-old son Horace Gordon Hutchinson (with whom I had the good luck to play many times as a boy and young man), soon became enamoured of the

game. In 1878 young Hutchinson went up to Oxford. By that time golf had made so much progress in England that it was decided to play a match against Cambridge, and H. G. Hutchinson was made captain of the team, which he led for the next three years. In 1886 the Amateur Championship of the British Isles was founded and in that and the following year Hutchinson was champion.

Horace Hutchinson was not only a fine all-round athlete, becoming amateur billiards champion and a first-class shot as well as champion golfer. He was also an accomplished writer who made his mark as novelist, biographer, and essayist, and a most modest and charming companion. My own introduction to him was typical. About 1894 or 1895, when my brother and I had just begun playing golf at my parents' holiday home in Norfolk, my mother found herself seated next to H. G. H. at dinner one evening on the famous Terrace of the House of Commons. Remembering vaguely that he was interested in the game, she was heard saying to him during a pause in the general conversation, "Oh, Mr. Hutchinson, I believe you are fond of golf. My boys are very good players. Why don't you come down to Norfolk for a few days to play with them?" Amid shouts of laughter from the company the great man accepted the invitation and from that time became a close and deeply loved friend of our whole family.

Horace Hutchinson's charming personality and his writings, particularly the famous "Badminton" volume which he edited, did much to foster the spread of the game, and he rendered golf another great service by the help and encouragement which he gave to a young Devonshire boy, J. H. Taylor, who started as a caddy at Westward Hol Taylor, who is still alive today, may be regarded as the founder of modern professional golf, and the great skill developed by him and two other slightly younger players, Harry Vardon, of the Channel Isles, and the Scottish professional, James Braid, showed the enormous possibilities of the game. The play and strong personalities of these three men, and the invention by the American Haskell of the rubber-cored ball, with its much greater resilience, gave the game a great impetus. Golf was also fortunate in the authoritative position allowed to the "Royal and Ancient" club at St. Andrews, which has carefully watched and guided its development. The first course in America was not established until 1888. Twenty more came into being during the next five years, and American players gradually began to direct their ambitions to the British Amateur and "Open" Championships. The success of W. J. Travis in the Amateur of 1904 was for long an isolated phenomenon, but with the victory of Walter Hagen in the Open Championship of

1922 a new epoch began, Hagen's victory coinciding with the commencement of a rapid growth of the game's popularity throughout the U. S. A., whose players, aided by America's wealth and the existence within her boundaries of vast territories where golf can be played in ideal conditions all the year round, have in a generation secured a dominant position. There are, however, signs that this supremacy may soon be threatened, for, especially since the close of the Second World War, aided by the rapid development of air transport, which makes it possible for the great players to fly from one side of the globe to the other to take part in gladiatorial displays of skill, golf has been making great strides throughout the world. Players from Australia, South Africa, Belgium, Italy, and Spain have for some years been knocking at the door. In 1957 the American professionals were for the first time in thirty years defeated by the British in the Ryder Cup match, and shortly thereafter two Japanese players defeated all comers in the Canada Cup competition — an amazing feat; for the game was hardly known in Japan before 1939.

The rapid growth of this offspring of the Scottish genius is surprising, for golf as played today is very different from and much more expensive to play than the age-old game of the Scottish villages. Large tracts of land have to be converted and maintained at high cost, the optimum length of a course being not less than 6,000 yards (adding together the length of each of the eighteen holes). Players use, perhaps, fifteen clubs where the early players had only two or three — each at a fraction of the modern cost. Caddies have become so expensive as to be practically prohibitive. Yet the seed sown on the Scottish "links" grows and grows, east, west, north, and south.

Football, lawn tennis, cricket, and golf can be claimed as the great games of the world. One other kind of game may be mentioned, in which a ball is struck, either by bat or hand against a wall in a court of one, three, or four walls. The simplest form of this must have existed for a long time — almost as long as there have been walls to play against. From it have evolved the more elaborate pastimes known as "Rackets," "Squash Rackets," and "Fives." In "Fives," of course, the ball is usually struck with the hand, though there is also a game of "Bat Fives" — now, I fancy, seldom played. None of these games is an important source of national recreation, but, as their development is chiefly due to Victorian England, they deserve brief mention here.

Rackets, played in a large, four-walled court (sixty feet by thirty feet) with a small hard ball, is the leading game of the group. Some think that it derives from the game which Mr. Pickwick saw being

played by the debtors in the Fleet Prison, probably in a single-walled court. The Englishman (or Scotsman) Robert Mackay claimed the world rackets championship in 1820. In the same year Harrow School took up the game and the British public schools and the two ancient Universities have been prime agents in its development. The founding of Princes Club with its court in Knightsbridge, London, marked the first attempt to standardize and regularize the game and all important matches were played at Princes until the court was pulled down to make way for building developments. Queens Club and the new Princes Club followed in 1887 and 1889. Meanwhile, courts began to be built all over the British Isles and overseas, particularly in India and the U. S. A. and Canada. The first Oxford and Cambridge match was played in 1855, and in 1868 the Public Schools championships began. The Amateur Singles championship was held in 1888 and the first American Amateur championship two years later. Rackets is an expensive and exacting game, though unique in the pleasure given to the player by actual contact with the ball, and its survival and development have been largely due to the keenness of the British Army. It has not spread outside the British Commonwealth and the U. S. A. Its offspring, squash rackets, played with a soft ball and in a smaller court, has proved much more popular. It is said to have been first played at Harrow School on a court which was the result of accident rather than design, and it was extensively played at Oxford and Cambridge and in the principal British cities during the last years of the nineteenth century, though there was little or no important competitive play until after the First World War. The size of the court was standardized in Britain in 1911 and the first Amateur Championship held in 1923. The game has now spread all over the world, the Indians and Egyptians having developed outstanding skill in it.

Fives in some form or other was, no doubt, played very early in Britain, and Hazlitt's famous encomium in the *Examiner* of 17 February 1819 on the play of John Cavanagh will be remembered. One sentence of this essay suggests that the game was widely popular at that time. "When a person dies," wrote Hazlitt, "who does anything better than anyone else in the world, which so many others are trying to do well, it leaves a gap in society." During the nineteenth century three different forms of the game were developed by the British Public Schools — Eton, Rugby, and Winchester. Of these the most popular is the Rugby Game (from which Winchester fives differs only in small detail), played in a four-walled court. Much more interesting to my mind is Eton fives, the court for which is an exact copy of one external bay, with its side walls

and buttresses, of the fifteenth-century college chapel, where small boys can be seen playing today, using their lesson books as bats. The first new court was built at Eton in 1840, and the rules were crystallised by an informal committee in 1877. The game has now a considerable following in British schools and clubs, and Eton courts are to be found in some unexpected places throughout the world. But fives cannot in any form claim to be a world pastime, though the development of the game is an interesting example of the Victorian passion for ball games and the leading part taken in their development by the great public schools.

In the above necessarily brief summary of what I believe to be a most important, though hitherto little studied, Victorian achievement, I have confined myself to activities in which Victorian England was clearly the originator or promoter. The picture would be even more impressive if one were to include the Victorian contribution to activities of which there was important simultaneous development in other countries — as, for example, boxing, where the adoption of the Queensberry Rules by the British Amateur Athletic Club in 1866 is such an important landmark; athletics, for which the first organised meeting ever held is said to have been promoted by the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich in 1849; swimming, for which the first Amateur Association was founded in Britain in 1869; competitive rowing, of which the River Thames, with its annual "Royal Regatta" at Henley, founded in 1839, and largely based on the rowing taught at Oxford and Cambridge and the greater public schools, has been called the cradle; and yachting, for which the Royal Regatta at Cowes was the most important international centre right through Queen Victoria's reign.

How is one to estimate the value of this world-wide social revolution initiated by the Victorians, for that is, surely, what it amounts to? The physical benefit to populations becoming every year more urbanised must be great. The psychological advantage in a world where initiative and individuality are everywhere tending to be ironed out by mechanisation and mass production will not, I believe, be less. Politically, organised sport adds the *circenses* to the *panis* of the Welfare State, and international competition, though it may now and then temporarily exacerbate feeling, must, one would hope, in the long run increase mutual knowledge and understanding. All these elements seem to deserve further study, though this essay is not the place for such a study and I am not the person to conduct it.

Harry Stone

DICKENS AND THE JEWS



"KNOW," WROTE DICKENS IN 1854, "of no reason the Jews can have for regarding me as 'inimical' to them."¹ It may seem curious that Dickens could find no reason for such feelings, for even today, with his later atonement on record, most well-read persons thinking of Dickens and Jews can remember only the repulsive Fagin. Fagin's name, like Shylock's, has become a synonym for meanness and depravity, and Dickens' and Shakespeare's villainous Jews are the best-known Jewish characters in English literature. And yet, one can understand Dickens' protesting his bewilderment at charges of anti-Semitism, for his attitude toward Jews changed greatly between *Oliver Twist* (1837-39) and *Our Mutual Friend* (1864-65).

What his attitude was originally, and what it grew to be, though often the subject of general remarks, has not received the detailed attention it deserves.² Most writers on the subject have been content to

¹ From a letter to the Westminster Jewish Free School quoted in Edgar Johnson, *Charles Dickens: His Tragedy and Triumph* (New York, 1952), II, 1010. Professor Johnson does not further identify the letter.

² Works which bear upon this subject include Edward N. Calisch, *The Jew in English Literature* (Richmond, 1909), pp. 127-129; David Philipson, *The Jew in English Fiction*, 4th ed. (New York, 1918), pp. 88-106; Cumberland Clark, *Charles Dickens and His Jewish Characters* (London, 1918); "Fagin and Riah," *Dickensian*, XVII (1921), 144-152; M. J. Landa, *The Jew in Drama* (London, 1926), pp. 159-172; Cecil Roth, ed., *Anglo-Jewish Letters* (London, 1938), pp. 303-309; Montagu Frank Modder, *The Jew in the Literature of England* (Philadelphia, 1944), pp. 217-224; Leslie Fiedler, "What Can We Do About Fagin," *Commentary*, VII (1949), 411-418; Edgar Johnson, "Dickens, Fagin, and Mr. Riah: The Intention of the Novelist," *Commentary*, IX (1950), 47-50; Lauriat Lane, Jr., "'Oliver Twist': A Revision," *Times Literary Supplement* (20 July 1951), p. 460; Lauriat Lane, Jr., "Dickens' Archetypal Jew," *PMLA*, LXXIII (1958), 94-100. The present article, which draws in large part upon evidence never used before, and differs in its presentation and conclusions from the works cited above, was

expatriate on Fagin, mention Riah, and judge Dickens. Few have dealt with the abundant materials which lie outside *Oliver Twist* and *Our Mutual Friend*, and no one has used one of the most revealing sources for understanding Dickens' attitude toward Jews — the periodicals he edited from 1837 to 1839 and from 1850 until his death in 1870. The result has been an incomplete picture, or a picture drawn from a point of view which is so selective that it falsifies the major image while focusing a minor detail. That major image is important. For Dickens' drift from careless prejudice to at least an intellectual understanding is both a significant personal achievement and a revealing symptom of the evolving patterns of Victorian culture.

The most recent article on Dickens and the Jews, Professor Lauriat Lane, Jr.'s "Dickens' Archetypal Jew," though silent on the periodicals and glossing over the cultural milieu, goes farther than any of its predecessors in utilizing materials outside *Oliver Twist* and *Our Mutual Friend*. Professor Lane, however, is interested primarily in the archetypal qualities of Dickens' Jews. Such a study is valuable, but it is disturbing when an archetypal analysis leads to conclusions which contradict the recorded facts of Dickens' procedures (his revisions of *Oliver Twist*, for instance), and it is unsettling to find contemporary stereotypes, prejudices, and cultural shifts neglected for the sake of emphasizing an archetypal image.³ Professor Lane's emphasis, it seems to me, leads to fundamental distortions — to a misapprehension of Dickens' intentions, and to a blurring of the clear lines of his development. His point of view compels him to make artificial distinctions between Dickens' prejudices and those of his audience, between Dickens' responsibilities and those of his readers. And his thesis forces him to con-

submitted to *Victorian Studies* before Professor Lane's "Dickens' Archetypal Jew" appeared. Although my conclusions (and even my facts) often differ from Professor Lane's, I have thought it better not to turn this article into a point by point rebuttal, but to let it stand largely as originally written in the conviction that the theories and evidence advanced therein speak for themselves. I have attempted, however (primarily in my footnotes), to draw attention to my more crucial disagreements with Professor Lane and to give my reasons for taking the positions I do.

³ Professor Lane defines an archetype as "a literary element or construct which, by its traditional and universal validity, may bring certain especially powerful meanings, implications, and overtones to the literary work in which it is used and hence to the reader's response to that work" (p. 96, n. 8). To say that an archetype has "universal validity," is to say that the anti-Semitic elements contained in Dickens' portrait of Fagin (a Jewish archetype, according to Professor Lane) have "universal validity." It seems to me that the term "validity" is misleading, and that in any case, "stereotype" would be a better word than "archetype" to characterize the elements in question. Elsewhere Professor Lane does use the term "stereotype" — in application to Riah, for example. Why Fagin the evil Jew is a valid archetype, Riah the good Jew is a "sentimental stereotype" (p. 99), and Thackeray's malicious Jewish portraits are "realistically" pictured "type figures" (p. 98, n. 11), is not explained.

clusions which run counter to the testimony of the Victorian age. If Fagin arouses racial hostility, writes Professor Lane, it is "because this character, by its archetypal nature, appeals to emotions and prejudices already firmly set by custom and tradition" (p. 94). "The main fault is not in Dickens but in his readers" (p. 94). In defense of these assertions Professor Lane invokes the accumulated weight of responsible criticism. "No responsible critic," he writes, "has, to my knowledge, ever called Dickens an anti-Semite" (p. 94). Nevertheless, Dickens did exhibit anti-Semitism and this anti-Semitism was typical of his age.⁴

Oliver Twist grew out of an era and a literary tradition which was predominantly anti-Semitic. Laws, parliamentary debates, newspapers, magazines, songs, and plays, as well as novels, reflect the latent anti-Semitism which was a part of the early Victorian heritage. In 1830 a Jew could not open a shop within the city of London, be called to the Bar, receive a university degree, or sit in Parliament. Sir Robert Peel, who a few years later championed the Jewish cause, was still in 1830 opposing Jewish emancipation on the strange grounds that the restricted Jew was not like his free compatriots. "The Jew," said Sir Robert, speaking against the removal of Jewish disabilities, "is not a degraded subject of the state; he is rather regarded in the light of an alien — he is excluded because he will not amalgamate with us in any of his usages or habits — he is regarded as a foreigner. In the history of the Jews . . . we find enough to account for the prejudice which exists against them."⁵ That prejudice was accentuated by the occupations Jews were compelled to enter by English law and custom. In 1830 the majority of England's twenty to thirty thousand Jews earned their living through buy-

⁴ It may be objected that anti-Semitism is a relative term. One age may label as anti-Semitic what another age regards as justified attack. But that an anti-Semitic age or country fails to characterize its prejudices as anti-Semitism does not, it seems to me, lessen the anti-Semitism it exhibits. That a given age tortured Jews in the faith that it was ministering to the salvation of Jewish souls (or to the purity of the Aryan race) does not make such acts less anti-Semitic.

In this connection, Dickens' own actions are of paramount significance; and his actions show that even in the context of the age he judged himself guilty of anti-Semitism. For as we shall see, in his lifetime he was charged with anti-Semitism, and he finally acknowledged the justice of the charges sufficiently to take active measures to counteract them. Yet his anti-Semitism must be set against the background of the times. Such a juxtaposition shows that in some respects he was less anti-Jewish than his era. His periodicals, for instance, were not so inflammatory as *Punch*; and his anti-Semitism was casual when compared with Thackeray's premeditated (and more representative) malice. Nevertheless, as is demonstrated below, even in the early nineteenth century there was a small but growing group of Englishmen who were actively sympathetic toward the Jews. At the beginning of his career Dickens is insensitive to this movement, and reflects the dominant anti-Semitic tradition.

⁵ *The Speeches of the Late Right Honourable Sir Robert Peel, Bart. . . .* (London, 1853), II, 150.

ing and selling old clothes, peddling, and moneylending. Portraits in fiction of Jewish clothesdealers staggering under huge bags of rags, bearded peddlers haggling with country housewives, and miserly usurpers gloating over their secret treasures were given reality not only by a



MOSAIC ORNAMENTS.

An early (1841) *Punch* representation of the itinerant Jewish old-clothes dealer — note the stereotyped hats, nose, earring, beard, bag, and motto (I, 111).

long literary tradition but by the intermittent evidence of the London streets. And the exotic evil which the average Londoner of that day felt sure lay hidden in bag or beard or countinghouse was occasionally confirmed by sensational newspaper reports. In the summer of 1830 the respectable citizenry of London were being diverted by the trial of one Isaac (Ikey) Solomons, a Jewish fence who, like Fagin, dealt in stolen jewelry, clothing, and fabrics.⁶ Ikey Solomons, although acquitted on all charges of burglary and theft, was finally convicted of possessing stolen goods and sentenced to seven years' transportation. His case was so notorious that a play of the period entitled *Van Diemen's Land* was rechristened *Ikey Solomons*, and one of its minor characters, Barney Fence, a stereotyped stage-Jew, was transformed into Ikey himself.⁷

Such a transformation reflected the ubiquitous anti-Semitism of the period. The early Victorian Londoner, for instance, could have

⁶ See, for example, the *Times* for 2, 9, 10, 13, and 14 July 1830.

⁷ M. J. Landa, *The Jew in Drama* (London, 1926), p. 161. Professor Lane refers to Ikey Solomons as "the real-life model for Fagin" (p. 95) — a statement which seems to me

his suspicions about Jews intensified by the humorous *Punch* as well as the sober *Times*. *Punch*, when founded in 1841, was a liberal journal which usually espoused humanitarian reforms. Yet it was anti-Jewish during most of the period. It opposed Jewish emancipation, drew cartoons of bloated and bejeweled Jews, made jokes at the expense of Disraeli's Jewish origins, and poked fun at Jewish occupations.⁸ Leech, in a representative cartoon, drew a picture of the House of Commons populated by a grossly caricatured array of pudgy, thick-lipped, dusky-chinned Jews (XII [1847], 149). *Punch*'s attitude was predictable, for in spite of its radical leanings, many members of its staff — G. A. à Beckett, Leech, Thackeray, Jerrold, and Brooks (all friends of Dickens) — had exhibited in varying degrees the pandemic anti-Semitism of the period.⁹

It was difficult to escape anti-Jewish prejudice. Victorian street literature reflected that prejudice as faithfully as Parliament and *Punch*. Songs about Jews were popular in early nineteenth-century England, and the typical contemporary "Jew's Song" was loaded with slander.¹⁰

to go beyond the evidence. While Dickens was undoubtedly familiar with the history of Solomons, such familiarity would merely have reinforced the association between stolen goods and Jewish fences, an association frequently made in the period, as Dickens himself later remarked (see below). Actually, Solomons' traits and practices as reported in the *Times* bear no resemblance to Fagin's. Even the central feature of Fagin's villainy — his school for juvenile criminals — is absent in Solomons. As for the play bearing Solomons' name, the role of Barney Fence (and later of Ikey Solomons) was a four-sentence walk-on (Landa, p. 161). The retitled play and its renamed minor character are evidence of the notoriety of the case and the temper of the times rather than of Dickens' borrowing. The fact that Dickens labeled some of his minor Jewish characters Ikey, Barney, Solomon, etc. (conventional Jewish names which appear constantly in the popular literature of the period), seems to me to be further evidence of the stereotyped nature of his Jewish portraits rather than additional evidence, as Professor Lane believes (p. 95), of Dickens' indebtedness to the real Solomons or the play. Strangely, although Professor Lane speaks disparagingly of "one of the great games for Dickensians . . . hunt[ing] out originals" (p. 95), he makes use of Landa's revelations regarding this "original," and then rejects Landa's inescapable conclusion. "There is," wrote Landa, "nothing whatever in the known facts concerning Solomons to stamp him as the model of Fagin" (p. 162).

⁸ See, for example, XII (1847), 149; XIV (1848), 69; II (1842), 179; I (1841), 111; XII (1847), 166.

⁹ M. H. Spielmann, *The History of "Punch"* (London, 1895), p. 103. In order to document the frequent lack of relevance between Dickens' biography and his art, Professor Lane says in relation to Mark Lemon, editor of *Punch* (1841-70), "Thus it need not surprise us to note that one of Dickens' best friends, Mark Lemon, was a Jew" (p. 95, n. 5). On this evidence, Professor Lane then generalizes. Unfortunately Professor Lane relied upon Spielmann's undocumented statement regarding Lemon's Jewishness. The *DNB* seems to contradict the notion that Lemon was a Jew. Lemon's forebears and connections do not appear to be Jewish; he was educated under a Rev. James Wilding, and was buried at Ifield Church. Consequently Lemon's "Jewishness" can hardly be used as convincing evidence of Professor Lane's contention; nor can Lemon's "Jewishness" be used to substantiate Professor Lane's subsequent assumption that a Jewish editor of the period would be content when his periodical "poked fun" at Jews (p. 95, n. 5).

¹⁰ See, for example, *The Universal Songster . . . 3 vols.* (London, n.d.), one of the largest and most popular song compilations of this period. It devotes a separate category to "Jews' Songs" and gives fifty such songs.

The bright young man who was good at singing comic songs (as Dickens was), needed only to polish his accent and then learn a ballad such as "The Jew in Grain; or, The Doctrine of an Israelite," which, according to instructions, was "To be sung in High German Dialect":

I once was but a pedler, and my shop was in my box,
So sure as I'm a smouch [Jew, thief], and my name is Mordecai;
And I cheated all the world, in spite of whipping-posts or stocks,
For I never sticks for trifles when dere's monics in the way.
I had good gold rings of copper gilt, and so I got my bread,
With sealing-wax of brick-dust, and pencils without lead.
In my pick-pack, nick-nack, shimcrack, tick-tack, tink lum tee,
And de shining chink to clink is de moosick still for me.¹¹

Mordecai continues by telling how he picks pockets, steals clothes, and extracts fees; and then he justifies bribery, faithlessness, and mammonism. But even in the first stanza he presents himself as a thief, cheat, and money-grubber. These attributes were the usual badge of the Jew as he appeared in the literature, drama, and popular consciousness of the period. The typical Jew (on the stage, for example) had changed little since Marlowe's Barabas and Shakespeare's Shylock. He was a rapacious moneylender, or perhaps later, a thieving peddler or old-clothes dealer. By the late eighteenth century he usually shuffled about the stage in black gabardine and a broadbrimmed hat, poked his red hair, red whiskers, and hooked nose into the faces of those with whom he haggled, and spoke in thick outlandish accents. The best-known dramatists of the preceding age — Cibber, Foote, Fielding, Garrick, and Sheridan — whose plays still dominated the boards in Dickens' youth, had all created Jews who were mean or wicked.¹² And later nondramatic writers — Lamb, Cobbett, and Hewlett, for example — continued the tradition.¹³

In his early writings, Dickens reflects the dominant anti-Semitism of his time. Although (with the exception of *Oliver Twist*) there are no extended Jewish portraits in his early works, his writings contain many

¹¹ *Universal Songster*, I, 262. Interestingly, when Mr. Pickwick is arrested by a sheriff's assistant (an officer who is frequently pictured as a stereotyped Jew in contemporary fiction) he is arrested by a Mr. Smouch.

¹² For example, Cibber in *The Harlot's Progress*, Foote in *The Devil on Two Sticks* and *The Nabob*, Fielding in *Miss Lucy in Town*, Garrick in *Lettre*, and Sheridan in *The Duenna*. But Moses in Sheridan's *The School for Scandal* is dealt with more sympathetically — one early indication of the changing literary treatment of Jews. See Montagu Frank Modder, *The Jew in the Literature of England* (Philadelphia, 1944), pp. 66-71.

¹³ See Lamb's "Jews, Quakers, Scotchmen and other Imperfect Sympathies," Cobbett's *Political Register* (6 Sept. 1806), and Hewlett's *Concise History of the Jews* — all quoted in Modder, pp. 97-100.



Dickens not only utilized repellent Jewish stereotypes before *Oliver Twist*, he also (for he chose most of the subjects he wished illustrated, and approved all of them) sanctioned graphic representations of those stereotypes in his earliest work. Here is Cruikshank's illustration for "Meditations in Monmouth Street" from *Sketches by Boz*, the old-clothes dealer Moses Levy appears with characteristic dandified dress, "oriental" eyes, hook nose, stout wife, and monster-nosed baby.

revealing allusions, comments, and descriptions. The Jew who emerges from these references engages in standard "Jewish" occupations, possesses the stage-Jew's physical characteristics, and exhibits supposedly "Jewish" mannerisms. The Jews in *Sketches by Boz* (1833-37) are old-clothes dealers, costume suppliers, sheriff's officers, sponging-house proprietors, and the like. One meets in *Sketches by Boz* "red-headed and red-whiskered Jews who forcibly haul you into their squalid houses, and thrust you into a suit of clothes, whether you will or not," and Dickens adds he detests such Jews.¹⁴ Mr. Nathan, a costume supplier in *Sketches by Boz*, is another "red-headed and red-whiskered Jew" (I, 149). And the sponging house described in *Sketches* (the description based upon Dickens' trip to Sloman's sponging house in 1834 to rescue his father) is run by a Mr. Solomon Jacobs and entourage (II, 143 ff.). The Jews in *Pickwick* (1836-38) are also costume brokers, sheriff's officers, peddlers, and old-clothes dealers (I, 256; II, 111).

Dickens' Jews are unpleasant and conventionalized; and through these Jews he transmits his temper and that of the age. "He's richer than any Jew," says Quilp in the *Old Curiosity Shop* (1840-41); and in *Barnaby Rudge* (1841), when Gashford thinks of Jews, "he thinks of money and beards (I, 218; I, 378-380). Dickens' image of the Jews frequently emerges by implication rather than direct statement. In *Dombey and Son* (1846-48), after introducing a Jew of "Mosaic Arabian cast of countenance," who is vulgar and insolent and who inquires with materialistic effrontery "what the figure of them crimson and gold hangings might have been, when new bought" (II, 447-448), Dickens goes on to label an incoming swarm of secondhand dealers "Jew and Christian," perhaps in an attempt to sound unprejudiced, but the effect of the phrase is to call attention to the Jews and associate them once more with repellent traits: "Herds of shabby vampires, Jew and Christian, overrun the house, sounding the plate-glass mirrors with their knuckles, striking discordant octaves on the grand piano, drawing wet forefingers over the pictures, breathing on the blades of the best dinner-knives, punching the squabs of chairs and sofas with their dirty fists, touzling the featherbeds, opening and shutting all the drawers, balancing the silver spoons and forks, looking into the very threads of the drapery and linen, and disparaging everything" (II, 450-451).

¹⁴ *The Works of Charles Dickens*, National Ed. (London, 1907-09), I, 88 — unless otherwise indicated, all future references to Dickens' works are to this edition. The references to Jews quoted in the following pages are a representative sampling of those which appear in Dickens' writings. Dickens refers to Jews in most of his novels and in many of his shorter works.

Dickens does not like these men, and he despises their occupation and methods. He usually takes a similar attitude toward any Jewish entrepreneur. He scorns the aggressive Jewish secondhand clothes salesmen, and he condescends to the Jewish costume brokers. His feelings never flare into active hatred; they smolder fitfully in a vague hostility. "Bills," says Mr. Micawber (*David Copperfield*, 1849-50), are "a convenience to the mercantile world, for which, I believe, we are originally indebted to the Jews." And then Micawber adds that Jews "appear to me to have had a devilish deal too much to do with them ever since" (II, 382).

Dickens' feelings about the Jews are underlined by his other activities of the 1830's, 40's, and 50's. In *The Life of Our Lord* (1846-49), written for the private use of his children, he avoids active anti-Semitism, but is unguarded, and at times even inflammatory, in belaboring the Jews as the murderers of Jesus.¹⁵ Similarly, as editor of *Bentley's Miscellany* (1837-39), he seems to have been unconcerned by the malicious nature of articles he published on Jewish subjects.¹⁶ "Bonomye the Usurer," for example, is the tale of a heartless medieval Jewish moneylender who finally sells himself to the devil. Bonomye's face, which reveals the "strongly-marked features of his race," wears a "sinister expression" (p. 46). Such an expression is in keeping with his character, for he is a "merciless creditor" who "hated a Christian," "never renewed a loan," and "never abated one farthing of his due" (p. 46). This miserly Jew, who is "strong in hate, hard in heart, and utterly without conscience," had only one happiness. "He weighed and reweighed" his gold, "told the pieces one by one" into his chest, and found "each chink was as a drop of balm to his soul" (p. 47). Bonomye, with his "matted hair," "restless black eyes," and "sallow complexion" (p. 46), is rapacious and despicable; he is a character calculated to incite prejudice and hatred.

Another story, "The Professor of Toledo," is even more savage. It too is set in the Middle Ages, and it too contains a repellent Jewish moneylender. Alberto, a young man about Toledo, with the supernatural help of the Machiavellian Archbishop of Toledo (his secret

¹⁵ See, for example, *The Life of Our Lord* (New York, 1934), p. 50.

¹⁶ Dickens did not exert absolute editorial control over *Bentley's*, but even if Bentley was responsible for accepting stories such as "Bonomye the Usurer" (III [1838], 44-61) and "The Professor of Toledo" (III [1838], 544-552), Dickens did not see fit to suppress them. These stories, signed "Delta" (D. M. Moir?), are discussed immediately below.

father) steals Deborah from the home of her father Mordecai, a Jewish moneylender. Deborah is converted to Christianity and is about to be married to Alberto by the Archbishop when Mordecai, at the head of fifty Jews, enters the cathedral and attempts to retake her. But the Jews, amidst strange portents, are stricken dumb and defenseless, and are massacred at the cathedral altar by the congregation. The massacre has a Gothic aftermath:

No sooner, however, were the last gasp for breath and the last death-rattle heard in their throats, than the unnatural obscurity which had overspread the place on their entrance, vanished; the whole sacred edifice glittered with the brightness of lightning, and a heavenly choir was heard singing. The supernal strains as they died away were succeeded by the howlings and barking of bloodhounds, who (either attracted by the carnal smell of Jewish blood, or perhaps miraculously sent by the saint presiding over the cathedral of Toledo) yelped into the church, and made a gory banquet of the remains of the unfortunate unbelievers. (pp. 551-552)

The immoderate tone of the story here and elsewhere suggests it may have been intended as a satire on Roman Catholic doctrine, morality, and miracles. But the attitude of the author is not sufficiently clear, and the tale, since it can be read as either an anti-Catholic or anti-Semitic parable or both, must have been offensive to many readers.

Such insensitivity upon Dickens' part suggests prejudice, a suggestion which is reinforced by his letters.¹⁷ "No news as yet," he wrote in 1837, "from the 'infernal, rich, plundering, thundering old Jew.'"¹⁸ Dickens applied the epithet (borrowed from *Oliver Twist*) to the publisher Richard Bentley, a gentile. But the phrase accurately represents the distasteful associations which "Jew" called up in his mind. Six years later, commenting to Thomas Hood on Colburn, another Christian publisher, he summoned up similar associations. "There can be no doubt," he wrote, "that he took a money-lending, bill-brokering, Jew clothes-bagging, Saturday-night pawnbroking advantage of your temporary situation" (*NL*, I, 539). Dickens seems to have regarded most Jews as sly, grasping, vulgar, and picturesque; and he exhibited a fastidiousness in his relations with them which reflected their equivocal status in contemporary Victorian society. In 1850, when he and his amateur actors agreed to perform at the home of his wealthy friends the Richard Watsons, he displayed his condescending attitude:

¹⁷ This is true despite the fact that pejorative references to Jews have occasionally been censored from his letters. The restoration of such passages (a restoration promised in the new edition of the letters) will add a few instances to those I present here and below.

¹⁸ *The Letters of Charles Dickens*, ed. Walter Dexter, Nonesuch Ed. (Bloomsbury, 1938), I, 125 — hereafter referred to as *NL* and cited in the text.

One Nathan [he wrote apologetically to Mrs. Watson], in Titchbourne Street Haymarket, a "costume maker," has dressed all my company's plays — dresses Every Man in His Humour, and Animal Magnetism — and goes to Knebworth with us. He is a Jew, but *for a Jew* a very respectable man indeed. . . . If you would like to know further about him (which I don't at all assume without hearing from you) I would send him down to you bodily by Railroad, and *you* could judge for *yourself*, and *he* could judge for *himself* directly. He stands in great awe of my managerial ferocity (of which he has had great experience) and would be as quiet and tractable as any Lamb.¹⁹

Dickens' tone was not merely a reflection of prejudice in his correspondent, for a few days later he informed Mark Lemon that Nathan was ill, and asked Lemon to determine whether Nathan's wife could, as he coolly put it, "send . . . some competent *respectable* person" in his stead (*NL*, II, 239).

Oliver Twist, then, was the work of an author who accepted and reflected the anti-Semitism of his milieu. And yet *Oliver Twist* is not as anti-Semitic as one might expect; Fagin is less a premeditated attack upon the Jews than a convenient villain drawn to an ancient pattern. He exhibits, for instance, a number of stereotyped stage-Jew characteristics: red hair and whiskers, hooked nose, shuffling gait, and long gabardine coat and broadbrimmed hat. Furthermore, he is a dealer in second-hand clothes and trinkets, the Jewish occupation par excellence. And Dickens makes him, in accordance with the traditional recipe, frightening and repellent. When the reader first meets him he is described as "a very old shrivelled Jew, whose villainous-looking and repulsive face was obscured by a quantity of matted red hair" (p. 74); and his actions in the book and his miserable end fulfill his menacing introduction. But Fagin is strangely lacking in other traits of the literary Jew. He has no lisp, dialect, or nasal intonation (although Barney, a minor confederate of Fagin, described as "another Jew: younger than Fagin, but nearly as vile and repulsive in appearance," talks with a perpetual cold

¹⁹ F. P. Rolfe, ed., "More Letters to the Watsons," *Dickensian*, XXXVIII (1942), 117. In his subsequent letters to Mrs. Watson, Dickens continued to refer to Nathan as though he were some sort of lower creature to be sent "down to you bodily by Railroad." On 28 Nov. 1850, for instance, he wrote imperiously that he would "summon the Jew to meet us" (Rolfe, p. 119). There are other slurring references to Jews in Dickens' letters of this period. To cite three instances, he describes Portsmouth as a town "principally remarkable for mud, Jews, and sailors" (*NL*, I, 168); refers to Jews as "Mosaic Arabs" (*NL*, II, 135); and writes ironically, with a revealing "of course," that "I should like the neighbourly scamp in question (who is of course a Jew) to know that I appreciate the neighbourly manner in which he has made his communication." (The first two letters were written in 1838 and 1848 respectively; the latter, an undated and unpublished fragment from a dealer's catalogue, was kindly communicated to me by Mrs. Madeline House of Cambridge, England. It was written from Broadstairs and probably dates from the 1840's when Dickens frequently summered there.)



The changes which occurred in Dickens' intentions and attitudes toward Jews between 1837 and 1864 are mirrored by the artistic rendition of Jews which he allowed (and probably helped) his illustrators to project. Compare Fagin, here, with Riah, page 246.

in his head, saying, "Dot a shoul" for "Not a soul," and so forth [pp. 136-137]). And Fagin goes through no act, ritual, or pattern which identifies him as a Jew. Actually, aside from his conventionalized physical traits and old-clothes dealings, his main claim to Jewishness is the fact that Dickens constantly labels him "the Jew." It seems fair to assume that Fagin was a Jew because for Dickens and his readers he made a picturesque and believable villain.

But that Dickens could create Fagin is a reflection of his indif-

ference to the implications of his portrait. And this is true even though he attempted here and there to underline the distinction between Fagin the individual and Fagin the Jew. In Fagin's first appearance he is portrayed toasting a sausage — an act which immediately brands him a renegade Jew. And in the condemned cell, in one of the reader's final glimpses of him, Dickens again contrasts him with the Jews as a whole. "Venerable men of his own persuasion," he writes, "had come to pray beside him, but he had driven them away with curses. They renewed their charitable efforts, and he beat them off" (p. 521). It seems strange that Dickens could believe these touches would offset the implications of the remainder of his portrait, but his attitude toward the Jews was negligent at best, and he probably gave little thought to Fagin's anti-Semitic ramifications.

Yet the times were changing and Dickens was changing with them. The years 1830 to 1860 witnessed a steady rise in the status of English Jewry. Legal barriers were swept away, commercial restrictions removed, and social antagonisms lessened. Jews held offices in local and national government, became connected through marriage with prominent families, took part increasingly in the social and artistic affairs of the country, and grew in power and numbers (Modder, pp. 156-266). The most dramatic token of their rising status occurred on 26 July 1858 when, after years of struggle, Baron Lionel Rothschild was allowed to use a modified oath and take his seat in Parliament. This symbolic event correctly mirrored the mood of the nation, for although anti-Semitism was still common and even fashionable, it was confined more and more to emotional and personal channels; the Jew's right to exercise the prerogatives of a British subject was increasingly admitted.

The growth of toleration was accompanied by noteworthy intellectual conversions. During the 1830's, 40's, and 50's many individuals modified their traditional views; some publicly recanted their earlier beliefs. Sir Robert Peel, for example, who had opposed Jewish emancipation in 1830, was urging Parliament in 1848 to liberate the Jews. "The Jew," he exclaimed, in a startling reversal of his earlier position, "is a subject natural-born; and I contend that he has a right, as such, to be qualified for all civil trusts — that he has a 'capacity or ability to all benefits whatever,' unless you show a reason to the contrary — a reason not founded upon mere religious error, but upon some good cause for political disqualification" (*Speeches*, IV, 746).

Sir Robert's new position was only one sign of the changing atmosphere. *Punch* was also growing more sympathetic. It could still in the 1860's lash out at the Jews, but such outbursts were decreasing, and

by the end of the century it had become (although less so than many other English periodicals), friendly to the Jews.²⁰ Even the popular "Jew's Song" had begun to change. From out-and-out anti-Semitism it had shifted to humor and finally to pleas for tolerance. A song such as "Sure I Am a Hebrew Man" had a new humanitarian purpose:

If ven valking through the street
Some poor creature meets my eye,
Who, naked, cold, and hungry,
 Implores my charity;
I never thinks to ask
 His religion or his name;
No; he's a brother and in want,
 Sure that's sufficient claim
Upon my purse to help his need,
 And save him from distress.
Whilst I do this I shall succeed,
 And Providence me bless.
Den let the wold still flout,
 And call me heathen Jew,
Whilst I know I'm acting right,
 I minds not vat they do. (*Universal Songster*, I, 271)

The literary trend to a sympathetic treatment of the Jew had begun toward the end of the eighteenth century. In dramatic literature, Richard Cumberland in *The Jew* (1794) had created Shiva, the kind-hearted prototype of a new breed of stage-Jews. Four years later Thomas Dibdin in *The Jew and the Doctor* depicted another good Jew, Abednego. The latter play is especially interesting, for Dickens read it many times as a child, reread it as a man, considered using it as an after-piece for one of his amateur productions, and finally reproduced some of its lineaments in *Our Mutual Friend*.²¹ Abednego, a supposedly mercenary Jew, with mixed but largely altruistic motives, rears a young Christian foundling and gives her his love. His loyalty and attachment to his adopted daughter never waver, and the humor of the farce revolves not about the Jew, but about a comedy-of-manners subplot and the discovery of the girl's parentage. Nevertheless, Abednego is a curious heap of contradictions, and he betrays his transitional position between the old stereotyped stage-Jew and the sympathetic literary Jew of the future. Abednego speaks in a stage-Jew dialect, places constant emphasis on money, and hungers for a profit. But he demonstrates

²⁰ See, for example, XXXIX (1860), 37; XL (1861), 107; also Spielmann, p. 105.

²¹ John Forster, *The Life of Charles Dickens*, ed. J. W. T. Ley (London, 1928), p. 8; the play was in Mrs. Inchbald's *A Collection of Farces and Other Afterpieces* (London, 1815); *NL*, II, 38; for the play's relation to *Our Mutual Friend* see below.

throughout that he is really a good man, and the play is an obvious plea for tolerance. Abednego's final speech sums up Dibdin's point of view: "I'll tell you how to *pay* me. If ever you see a helpless creature vat needs your assistance, give it for ma sake: — And if de object should even not be a Christian, remember that humanity knows no difference of opinion; and that you can never make your own religion look so well, as when you shew mercy to de religion of others" (*A Collection of Farces*, II, 78).

The descendants of Shiva and Abednego soon began to turn up in the novel. The most famous of these descendants appeared in *Ivanhoe* (1819) in the persons of Isaac of York and his daughter Rebecca. But Disraeli introduced exotically glorified Jewish figures in *Alroy* (1833), *Coningsby* (1844), and *Tancred* (1847); George Eliot revealed her sympathy and aspirations for the Jews in *Daniel Deronda* (1876); and Zangwill wrote full-scale novels of Jewish life before the Victorian era closed. Meanwhile, throughout the nineteenth century, other well-known figures — Hazlitt, Macaulay, Huskisson, Lord Holland, Basil Montagu, and Milman, for example — raised their voices to defend or champion the Jews (Modder, pp. 89-107).

By the 1850's Dickens begins to reflect this shift in mood. From 1850 on he edited (or "conducted," as he liked to term it) two popular weekly periodicals. These journals, *Household Words* (1850-59) and *All the Year Round* (1859-70), were partly owned by him and were under his absolute editorial control. All contributions appeared without by-line, but the phrase "Conducted by Charles Dickens" was imprinted on the top of every page, and Dickens publicly avowed that the contents of each issue reflected his views and met with his approval.²² The articles and stories of Jewish interest which appeared in these periodicals through 1864 continue to show traces of anti-Semitism, but there is nothing to compare with the virulence of the anti-Semitic stories in *Bentley's Miscellany*. The articles of Jewish content in *Household Words* and *All the Year Round* usually fall into one of two categories: those which are factual or neutral, and those which show flickers of hostility. "The Young Jew of Tunis," "The Jews in China," and "Jews in Rome" fit into the former category.²³ The works in the latter category, while

²² See, for example, his notice in *All the Year Round*, X (1863), 419, that "The statements and opinions of this Journal generally, are, of course, to be received as the statements and opinions of its Conductor."

²³ *Household Words* and *All the Year Round* will be abbreviated HW and AYR. HW, I (1850), 118-120; HW, III (1851), 452-456; HW, XVIII (1858), 538-540.

never inflammatory, perpetuate antagonistic Jewish stereotypes or display flashes of malice. In "Passing Faces," the author, taking a walk through London, describes the Jew as possessing a "clever, sensual, crafty countenance, which contains the epitome of the whole Hebrew history; with their jewellery and flashy dress" (*HW*, XI [1855], 263). In "On the Public Service," the Jews at the Hamburg Exchange are depicted as screaming, jewel-bedecked, oleaginous creatures with "skinny yellow fingers" (*AYR*, XI [1864], 105-109). "Oily" Jews again appear in an article entitled "A Trial of Jewry," an article which goes on to describe the dirty ways, thieving tendencies, and lisping accents of the Jews (*AYR*, X [1863], 398-402). The stereotype lingers. Other Jews lie, talk with a lisp, maneuver craftily, pant after money, and conceal vast treasures; and the "old clo'" dealer, whose dirty garments and poverty-stricken exterior are treated as a sly disguise for immense wealth, tramps into *Household Words* with a tangled "grey-reddish beard," hawk nose, and bag stuffed with stolen articles.²⁴ The anti-Semitism of such pieces is peripheral; the pejorative references are usually embedded in a context which is free from prejudicial intent. Such references reflect social and imaginative inertia, not active hatred.

Yet even this peripheral anti-Semitism diminished. After 1864 Dickens apparently tried to avoid Jewish references which might give offense. Only rarely did he depart from this policy. One exception occurred in an article entitled "Crédit Mobilier in Discredit" which appeared in *All the Year Round* (XX, 57-60) on 27 June 1868. "Crédit Mobilier" is an attack upon the financial manipulations of a giant French holding company controlled by Jews, and more generally, a plea to make the directors of such companies personally responsible for their organizations' debts. But the article goes out of its way to dwell disparagingly

²⁴ See, for example, "A Penitent Confession," *HW*, III (1851), 436-445; "The Seven Victims of Mittelbron," *HW*, XIII (1856), 226-228; "Down Whitechapel Way," *HW*, IV (1851), 126-131; "Phases of 'Public' Life," *HW*, VI (1852), 101-103; "Old Clothes," *HW*, V (1852), 93-98. "Phases of 'Public' Life" reproduces the condescending tone and stereotyped viewpoint one usually finds in these articles. "On one side," writes the author, "resides Mr. Reuben Sheeny, dealer in old gold and silver, who displays nothing more valuable in his shop window than a wooden bowl with two anchor buttons, within a ragged, tarnished epaulette; but who, I dare say, has the wealth of the Indies inside, somewhere" (p. 102). The article continues in the same manner. Other supposedly wealthy Jews also give the appearance of dirty, bedraggled poverty (p. 103). All the Jews have "olive faces and glistening eyes, and moist, red, pulpy lips," and are constantly buying, selling, and bargaining (p. 103). The proper names in the article are also instructive. Characters bear names such as Mr. Reuben Sheeny and Master Rabshekah Cosher, and public houses are called the Bag o' Rags, the Three Hats (an allusion to the stereotyped picture of the Jewish old-clothes dealer), and the Sheenies Arms.

upon "Israelite houses" and their Jewish directors, and since the onslaught neither advances the reader's understanding of the Crédit Mobilier's collapse nor contributes to his desire for reform, its primary effect is to connect financial scandals with Jews. This attack upon the Jews is probably a reflection of topical feeling. The serious financial crash of the late 1860's was attributed in many quarters to Jewish speculators, and Dickens, who always mistrusted financial juggling, and often associated monetary transactions with Jews, may have succumbed momentarily to the popular resentment against the Jews.²⁵

But "Crédit Mobilier" is the exception. The typical article of Jewish content which appeared in *All the Year Round* after 1864 was deliberately designed to avoid offense. That this is so may be seen in articles dealing with Jewish moneylenders, a subject traditionally used to incite anti-Semitism. In late issues of *All the Year Round* the portraits of such moneylenders are carefully neutralized. "How I Discounted My Bill" (XIII [1865], 557-561), for example, contains two Jewish moneylenders. The first Jew, who is unable to advance the author a loan, is treated matter-of-factly. The second moneylender, a German Jew named Steinmetz, is depicted with venom. But the author specifically insists that Steinmetz is not really a Jew. Steinmetz makes no attempt to keep the Jewish Sabbath; his real God, says the author, is mammon (p. 559).

Another story containing a moneylender, "The Purchase System" (XX [1868], 448-456), appeared shortly after the "Crédit Mobilier" article. The hero of this story, an Army Lieutenant in need of £600, is solicited by a number of moneylenders, including one Nathaniel Levi, but he chooses to do business with none of these, and decides to go unasked to a moneylender named J. Leverson. One feels that Leverson is a Jew (the name itself is suggestive), but he is nowhere identified as one. And although the Lieutenant's financial incompetence and subsequent monetary entanglements lead to tragedy, the real villain is not the moneylender but the Army's system of purchase preferment. This unwillingness to identify Leverson as a Jew or to fall into an offensive Jewish stereotype is evident elsewhere in the story. Leverson is no

²⁵ Modder, p. 242; see, for example, an early novel, *Nicholas Nickleby* (the Montague Tigg fraud), and a late one, *Little Dorrit* (the Merdle swindle); *Hard Times*, p. 48. Eleven years earlier Dickens had printed an attack upon this French holding company and had underlined its weaknesses ("Crédit Mobilier," *HW*, XV [1857], 8-12). This article also dealt with the Jewish directors of the company but did not identify them as Jews. It is possible that Dickens did not read "Crédit Mobilier in Discredit" until after it appeared. He did not return to England from his second American visit until May 1868, and therefore may not have resumed active editorial control of AYR until after proof of the article had been corrected.

Bonomye the Usurer: "Mr. Leverson was a stout hearty man of some forty years of age, with a rosy face dimpled into a continual smile; slightly bald, but with what hair he had, carefully made most of; he was dressed in plain grey, and wore no rings, chains, or any jewellery conventionally associated with the person of money-lenders" (p. 449).

The gradual moderation in attitude toward the Jews which can be discerned in *Household Words* and *All the Year Round* is duplicated in Dickens' own writings. His works of the 1850's and early 1860's continue to display occasional antagonism, but there are no full-scale Fagin-like portraits and there are fewer slurring references. Jews still appear as repellent moneylenders, old-clothes dealers, and peddlers, but such appearances are fleeting and tangential. Dickens' attitudes emerge most clearly in the things he associates with Jews: "horse-flesh, blind-hookey, Hebrew monetary transactions, and the Insolvent Debtors Court" (*Hard Times* [1854], p. 48). Elsewhere he equates the "whole tribe of Moses (and Sons)" with those who coin feelings into money; or he has a dealer in old clothes lisp his willingness to buy and sell grandmothers if he can make a profit thereby.²⁶ In instances such as the last, the predominant impression is humor, not anti-Semitism. And this amalgam of humor and disapproval usually replaces the more unalloyed prejudice of his earlier passing references. In *Great Expectations* (1860-61), for instance, he depicts a Jew who believes money can buy anything, and who attempts to suborn Jaggers with monetary blandishments. The portrait grows out of an old canard — Jews measure all things by money — but Dickens, through humor, softens the astringency of his attack:

No one remained now but the excitable Jew, who had already raised the skirts of Mr. Jaggers' coat to his lips several times.

"I don't know this man?" said Mr. Jaggers, in the most devastating strain. "What does this fellow want?"

"Ma thear Mither Jaggerth. Hown brother to Habraham Latharuth?"

"Who's he?" said Mr. Jaggers. "Let go of my coat."

The suitor, kissing the hem of the garment again before relinquishing it, replied, "Habraham Latharuth, on thuthpition of plate."

"You're too late," said Mr. Jaggers. "I am over the way."

"Holy father, Mither Jaggerth!" cried my excitable acquaintance, turning white, "don't they you're again Habraham Latharuth!"

"I am," said Mr. Jaggers, "and there's an end of it. Get out of the way."

"Mithter Jaggerth! Half a moment! My hown cuthen't gone to Mithter Wem-mick at thith prethenth minntte to hoffer him hany termth. Mithter Jaggerth! Half

²⁶ "A Slight Depreciation of the Currency," *HW*, XII (1855), 315. Dickens was punning (as he often did) on the name of a well-known firm of tailors and clothiers — a firm which frequently advertised in the monthly parts of his novels; "Somebody's Luggage," *Christmas Stories*, I, 429. It is a sign of the times (1862) and of Dickens' changing

a quarter of a moment! If you'd have the condethenthun to be bought off from t'other thide — at any thuperior prithe! — money no object! — Mithter Jaggerth — Mithter —!"

My guardian threw his suppliant off with supreme indifference, and left him dancing on the pavement as if it were red-hot. (pp. 178-179)

In spite of an occasional vignette such as this, during the 1850's and early 1860's Dickens' attitude toward the Jews had become more thoughtful. His view during this period wavered between his belief that Jews should be accorded religious and civil freedom and Christian sympathy, and his residue of prejudice and negative associations. His ambivalent feelings toward the Jews were well represented by the remarks he had poor, confused Flora Finching speak: "I dare say if the truth was known and if you don't like either cold fowl or hot boiled ham which many people don't I dare say besides Jews and theirs are scruples of conscience which we must all respect though I must say I wish they had them equally strong when they sell us false articles for real that cer-

•

attitudes, that although the dealer in the latter story has all the stereotyped attributes of a Jew, Dickens does not label him a Jew.

In this connection, it seems to me that Professor Lane's method can be questioned when he seeks to label as Jews villainous characters whose "Jewishness" is built not upon a central, detailed, unmistakable syndrome of stereotyped attributes (as in the dealer cited above) but upon disparate fragments which he elaborates into archetypal identifications. He finds, for example, a "possible racial identification" in Uriah Heep and his red hair, Biblical name, fawning manner, ability to arouse emotions of "pathological intensity" in David, and strangest of all, in Micawber's slurring reference to Jewish moneylenders. (It is hard to understand why Micawber's casual remark should be considered "a possible allusion to Heep's 'Jewishness'" [p. 97]. The passage has no relationship to Uriah; he is neither present nor involved.) If one can establish the "Jewishness" of a character by evidence such as Professor Lane cites in relation to Uriah, one can transform half the characters in Dickens (or any author) into Jews. David himself has a Biblical name (as do many scores of Dickens' characters), deals with pawnbrokers (a typical Jewish occupation and therefore association), arouses emotions of "pathological intensity" in Mr. and Miss Murdstone and in Mr. Creakle, and unlike Uriah, is actually present when Micawber makes his statement regarding the Jews. Yet David is no more a Jew than is Uriah. Professor Lane further states that "Uriah Heep is named Uriah . . . because David Copperfield is named David" (p. 97). But if Dickens intended the names to be interpreted symbolically, not only would both characters be equally Jewish, but David would become the villainous sinner and Uriah the sinned against — an incomprehensible symbolism. Professor Lane then continues, "the name [Uriah] also has its racial implication — witness Dickens' good Jew, Riah, in *Our Mutual Friend*" (p. 97). But for the contemporary reader, since Riah had not even been thought of when Uriah was created, Uriah's name, like David's, could have only Biblical connotations. As a matter of fact, by subsequently naming his good Jew Riah, Dickens went out of his way to neutralize any meaningful "racial implication." The name Riah is not a Hebrew one, does not appear in the Bible, and before Dickens used it had, so far as I can discover, no significant implication whatsoever. What Dickens probably did was select or invent a name which would sound exotic and Biblical (compare Uriah, Jedidiah, Hezekiah, Jeremiah, Nehemiah, Obadiah, Neariah, etc.) and yet be free from specific connotations.

It seems to me that Professor Lane's method in the second third of his article contains a defect of logic, and that the defect arises from looking so hard for a preconceived stereotype that one excludes the most basic contradictory evidence, and finds that stereotype where Dickens neither consciously nor unconsciously intended it or put it.

tainly ain't worth the money I shall be quite vexed,' said Flora."²⁷

This ambivalence is given vivid emphasis by *A Child's History of England* (1851-53). For although he continued in the 1850's and early 1860's to make pejorative references to the Jews, he was ready by 1851 in *A Child's History* to help mobilize public sympathy behind them. The tone of his remarks demonstrates that he was perfectly sincere in this effort:

To dismiss [he wrote in summation] this sad subject of the Jews for the present, I am sorry to add that in this reign [Edward I] they were most unmercifully pillaged. They were hanged in great numbers, on accusations of having clipped the King's coin — which all kinds of people had done. They were heavily taxed; they were disgracefully badged; they were, on one day, thirteen years after the coronation, taken up with their wives and children and thrown into beastly prisons, until they purchased their release by paying to the King twelve thousand pounds. Finally, every kind of property belonging to them was seized by the King, except so little as would defray the charge of their taking themselves away into foreign countries. Many years elapsed before the hope of gain induced any of their race to return to England, where they had been treated so heartlessly and had suffered so much.

(pp. 162-163)

If Dickens' conflicting attitudes on the subject of Jews were often illogical and mutually exclusive, they were none the less earnest. But in the years 1860-64, a series of chance events helped bring his personal feelings into closer agreement with his theoretical beliefs, and caused him to transform a slowly growing sympathy for the Jews into an active attempt to aid them. The first event in the series was the sale by Dickens in 1860 of Tavistock House, his London residence for the preceding nine years. Shortly after he put the house up for sale, a Jewish banker, James P. Davis, and his wife, Eliza, entered into negotiations to buy it. The negotiations went well, and by the middle of August the Davises had agreed to buy not only the house but certain of its furniture and fixtures. Dickens was reserved and correct in his dealings with the Davises, but in letters to his friend Thomas Mitton, he referred to them condescendingly. "Unless there should be any hitch," he wrote, "(which I don't expect) the purchaser of Tavistock House will be a Jew Money-Lender. An odd change in the occupation!" (*NL*, III, 171). Three days

²⁷ *Little Dorrit* (1855-57), I, 330. This ambivalence is frequently reflected in *HW* and *AYR* during this period. For example, a long narrative poem entitled "Rabbi Ben Ephraim's Treasure" (*AYR*, VI [1861], 80-84), begins with a sympathetic portrait of the Jews in Cordova during the Inquisition, but concludes with an elaborate description of how the poem's chief Jewish character (the widow of Rabbi Ben Ephraim) sacrifices her daughter to her insatiable lust for gold. This basic confusion in the poem's point of view is compounded by the work's Gothic aura. Such Gothicism (which often recurred in tales about Jews and which was frequently used as a vehicle for perpetuating antagonistic superstitions) is a sign that many persons — including Dickens probably — still thought of the Jew in terms of ancient and exotic stereotypes.

later a difficulty must have developed, for Dickens wrote suspiciously: "If the Jew Money-Lender buys (I say 'if,' because of course I shall never believe in him until he has paid the money), I purpose living here [at Gad's Hill] during seven months of the year" (*NL*, III, 172). But in another two days the purchase was consummated, and Dickens, relieved and pleased, was now anxious that the Davises be treated with punctilious courtesy. He told his housekeeper that the Davises owned Tavistock House and had a "perfect right" to come and go as they pleased, and he gave her a list of the fixtures which had been sold and warned her that they were not to be disturbed (*NL*, III, 174). He had agreed to vacate Tavistock House within two weeks, and now he bent every effort to fulfill his promise. On 1 September, well within the time limit, he was able to write to Mrs. Davis: "Dear Madam, — I beg to let you know, with many thanks to you for your consideration that the housekeeper at Tavistock House will be ready to deliver the keys to you at any time you please on Tuesday next. — Dear Madam — Faithfully yours" (*NL*, III, 175).

To his subeditor, W. H. Wills, he was much less formal. "Tavistock House," he wrote, "is cleared to-day, and possession delivered up to the new tenant. I must say that in all things the purchaser has behaved thoroughly well, and that I cannot call to mind any occasion when I have had money-dealings with any one that have been so satisfactory, considerate, and trusting" (*NL*, III, 176). The "Jew Money-Lender" whom Dickens had decided, as a matter "of course," not to believe, had turned out to be honest and a gentleman. The incident apparently brought home to Dickens the irrationality of some of his feelings about Jews; at any rate, it helped, along with the changing times, to move him more swiftly in the direction of active sympathy for them.

But in 1860 Dickens had still not given much attention to the position of the Jews in contemporary English society, and he was certainly not ready to admit that his own writings might have lowered that position. Three years later though, the same Mrs. Davis who had bought Tavistock House from him forced him to reevaluate what he had written about Jews and helped him to formulate what he would yet write. On 22 June 1863, she sent him a letter and asked if he would be willing to contribute to the Lady Montefiore Memorial, a fund which was to be used to endow a convalescent home for the Jewish poor. She did not, however, limit her remarks to the Memorial. "It has been said," she wrote, "that Charles Dickens the large hearted, whose works plead so eloquently and so nobly for the oppressed of his country . . . has encouraged a vile prejudice against the despised Hebrew." She then went



SIR MOSES MONTEFIORE,

A "HEBREW OF THE HEBREWS,"

WHO, ON THE 8TH DAY OF CHESVAN (*i.e.*, NOV. 8, "VERY OLD STYLE"),
ENTERS ON THE HUNDREDTH YEAR OF HIS BLAMELESS, BRAVE, AND
UNIVERSALLY BENEFICENT LIFE.

In 1883 Punch (LXXXV, 227) joined many other periodicals in honoring the famous Sir Moses Montefiore. The tone and extent of these celebrations were further evidence of the Jews' improving status and widening acceptance in Victorian England. Note that the purse of Sir Moses is marked "Charity" — a reflection chiefly of Sir Moses' many benefactions, but also of the "good-Jew" stereotype which Dickens had made much of earlier.

on to make the charge more explicit and to offer a suggestion: "Fagin I fear admits only of one interpretation; but (while) [sic] Charles Dickens lives the author can justify himself or atone for a great wrong."²⁸ Nine years earlier Dickens had replied briefly to an accusation of anti-Semitism (Edgar Johnson, *Charles Dickens*, II, 1010). Now a similar charge coming from a woman he knew and respected prompted him to defend his position in detail. In reply to Mrs. Davis, he wrote in part:

I must take leave to say, that if there be any general feeling on the part of the intelligent Jewish people, that I have done them what you describe as "a great wrong," they are a far less sensible, a far less just, and a far less good-tempered people than I have always supposed them to be. Fagin, in *Oliver Twist*, is a Jew, because it unfortunately was true of the time to which that story refers, that that class of criminal almost invariably was a Jew. But surely no sensible man or woman of your persuasion can fail to observe — firstly, that all the rest of the wicked *dramatis personae* are Christians [Dickens had forgotten the "vile and repulsive" Barney]; and secondly, that he is called a "Jew," not because of his religion, but because of his race. If I were to write a story, in which I described a Frenchman or a Spaniard as "the Roman Catholic," I should do a very indecent and unjustifiable thing; but I make mention of Fagin as the Jew, because he is one of the Jewish people, and because it conveys that kind of idea of him which I should give my readers of a Chinaman, by calling him a Chinese.

(*NL*, II, 357)

Dickens then went on to make a series of claims, not all of which were true. "I always," he wrote, "speak well of them [the Jewish people], whether in public or in private, and bear my testimony (as I ought to do) to their perfect good faith in such transactions as I have ever had with them."

Dickens, always sensitive to the charge of injustice, had stated his position with force and finality. But Mrs. Davis, now that her challenge had been taken up, saw her opportunity and replied almost immediately. Rebutting Dickens' explanation and his analogies, she pointed out that:

It is a fact that the Jewish *race* and *religion* are inseparable, if a Jew embrace any other faith, he is no longer known as of the *race* either to his own people or to the gentiles to whom he has joined himself. . . . If, as you remark "all must observe that the other Criminals [in *Oliver Twist*] were Christians" they are at least contrasted with characters of *good Christians*, this poor wretched Fagin stands alone "The Jew." How grateful [sic] we are to Sir Walter Scott and to Mrs. S. C. Hall for their delineations of some of our race, yet Isaac of York was not all virtue!

(Clark, pp 23-24)

Dickens must have found the references to the author of *Ivanhoe* especially compelling, for he often identified himself with Scott.²⁹ In any

²⁸ Cumberland Clark, ed., *Charles Dickens and His Jewish Characters* (London, 1918), p. 18 — hereafter referred to as "Clark" and cited in the text.

²⁹ See, for example, *NL*, I, 159, 482, and 456, and *The Collected Papers*, Nonesuch Edition (Bloomsbury, 1937), II, 342.



Riah and Jenny Wren, the dolls' dressmaker. Compare with illustration on page 234.

case, although he failed to answer Mrs. Davis's counterattack, it soon became clear that her arguments had captured both his reason and his imagination. In her second letter she had also written, "I hazard the opinion that it would well repay an author of reputation to examine more closely into the manners and character of the British Jews and to represent them as they really are" (Clark, p. 24). The hint was not lost upon the "author of reputation," and although Dickens did not examine into Jewish life very closely, he did decide in *Our Mutual Friend* (1864-65) to strike a blow for the Jews.

Our Mutual Friend is a measure of Dickens' conversion. For in this book he wished to do more than balance Fagin's villainy with Riah's goodness; he intended to plead the Jewish case before the English public. Riah, the good Jew of *Our Mutual Friend*, was not, like Fagin, merely to be labeled a Jew; he was to serve as the apotheosis of kindly Judaism. Riah is always conscious of his Jewishness, speaks in quasi-Biblical rhythms, exhibits what were usually thought of as specifically Jewish virtues, occupies a position of influence in the Jewish community, and makes a reasoned plea for religious tolerance. Even Riah's conventional role as a moneylender becomes an argument for understanding. Dickens uses Riah's occupation not as a stereotype, but as a means of reversing the stereotype. Riah is depicted as the unwilling but perfect

front for an unscrupulous Christian. He is useful to his Christian master precisely because of gentile preconceptions and prejudices. The moment a gentile sees Riah's face, beard, and costume, he labels him a Jew, and resigns himself to being fleeced by what he is convinced is a rich, shrewd, ruthless usurer. Dickens is saying that the stereotype of the Jewish usurer (and even his occupation) have been imposed from the outside; the true Riah (and therefore the true Jew) is not at all like the gentile's conception of him.

Yet Riah strikes one, not as a living being, but as a fairy godmother — Jenny Wren actually nicknames him "godmother" — who has been transplanted from some unreal children's story. And perhaps Dickens' conception of Riah owes a good deal to his childhood. When he began to create his virtuous Jew, he may have been reminded of that other good Jew he had read about so often as a boy. For Riah, like Abednego in Dibdin's *The Jew and the Doctor* is not the usurer he appears to be; like Abednego he has a good heart and noble aspirations, he befriends and protects a helpless Christian girl, he assists her to escape from a dangerous love situation, and he pleads the cause of the Jews. But though the larger features are similar, Dickens' portrait is more ambitious than Dibdin's, and Riah is shorn of the stage-Jew traits which disfigure Abednego. Dickens uses Riah to underline Jewish loyalty, kindness, humility, patience, and charity — the supposedly Jewish virtues. Riah exhibits these virtues again and again. He hides Lizzie Hexam among his co-religionists and keeps her secret in the face of humiliation and contempt. Lizzie herself vouches for Jewish kindness. "The gentleman certainly is a Jew," said Lizzie, 'and the lady, his wife, is a Jewess, and I was first brought to their notice by a Jew. But I think there cannot be kinder people in the world" (II, 114). When Eugene goads Riah, the Jew lowers his eyes and keeps silent (I, 477). When Fledgeby failed to answer Riah's knock, Riah "sat down on the threshold. It was characteristic of his habitual submission," Dickens continues, "that he sat down on the raw dark staircase, as many of his ancestors had probably sat down in dungeons, taking what befell him as it might befall" (II, 2). Each time Riah appears he reveals a new virtue or underlines an old one. Sometimes he illustrates "Jewish" virtues through conversation rather than action:

"Your people need speak the truth sometimes, for they lie enough," remarked Fascination Fledgeby.

"Sir, there is," returned the old man with quiet emphasis, "too much untruth among all denominations of men."

Rather dashed, Fascination Fledgeby took another scratch at his intellectual head . . .

"For instance," he resumed, as though it were he who had spoken last, "who but you and I ever heard of a poor Jew?"

"The Jews," said the old man, raising his eyes from the ground with his former smile. "They hear of poor Jews often, and are very good to them." (I, 323)

Dickens' anxiety to make Riah a representative Jew, and to enforce through him the lessons of tolerance and justice, sometimes causes him to use Riah as a didactic mouthpiece. It is Dickens himself who is preaching to the English public when he has Riah say:

"For it is not, in Christian countries, with the Jews as with other peoples. Men say, 'This is a bad Greek, but there are good Greeks. This is a bad Turk, but there are good Turks.' Not so with the Jews. Men find the bad among us easily enough — among what peoples are the bad not easily found? — but they take the worst of us as samples of the best; they take the lowest of us as presentations of the highest; and they say 'All Jews are alike.' If . . . I had been a Christian, I could have done it [become the agent of an unscrupulous Christian moneylender], compromising no one but my individual self. But doing it as a Jew, I could not choose but compromise the Jews of all conditions and all countries. It is a little hard upon us, but it is the truth."

(II, 360)

The speech is a noteworthy statement of the Jews' plight. It is all the more noteworthy because it refutes the arguments Dickens had brought forward in his own defense less than two years earlier. He had now acknowledged the justice of Mrs. Davis's complaint; but satisfying her injunction to study the Jews was another matter.

Riah lacks Fagin's vitality. Dickens did not know enough about Jewish life, customs, and problems to create a convincing Jew. Riah is an emotional gesture. Picturesque and anomalous, he springs full-blown from Dickens' fancy. He is a strange amalgam of good-natured fairy and Biblical sage. When he is not waving the wand of a fairy godmother, he is brandishing the rod of a Hebrew prophet. And both images are strong in Dickens' mind. He emphasizes more than once that Riah carries no ordinary stick but a veritable staff (I, 322; II, 2). And he makes Riah talk like a prophet too: "'He [Lizzie's brother] is a thankless dog,' said the Jew, angrily. 'Let him go. Shake the dust from thy feet and let him go. Come, daughter. Come home with me — it is but across the road — and take a little time to recover your peace and make your eyes seemly, and then I will bear you company through the streets. For it is past your usual time, and will soon be late, and the way is long, and there is much company out of doors to-night'" (I, 475-476). The conception is picturesque, but hardly convincing. One can believe in the vital Fagin as he darts through London alleys and trudges up rotting stairways; but who can believe that limp, gentle Riah with his Biblical staff and Biblical talk ever saw a London street? Dickens had abjured his early Jew and replaced him with a saintly prophet, but Fagin lives

and is remembered while Riah is forgotten.

Still, Dickens' intent had been praiseworthy, and Mrs. Davis, reading the monthly parts of *Our Mutual Friend*, recognized that this was so. On 13 November 1864, she wrote to him once more. After thanking him for the "great compliment paid to myself and to my people," she pointed out that Riah was something less than a realistic portrait (Clark, pp. 27-29). Dickens' changed attitude may be measured by his response. The irritation and touchiness of his earlier letter were gone. He received Mrs. Davis's criticism with "great pleasure," admitted errors, and remarked mildly that some of the "peculiarities of [Riah's] dress and manners are fixed together for the sake of picturesqueness" (*NL*, III, 405). On Riah's genesis he did not contradict Mrs. Davis; but he pointedly reiterated that "[I] hope to be (as I have always been in my heart) the best of friends with the Jewish people."

These repeated assurances, and Riah's role in the concluding numbers of *Our Mutual Friend*, convinced Mrs. Davis that Dickens had not only accepted her arguments, but had become willing to promulgate them. Impressed by the generosity of spirit which lay behind his conversion, she decided to give it formal recognition. Accordingly, on 8 February 1867, she sent Dickens a sumptuously bound copy of the new Benisch edition of the Bible, the first complete English-Hebrew text of the Old Testament for Jews. In the Bible she placed the following inscription:

6th February 1867.

Presented to
CHARLES DICKENS ESQ^{RE}
in grateful and admiring recognition
of his having exercised the noblest
quality man can possess; that of aton-
ing for an injury as soon as conscious
of having inflicted it,

by a Jewess (Clark, p. 39)

Dickens was delighted. He thanked Mrs. Davis for the Bible, and then penned a graceful conclusion to the exchange of letters which had figured so intimately in his thinking about Jews. "The terms," he wrote, "in which you send me that mark of your remembrance are more gratifying to me than I can possibly express to you; for they assure me that there is nothing but goodwill left between you and me and a people for whom I have a real regard, and to whom I would not wilfully have given an offence or done an injustice for any worldly consideration" (*NL*, III, 512).

Dickens undoubtedly meant what he had written, for he did not confine his new-found sympathy to letter and novel. *All the Year Round*

also took up his changed point of view and sought to teach the English public what he himself had lately come to believe. His early ideas and editorial practices contrast startlingly with those he promulgated in *All the Year Round* in the second half of the 1860's. *Our Mutual Friend* had been finished for more than a year, Mrs. Davis's Bible had not yet arrived, but Dickens continued to reiterate Riah's message:

Would it startle any one very much [said *All the Year Round* in 1866], if we were to express the opinion that Christian Mr. Whelks [Mr. Whelks was Dickens' generic title for the average lower-class workingman] in Whitechapel [a poor section of London with a large Jewish population] derives a good deal of his superiority as a well-regulated citizen from his association with those benighted and "parlously" situated people, the Jews? Perhaps it would. Nevertheless, we make bold to express that opinion, and we hold by it very decidedly. In all they do, whether in the pursuit of business or in the pursuit of pleasure, the Jews are an earnest, methodical, aspiring people. . . . There is an innate feeling of pride in the race, which inspires even the humblest rag-gatherer with a desire to reach a higher sphere. They are sober and self-denying, prudent and careful. . . . Their ceremonial law teaches what we polite Christians call etiquette to the commonest man of the tribe. They are a people who wash their hands and anoint their heads, and pay respect to times and seasons and observances. The character of Jews has too long been wronged by Christian communities. We take old-clothes men and thieves — there being none such among Christians, of course — as the types of an ancient, refined, and charitable people.³⁰

The last two sentences might be taken as a pointed disavowal of *Oliver Twist*; but even without the appositeness of the concluding words, the passage underscores Dickens' reversed attitude toward the Jews. Yet in spite of this reversal, and in spite of his new-found sympathy and penitent actions, he still harbored elements of anti-Jewish prejudice. In at least one passage in *Our Mutual Friend* he called up fragments of the old stereotype when he described financial manipulators who were "asthmatic and thick-lipped" and "were for ever demonstrating to the rest, with gold pencil-cases which they could hardly hold because of the big rings on their forefingers, how money was to be made" (I, 305). Such passages, exceedingly rare in these latter years, hint rather than label. They are the insoluble residue of decades of stereotyped thinking; they underline the sinister nature of prejudice, the difficulty of subordinating emotions schooled in an anti-Semitic era to more tolerant beliefs

³⁰ "Mr. Whelks in the East," AYR, XVI (1866), 31. The article goes on (p. 32) to develop the thesis that the influence of Jewish example makes the Christian workingmen of Whitechapel superior to those of New Cut, Lambeth.

Dickens may have done more than suggest or edit this article; he may have had a hand in writing it. He himself had created the character of Mr. Whelks in two HW articles (the first of which appeared in the first issue of HW) entitled "The Amusements of the People" (30 March and 13 April 1850). He often wrote articles in collaboration with members of the HW and AYR staffs, but (with a few exceptions) the AYR collaborations remain unidentified. For examples of other AYR articles which show the moderating influence of his changed attitude, see above.

inculcated by a later age. When Dickens was gripped by emotion, submerged stereotypes and prejudices still had momentary power to command his mind. Nevertheless, in the late 1860's his considered, conscious attitude toward the Jews was sympathetic, and the Riah-like sentiments of *All the Year Round* during the last six years of his life reflect what he usually thought and wrote about Jews during this period, and what he wanted the public to think and feel.

That this is so may be deduced from other less public (and therefore presumably less calculated) actions, for Dickens' attempts to make amends to the Jews were not quite finished. In 1867-68, a few years before his death, a new edition of his works, "The Charles Dickens Edition," was being issued by Chapman and Hall. Dickens revised the volumes in this edition for copyright purposes, supplying new or modified prefaces, cutting phrases here or there, canceling occasional passages, adding minor touches, and making other corrections. The text of this edition has been followed in almost all subsequent reprintings of his books.

In *Oliver Twist* he made hundreds of emendations, but the most important and most numerous by far concern Fagin and the Jews. Beginning with Chapter XXXIX, he went through *Oliver Twist* and eliminated the bulk of the references to Fagin as "the Jew," canceling that term entirely, or replacing it with "he," or with "Fagin."³¹ For example,

³¹ The dangers of Professor Lane's archetypal exegesis are again emphasized when he seeks in the conclusion of his article, and in connection with these emendations, to sum up Fagin's archetypal and aesthetic role in *Oliver Twist* and to understand Dickens' attitude toward Fagin. In Professor Lane's eyes Fagin is essentially "the archetypal racial villain," "the archetypal devil-Jew" (p. 100). According to Professor Lane, in the original version of *Oliver Twist*, Fagin retains the archetypal label "the Jew" (and thus his myth-like stature) throughout the book, so that his cowering attitude in the condemned cell (Chapter LII, the penultimate chapter) is inconsistent and "interrupts the unity of the . . . novel" (p. 100). But, continues Professor Lane, by 1867 when Dickens had come to revise *Oliver Twist*, he recognized that the archetypal implications of his book were in conflict with the human role he had made Fagin play in the penultimate chapter and so excised references to Fagin as "the Jew" at "every possible point" [sic] in order to de-emphasize the archetype and reassure the reader that "the villain was not the embodiment of our unconscious fears but only a man, after all" (p. 100). Professor Lane places great weight on what he takes to be the unique cancellations in this chapter, and underlines the fact that "Dickens chose this important scene for revision" (pp. 99-100).

Professor Lane's evidence is striking, but both it and the inferences he draws therefrom collapse when one goes to *Oliver Twist* and discovers what Dickens actually did. As indicated above, Dickens' excisions of "the Jew" were not confined to the penultimate chapter of *Oliver Twist*, but were a consistent feature of his revision from Chapter XXXIX on — almost forty per cent of the chapters in which Fagin takes an active part. As a matter of fact, Dickens was excising "the Jew" in many of the scenes which Professor Lane regards as Fagin's most demoniacal and archetypal. The changes in the penultimate chapter of *Oliver Twist* therefore have nothing whatever to do with Dickens' supposed shift, in the condemned-cell scene, from an archetype to a human figure; either the shift occurred two-thirds of the way through the book (an untenable assumption), or it did not occur at all.

in Chapter XXXIX, he struck out twenty-three references to Fagin as "the Jew"; in Chapters XLIV and XLV (a single chapter in the original version), he eliminated thirty-one of thirty-seven references to "the Jew"; and in Chapter LII, in which the very title is changed from "The Jew's Last Night Alive" to "Fagin's Last Night Alive," he canceled eleven allusions to Fagin as "the Jew," leaving a single reference to "the Jew" in the entire chapter.³²

The effect of these changes is to eliminate, for the most part, the one important link connecting Fagin with the Jews. In the last third

tion in the light of Fagin's actions in the last third of the novel) or the changes must be explained by something other than Professor Lane's theories.

In this matter, it is simpler to turn to Dickens' life and times than to the aesthetics of the archetype. The powerful presentation of Fagin's last hours ceases to require an intricate archetypal explanation when one recognizes the scene for what it is — another instance of Dickens' lifelong, almost compulsive interest in the psychological state of the fleeing or imminently doomed criminal. He dealt with this subject at length in at least five of his first seven major works — *Sketches by Boz* (the condemned prisoner's thoughts in "A Visit to Newgate"), *Oliver Twist* (Fagin and Sikes), *Nicholas Nickleby* (Ralph Nickleby), *Barnaby Rudge* (Dennis), and *Martin Chuzzlewit* (Jonas Chuzzlewit) — and his later novels and minor writings maintain this level of interest. Furthermore, the notion that Fagin's screaming exit is both a "violation of thematic propriety" and a sign of "progress toward full artistic maturity" (p. 100), is a paradox one must wrestle with only if one accepts Professor Lane's thesis; in terms of Dickens' moral world in 1837-39 and his (and his readers') conception of Fagin's character, the ending is both justified and inevitable.

As for the excisions of "the Jew" in *Oliver Twist*, I can give no conclusive explanation of why they suddenly begin when they do, although I suspect the answer is biographical and bibliographical rather than archetypal. One conjecture would be that the first two-thirds of the book were already in proof or printed before it occurred to Dickens that he should make the changes he later instituted. It is even possible that the presentation of Mrs. Davis's Bible jogged his will in this respect. Dickens was on the road giving readings during the period in question, and probably did not actually see Mrs. Davis's gift until May 1867 (*NL*, III, 512). The new edition of *Oliver Twist* appeared in August of that year, and the first portions of the book may well have gone through the press before Dickens' return. Upon his return, seeing the Bible and the proofs of the first two-thirds of *Oliver Twist* in conjunction may have spurred him to make excisions of "the Jew" in the remainder of the book.

An alternative to the above explanation would be that the revisions were made for an edition of *Oliver Twist* which was issued in monthly parts. (Such editions, so far as I can determine, were published in 1846, 1850, and 1866, and are now exceedingly rare; I have only been able to collate the 1846 version.) If emendations were made in such an edition, a correction begun in the midst of publication would have to be limited to the unpublished portion and could not, of course, be introduced into the monthly parts already issued. It is possible that the 1867 "Charles Dickens Edition" was issued in parts, or that the text was taken from the original parts issue of the 1866 "People's Edition."

³² Dickens' latter-day shift in attitude toward the Jews is made all the more clear when one realizes that he had revised *Oliver Twist* on at least two occasions prior to 1867. *Oliver Twist* appeared originally in *Bentley's Miscellany* from February 1837 (except June and October 1837, and September 1838) to April 1839. The first separate book-edition (which came out in 1838, before the serial had closed) contained textual changes, and the 1846 reissue in parts was advertised prominently as "A New Edition, Revised and Corrected." Yet, in spite of the considerable changes incorporated in these editions, Dickens did not choose in either of them to soften any anti-Semitic overtones. Such a softening had to await the 1860's and a further shift in Victorian mores and Dickens' outlook.

of the revised version, page after page which had formerly emphasized that a Jew was doing this or that bit of villainy, now merely reported that Fagin was doing it; and whole segments of the novel contained scarcely the mention of "Jew."

These final revisions are doubly significant. For Dickens' journey had been the journey of his times. When the period opened Mordecai was "clinking his shining chink," *Punch* was reveling in gross caricatures of Jews, and Thackeray was writing parody crime-fiction under the libelous pseudonym of "Ikey Solomons, Jr." Sixty years later, when the period drew to a close, the Jews had largely achieved their present status in English society. But in 1864 the battle was still hot; Jews were still struggling for recognition and understanding. At this juncture Dickens chose to help the Jews, and this in spite of his own lingering prejudices and misconceptions. There was no hypocrisy in this. He had moved with the changing times, he had undergone an undoubted intellectual conversion, but he was not always able to expunge the emotions and associations of his formative years, of the more prejudiced age which had set its imprint upon him. Yet in terms of his intentions, in terms of his attempts to influence the public, he had, in his artistic lifetime, come full circle: not merely because he created a good Jew to blot out a bad one, but because he enforced in many ways — in his letters, books, magazines, and emendations — the doctrine he had enunciated through Riah's lips, a doctrine he had been approaching slowly, but had only recently accepted. His silent excisions in *Oliver Twist* were one more way station in his journey; his voluntary emendations demonstrate again that intellectually at least he had come to understand and regret a prejudice more typical of an earlier day. In his new understanding he was mirroring the new times, just as in his earlier anti-Semitism he had reflected the old. And yet by 1864 and *Our Mutual Friend* he was not merely mirroring; despite his occasional confusions and ambivalences, he was urging forward the Victorian advance toward toleration. For in his relationship with the Jews, as in other areas of his life and art, Dickens was a maker as well as a creature of his times.



Matthew Arnold's Reading-Lists in Three Early Diaries

IF WE WANT TO KNOW what a man is like it is helpful to know what he reads and what books he keeps on his shelves; and perhaps at no time do these indications tell us so much about him as in youth before his attitudes have become stereotyped. Knowledge of his reading will certainly not give us the whole man at any period of his life, but, within limits defined by a sense of literary tact, normally it will supply us with useful information about him. This is true of Matthew Arnold as we have reason to know from the reading-lists for 1852 to 1888, which became available in 1952 with the publication of the fine edition of *The Notebooks of Matthew Arnold* by Messrs. H. F. Lowry, Karl Young, and W. H. Dunn.¹ His early intellectual development — "God forgive me the d — d expression," as he wrote to Clough² — has not yet been studied in any detail, partly for lack of evidence, and any attempt to describe it comprehensively in a short paper would involve some half-truths and more conjecture. But for a generation now, ever since the appearance of "Matthew Arnold: the 'Unknown Years'" by Mr. Alan Harris,³ certain pocket-diaries of an earlier date than 1852 have been known to exist, and it is with the unpublished reading-lists in the three diaries for 1845 to 1847 and the light they shed on the young Matthew Arnold that the present paper is quite narrowly concerned.⁴

¹ The reading-lists of 1868 and 1888 had already been given by Arnold's younger daughter Eleanor, then the Hon. Mrs. Wodehouse, in 1902 in the brief selection from her father's note-books then published by Smith, Elder, and Co. She also gave a list of "Books to take to America" under the year 1883.

² 12 Feb. 1853. *Letters of Matthew Arnold to A. H. Clough*, ed. H. F. Lowry (London and New York, 1932), p. 130.

³ *The Nineteenth Century and After*, CXIII (1933), 498-509.

⁴ The diaries, which belong to Mr. Chauncey B. Tinker, are deposited in the Yale University Library and their contents are referred to by permission of the library authorities.

These reading-lists of the mid-1840's have an obvious interest because they are related to the years of Matthew Arnold's growth as a poet and to the time when much of his thinking and reading was devoted to the formation of an alternative world-view to that provided by the Christian orthodoxy of his upbringing.⁵ That his development as a poet and the working-out of a personal philosophy from his reading and experience of life are matters very intimately connected, even a slight acquaintance with *The Strayed Reveller* (1849) and *Empedocles on Etna, and Other Poems* (1852) brings home: indeed part of Arnold's satisfaction with "Sohrab and Rustum" and similar "objective" pieces seems to spring from his recognition that in them he is "making something" and not merely "thinking aloud."⁶ When he was matriculated at Balliol in November 1840, a month before his eighteenth birthday, he expressed to Edward Walford and other freshmen "his great aversion to sundry statements in the Thirty-nine Articles, which at that time we were all forced to subscribe, especially that article which expresses an approval of the Athanasian creed, and that which denounces and renounces the Pope of Rome." A year later at the scholars' table in hall he was arguing, Walford adds, that complete religious toleration was desirable and that "the strict imposition of creeds had done more to break up than to unite churches, and nations, and families . . ."⁷ The steps by which he moved from this "liberal" position, already a little in advance of his father's, to the agnosticism with a religious flavour which was certainly formed by the early 1850's — and was still being expressed with unction in *Literature and Dogma* (1873) — are not absolutely clear. He "plunged very deeply in the years following his father's death in the vast sea of Goethe's art and Spinoza's mysticism," his brother Tom writes and then adds, "He had already in 1845 drifted far away from orthodox Christianity, so that the appearance of the translation of Strauss's *Leben Jesu* in that year — an epoch-making book for many — found him uncurious and uninterested."⁸ The second of these statements gives us a date with which there is no reason to quarrel, but the remark about Goethe and Spinoza is vaguer in chronology. I know no evidence to connect Arnold with

Specifically I should like to express indebtedness to Dr. Robert F. Metzdorf, formerly Curator of Manuscripts, and Miss Marjorie G. Wynne, Librarian of The Rare Book Room, at Yale.

⁵ Newman asked if Dr. Arnold was a Christian (*Apologia*, Ch. 1), but this was more a reflection on Arnold's mental temper and method of free inquiry than on the views that he actually held. Evangelicals also wondered if Dr. Arnold knew where he was going. See *The Doctor's Disciples* by F. J. Woodward (New York, 1954), Ch. 2, for the suspicions of the Rev. Philip Gell, parent of one of Arnold's early Rugbeians.

⁶ Arnold's own phrases in a letter to his sister "K." See *Unpublished Letters of Matthew Arnold*, ed. A. Whitridge (New Haven, 1923), p. 17. The letter is undated but is ascribed by Mr. Whitridge to 1849. The postscript "You heard Sir C. Napier is going out to India?" renders a more exact dating possible. It must have been written between 17 Mar. 1849, when Sir Charles Napier was sworn in as Commander-in-Chief of the East India Company's forces in India, and 24 Mar. 1849, when he sailed for Calcutta.

⁷ Letter to *The Times*, 20 Apr. 1888. Quoted by H. F. Lowry in the Intro. to his *Letters of M. A. to A. H. C.*, pp. 23 and 24.

⁸ "Matthew Arnold: by one who knew him well," *The Manchester Guardian*, 18 May 1888. I owe this reference to Mr. Alan Harris, who believes the article to be by Tom Arnold. There are in fact two conclusive pieces of internal evidence to justify the ascription, but to cite the evidence and argue from it would occupy too much space here.

Spinoza before 1850,⁹ but he bought a complete set of Goethe's works in 1847 (1847 diary) and earlier still, probably in his undergraduate days at Balliol, he had read Carlyle's translation of *Wilhelm Meister* and been attracted by its "large, liberal view of human life."¹⁰ The strong probability is that he came to Goethe through his reading of Carlyle and to Spinoza through his reading of Goethe.¹¹ Oxford voices other than Carlyle included Emerson and George Sand, both of them "liberators" to Matthew Arnold, Clough, Tom Arnold, and a few of their intimate friends. Tom Arnold's daughter, Mrs. Humphry Ward, writes:

They discovered George Sand, Emerson and Carlyle, and orthodox Christianity no longer seemed to them the sure refuge it had always been to the strong teacher who trained them as boys. There are many allusions of many dates in the letters of my father and uncle to each other, as to their common Oxford passion for George Sand. *Consuelo*, in particular, was a revelation to the two young men brought up under the "earnest" influence of Rugby. It seemed to open to them a world of artistic beauty and joy of which they had never dreamed; and to loosen the bands of an austere conception of life, which began to appear to them too narrow for the facts of life.¹²

There were differences of emphasis inside the Oxford set. While Emerson probably had much the same value for all of them, George Sand meant more to the two Arnolds than to Clough, and something slightly different to each of the brothers. Tom, who speaks of "God and George Sand, the interpreter of his truth," saw in her work a fervent prophecy of social renewal. Matthew was also sensitive to "the aspiration towards a purged and renewed human society" in the novels but valued even more highly in his Oxford years "the cry of agony and revolt, the trust in nature and beauty."¹³ His keenest admiration was for the yearning cadences of romantic melancholy in *Lélia* and the other only slightly less heated "poetic" novels of revolt.

The hour of agony and revolt passed away for George Sand, as it passed away for Goethe, as it passes away for their readers likewise. It passes away and does not return; yet those who, amid the agitations, more or less stormy, of their youth, be-took themselves to the early works of George Sand . . . can no more forget them than they can forget *Werther*. George Sand speaks somewhere of her "days of *Corinne*." Days of *Valentine*, many of us may in like manner say, — days of *Valentine*, days of *Lélia*, days never to return . . . How the sentences from George Sand's works of that period still linger in our memory and haunt the ear with their cadences!

(*Mixed Essays*, p. 323)

⁹ Letter of 23 Oct. 1850, *Letters of M. A. to A. H. C.*, p. 117.

¹⁰ "Emerson," *Discourses in America* (1885).

¹¹ The passage in *Dichtung und Wahrheit* towards the end of Bk. XIV was, I think, the decisive one for Arnold: "I at last fell upon the Ethics of this philosopher . . . Enough that I found in it a sedative for my passions, and that it seemed to open out for me a free and boundless view of both the sensible and the moral world . . . Spinoza's reconciling calm was in striking contrast with my perturbing activity." In May 1848 Arnold speaks of "returning to Goethe's Life," *Letters of Matthew Arnold*, ed. G. W. Russell (1895), I, 10. This implies that *Dichtung und Wahrheit* was among the first of Goethe's writings to be read after buying the complete works.

¹² *A Writer's Recollections* (London, 1918), p. 12.

¹³ "George Sand," *Mixed Essays* (New York, 1880), pp. 321-322.

This is the tone of a man who fondly remembers a passionate love-affair. It was Matthew Arnold who undertook the pilgrimage to Nohant and discussed Byron and Bulwer with her on "le quatorze Juillet" 1846.¹⁴ George Sand is certainly in her own right important for his early development, whether or not she introduced him, as Mrs. Sells thinks, to Senancour.¹⁵

THE SKETCH THAT I HAVE GIVEN roughly represents our information about Matthew Arnold's youthful development without the evidence provided by the 1845-47 diaries. Speaking of the reading-lists in the diaries, Mr. Harris comments that their most noticeable feature is "the prominence of philosophy, in view of the somewhat contemptuous attitude of his later years and the frequent charges of ignorance in this field made against him. In addition to Plato and Aristotle, the lists include Bacon, Descartes, Schelling, Kant, Herder, Plotinus and the *Bhagavad Gita*" (Harris, p. 503).

Equally noticeable, perhaps, is the prominence given to foreign authors, both philosophical and non-philosophical. There is, of course, no suggestion that the reading-lists represent all of Arnold's reading over the particular periods that they cover — if they did, we should have to conclude absurdly that he read no Shakespeare, Milton, or Wordsworth, in fact no English poet (except conceivably Coleridge), during these three years. The diaries themselves demonstrate that the reading-lists are incomplete. They show £ 1-15-0 spent on buying Wordsworth and Shakespeare, £ 8-10-0 spent on Goethe's *Werke*, fifty francs laid out on "playbooks" and a pair of opera-glasses — the plays being those by Racine, Corneille, Molière, and others which Arnold saw in Paris at the end of December 1846 and throughout January and the first half of February 1847. None of these poets appears on the reading-lists. With one or two exceptions the lists exclude imaginative literature in the strict sense.

Again, it is not really safe to assume that every book listed was read. The repetition of various titles in successive lists shows that the appearance of a work in a reading-list indicates only an intention to read it. On the other hand Arnold makes no attempt, except in the second list, to mark which books he did read.¹⁶ Perhaps it is reasonable to assume that in the majority of cases a book was read if its title was not repeated in a subsequent list, and sometimes there is evidence to justify this assumption. For example, "The Scholar Gipsy" could not have been written if Arnold had not at least skimmed through the pages of "Glanvil's Vanity of Dog:", which is entered on the third list.

The three diaries contain six reading-lists. Four of these occur in the

¹⁴ 1846 diary. Not in August, as Arnold claims in *Mixed Essays*.

¹⁵ Arnold's first reference to *Obermann* occurs in a letter of November 1848 (*Letters of M. A. to A. H. C.*, p. 95), by which date he could have discovered Senancour for himself in Sainte-Beuve. It does not really help to know that he probably read *Obermann* in George Sand's edition of 1840. All the same I am inclined to support Mrs. Sells (*Matthew Arnold and France* [Cambridge, 1935], Ch. 3). If George Sand spoke to him about Switzerland at Nohant in 1846, as Arnold says, then *Obermann* may well have come into the conversation.

¹⁶ Titles were crossed off as read in the reading-lists of later years.

1845 diary, one each in the diaries for 1846 and 1847. I give these lists below with a commentary, reserving a few general remarks for my conclusion.

Reading-list I

Books to be read or finished between January 29 and March 24, 1845.

Plato.	Respublica
do.	Phaedrus
Kant.	1st Part of Critique
Mill.	First 2 Books of Logic
Berkeley.	Siris
do.	3 Dialogues
Augustine.	Tractatus ad S. Johannem
Descartes.	Methode
54 days.	7 weeks 5 days.

Notes. This list appears on a blank preliminary page of the 1845 diary and is obviously connected with the Oriel Fellowship Examination. During February and March 1845 Arnold was a temporary assistant-master at Rugby. His diary records that on Saturday, March 22, he went to Oxford and on Friday, March 28, "got the Oriel." (There are 54 days between January 29 and March 23 inclusive.) March 24 was the day on which the examination began. The titles explain themselves. The spelling "Critique", suggests that Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* (1781) was read in a translation. The treatise by St. Augustine is properly entitled *In Johannis Evangelium Tractatus*. J. S. Mill's *System of Logic* was published in 1843 and admired by Clough in October of that year (see *The Correspondence of A.H.C.*, ed. F. L. Mulhauser [New York and London, 1957], I, 126). Berkeley's *Siris: A Chain of Philosophical Reflexions and Inquiries concerning the Virtues of Tar Water and divers other Subjects connected together and arising from one another* (2nd edition, 1744) has been described as "one of the most extraordinary books ever written; certainly the most amazing work in the literature of British philosophy."¹⁷ On an academic list compiled with an examination in view, it is the one item that seems positively to assert a personal taste. Arnold's interest in *Siris* may be suggested by noticing that Berkeley discusses among other matters Greek cosmologies, Egyptian myths and their interpretation, speculations concerning the *anima mundi* and the respectability of pantheist views ("If nature be supposed the life of the world, animated by one soul, compacted into one frame, and directed or governed by one mind: this system cannot be accused of Atheism" [sect. 279]; "Plato and Aristotle considered God as abstracted or distinct from the natural world. But the Egyptians considered God and nature as making one whole, or all things together as making one universe. In doing which they did not exclude the intelligent mind, but considered it as containing all things. Therefore, whatever was wrong in their way of thinking, it doth not, nevertheless, imply or lead to Atheism" [sect. 300].). These topics recur frequently in connection with the other five read-

¹⁷ See *The Works of George Berkeley*, ed. G. Sampson (Bohn's Philosophical Library, 1898), Vol. III, introductory note to *Siris*.

ing-lists; and among the authors Arnold signified his intention of reading are Plotinus, Plutarch, and Cudworth, who are all much cited by Berkeley.

Reading-list II

Barante's Tableau.	read.
Sismondi	Etudes sur les Const:
Cousin's	Introduction — read.
Plato	Phaedrus. Respublica
Descartes	Methode
Coleridge	passim. read.
Bacon	De Augmentis
Latin Prize	
Bunsen's Egypt	8 Pages per d. read

Notes. This list, which appears on the blank verso of the September page of the 1845 diary, was probably intended to cover long-vacation reading (see the rubric to the following list). "Respublica" was crossed out as soon as it was written: the implication is that it had been read either before March 24 or during the early part of the summer and was entered inadvertently. Five items on this list are positively marked as read and two appear for the second time (Descartes' *Discours de la Méthode* and Plato's *Phaedrus*). Barante's *Tableau de la littérature française pendant le dix-huitième siècle* went through several editions, the first with this title being that of 1813. Arnold could have read it in English: a translation of the fourth edition entitled *A Tableau of French Literature during the Eighteenth Century* was issued in London in 1833. Sismondi's *Études sur les constitutions des peuples libres* was published in Paris in 1836. (Sismondi accompanied Madame de Staël on the Italian journey described in *Corinne* and was the friend and correspondent of the Countess of Albany, widow of the Young Pretender and intimate friend of the poet Alfieri.) Victor Cousin's *Introduction à l'histoire de la philosophie* was delivered as a course of lectures in Paris in 1828 and published there in the same year. It was followed in 1829 by his *Cours de l'histoire de la philosophie du xvii^e siècle* (see the following reading-list). After losing his chair of philosophy in 1821-22 for political reasons Cousin travelled in Germany (where he met Hegel and Schelling) and edited Proclus and Descartes. His reinstatement in his chair in 1828 gave his lectures of that and the following year great *réclame*, but in 1832 he ceased to lecture and became an administrator. Between 1825 and 1840 he brought out his translation of Plato, which Arnold certainly knew at a later date.¹⁸ His importance for Arnold was considerable but of the sort that the originator of a philosophical system often has for the imaginative writer, that is, as a source of ideas which can be transferred to a literary or more popular context and as a lively guide to a comparatively mysterious field of knowledge. Cousin's eclecticism, which involved a broad historical approach to philosophy and sent him to Indian thought as well as to Greece, Alexandria, modern France, and Germany, made him all

¹⁸ See *Notebooks*, pp. 150, 166, and 549.

the more useful to Arnold in these respects, however feeble he may have been as an original thinker. "Coleridge *passim*" is puzzling — it may refer to an intention to read in Coleridge's prose works while at Fox How or, even more simply, in his poems, which Pickering reprinted in a single volume in 1844; but I suspect it is Arnold's short reference for the *Encyclopaedia Metropolitana* (28 vols., 1845), an encyclopaedia "on a methodical plan projected by Samuel Taylor Coleridge" and introduced by Coleridge's *Treatise on Method*, which was first published in 1818. The Bacon entry is straightforward. Bunsen's *Aegyptiens Stelle in Weltgeschichte* (5 vols., 1845-57) is connected with Arnold's interest in the Egyptian and Near-Eastern background of Greek thought and mythology, an interest which itself it is reasonable to connect with philosophies of history and notions of the mental development of mankind through successive definite stages under the influence of general laws. (See Cousin's eleventh lecture in his *Introduction à l'histoire de la philosophie* with its discussion of Vico, Herder, and Creuzer; and for Creuzer see also Arnold's fourth reading-list below.) Bunsen's work would have a special interest for Matthew Arnold since Christian Carl Josias von Bunsen was the intimate friend of Dr. Arnold — Tom Arnold speaks of his father's "passion of friendship" for "that truly remarkable and gifted man"¹⁹ — and had brought his family to stay with the Arnolds at Rugby and Fox How. "Bunsen's Egypt" may well have been a presentation copy from the author. Tom Arnold was presented with an inscribed copy of *Die Verfassung der Kirche der Zukunft* in 1847.

Reading-list III

To be read

From October 1845 to

Glanvil's *Vanity of Dog:*

Lucretius First 2 Books²⁰

Plato's *Phaedrus*

Cudworth's Int: System

Cousin Cours. vol: ii

Humboldt. *über die B.G.*

Stillingfleet Orig. Sac Part iii

Plato Menexenus. Lysis. Two Hippias. Ion

Descartes Methode

Montesquieu Grand & dec Romaine

Notes. This list occurs on the blank verso of the December page of the 1845 diary and covers reading during the Oxford Michaelmas term (see the rubric to the fifth reading-list). Glanvill's *The Vanity of Dogmatizing* (1661)²¹ is dis-

¹⁹ *Passages in a Wandering Life* (London, 1900), p. 30. Bunsen was Prussian Ambassador in London from 1842 to 1854. Tom Arnold recalls that from 1845 onwards "my brother and I were always sure of a welcome at the residence in Carlton Terrace."

²⁰ The figure crossed out is difficult to read. It could be "4."

²¹ C. B. Tinker and H. F. Lowry in *The Poetry of M. A.: A Commentary* (New York, 1940) inform us (p. 205) that Arnold's copy of Glanvill with the inscription "E Lib. M. Arnold 1844" is in the Yale Collection. Possibly Arnold bought the book casually for its title in 1844 but did not read it until he found Glanvill mentioned in Cousin. Cousin seems to deserve a little of the credit for "The Scholar Gipsy."

cussed in the twelfth and last lecture of the first volume of Cousin's *Cours de l'histoire de la philosophie du xviii^e siècle* (2 vols., 1829), which also contains in its sixth lecture a long discussion of the *Bhagavad Gita* (pp. 217-39). The discussion mentions the "profonde analyse" of the poem made by "M. Guillaume de Humboldt" in 1826 but does not say where it is to be found. "Cousin Cours. vol ii" contains lectures thirteen to twenty-five of the 1829 course, which are occupied with Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*.²² It appears then that Arnold must have read the first volume of the 1829 course after reading Cousin's *Introduction* but before he came to make this third reading list — without this supposition the Glanvill and Humboldt entries above would be mysterious. Humboldt's essay on the *Bhagavad Gita* first appeared in the *Transactions of the Royal Academy of the Sciences, Berlin, 1825* (1826) with the title "Über die unter dem Namen Bhagavad-Gita bekannte Episode des Mahá-Bhárata."²³ Cudworth's *The True Intellectual System of the Universe* (1678) is mentioned in Cousin immediately after the discussion of Glanvill, but Arnold may have intended to tackle Cudworth because he had discovered him in *Siris*, or simply because an important edition of *The True Intellectual System*, with Mosheim's notes and dissertations translated by John Harris, was published in three volumes in London in 1845. The Lucretius entry with its erasure suggests that Arnold read further in *De Rerum Natura* than he intended at first, though the appearance of Lucretius in the fifth reading-list may mean that he did not finish all six books before the Lent term of 1846. On the other hand the later entry may indicate re-reading. The note "Chew Lucretius" at the head of the list of poems to be composed in 1849²⁴ reminds us how closely he studied Lucretius and perhaps how early the idea of a poetic tragedy on this subject came into his mind. Plato's *Phaedrus* and Descartes' *Discours de la méthode* appear for the third time. Bishop Stillingfleet's *Origines Sacrae, or a Rational Account of the grounds of Christian Faith, as to the Truth and Divine Authority of the Scriptures, and the Matters therein contained* was published in 1662. (Stillingfleet was respected by his opponents in controversy for his love of truth and thought the form of church government a non-essential matter.) Of the earlier Platonic dialogues listed all but the *Menexenus*, which presumably was read at this time, appear again on the fifth reading-list. Arnold may have used Cousin's translation as a crib and for the sake of the "Arguments philosophiques" prefixed to the dialogues. Montesquieu's *Considérations sur les causes de la*

²² A letter to Clough of 23 Oct. 1850 (*Letters of M. A. to A. H. C.*, pp. 116-17) implies familiarity with Locke and a re-reading of the *Essay*: "I go to read Locke on the Conduct of the Understanding: my respect for the reason as the rock of refuge for this poor exaggerated surexcited humanity increases. Locke is a man who has cleared his mind of vain repetitions, though without the positive and vivifying atmosphere of Spinoza about him." Between 1845 and 1850 I think it is possible to trace Arnold's growing impatience with German idealism and with such writers as Schelling whom at first he found stimulating and to some extent sympathetic.

²³ In *Matthew Arnold and France* (p. 66) Mrs. Sells supposes that Arnold was led to the *Bhagavad Gita* by his reading of Obermann and traces his interest in Senancour, as we have seen, to the meeting with George Sand at Nohant in 1846. It is worth pointing out that Arnold's study of Cousin is a year earlier than the Nohant visit and that Cousin is undoubtedly the primary source of Arnold's interest in the "Oriental poem."

²⁴ The Yale Manuscript. See *Commentary*, p. 11.

grandeur et de la décadence des Romains (Amsterdam, 1734) is a classic of philosophical history.²⁵

Reading-list IV

Schelling Bruno
Plotinus
Plutarch's *Moralia*
Humboldt on the *Bhagavad Gita*
Herder's *Metakritik* to Kant's *Kritik*, Leipzig 1799
Creuzer's *Symbolik* etc.

Notes. This short list has no heading and is out of the chronological series formed by the other reading-lists. It is scrawled across two blank pages at the end of the 1845 diary and may have been made early in 1846. A French translation of Schelling's *Bruno, oder über das göttliche und natürliche Prinzip der Dinge* (1802, ed. 1843) was published in 1845 and reviewed in an article on German philosophy by Émile Saisset in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (February 1846, pp. 608-650). This article would be enough to explain Arnold's entry. Berkeley, Cudworth, and Cousin²⁶ may have decided him to explore Plotinus — there are hints of the *Enneads* in some of the 1849 poems. The Humboldt reference has been explained earlier. Herder's *Metakritik zur Kritik der reinen Vernunft* attacks Kant's separation of mental processes in favour of an essential unity of mind such as Arnold celebrates in his early sonnet "Written in Butler's Sermons." Creuzer's *Symbolik und Mythologie der alten Völker, besonders der Griechen* (1810-12) reached a third edition in four volumes between 1836 and 1842. Guigniaut's French translation with the title *Religions de l'antiquité, considérées principalement dans leurs formes symboliques et mythologiques* is commended by Cousin, who also speaks of Creuzer's leaving Herder "a long way behind" in the study of the history of religions.²⁷ The following quotation from Plutarch's "On Isis and Osiris" suggests the spirit in which Arnold looked into myths and early religions: "For nothing that is irrational or fabulous, or springing out of superstition (as some suppose), has been established in the religious rites but what has partly moral and salutary reasons, partly others not devoid of ingenuity in their bearings upon history and physics." Arnold's main interest in Plutarch's *Moralia* at this time seems to have been in the theosophical essays with their attempt to penetrate and interpret Egyptian religious beliefs and practices.

Reading-list V

To be read or finisht, Lent Term 1846

Plato's *Lysis*, 2 *Hippias & Ion*
College and University Latin Essay
G. Sand Isidora [?]

²⁵ "Ce n'est pas la fortune qui domine le monde . . . Il y a des causes générales, soit morales, soit physiques, qui agissent dans chaque monarchie, l'élèvent, la maintiennent, ou la précipitent" (Ch. 18).

²⁶ See the 8th lecture of the 1829 *Cours de l'histoire de la philosophie*.

²⁷ See the 11th lecture of the 1828 *Introduction à l'histoire de la philosophie*.

Remusat's Memoir
Biographia Litteraria vol. i.
Lucretius
Cudworth's Int: Syst:
Begin Kant's Kritik
Humboldt's Bhg:-Ghita
Montesquieu Grand et Decad:
S. T. Coleridge Appendix
Stillingfleet iii^a Part
Tacitus Agric. Germ:
Gioberti on Cousin

Notes. This list appears inside the front cover of the 1846 diary and repeats many items from previous lists: — the Platonic dialogues, Lucretius, Cudworth, Kant, Humboldt on the *Bhagavad Gita*, Montesquieu, Stillingfleet. No further comment is needed on any of these entries except to suggest that if Arnold read or started to read the *Critique of Pure Reason* in translation in 1845, "Begin Kant's Kritik" may refer to an attempt to read it in German. The George Sand title is doubtful, but her novel *Isidora* appeared in three volumes in 1846.²⁸ Two other entries present difficulties. Charles de Rémusat published in 1845 his *Abelard* (2 vols.) and his *De la philosophie allemande* (1 vol.). Neither of these works is strictly a memoir, but I think that Arnold meant to refer to the second, which was a report to the Academy of Moral Sciences. It is possible, however, that he meant to indicate the first volume of the *Abelard*, which was biographical.²⁹ The entry "S. T. Coleridge Appendix" below the *Biographia Literaria* entry would be simple if this reading-list were dated 1847. The second edition of the *Biographia Literaria* appeared in that year and in an appendix at the end of the first volume the notes are preceded by Coleridge's marginalia to his reading of various works by Schelling printed alongside the original or German passages. The second edition of the *Biographia Literaria* appeared early in 1847, but even if, as sometimes happens, copies of it were in circulation in December 1846, it is hard to see how Arnold could be referring to it in the spring of 1846. The first edition of the *Biographia Literaria* (2 vols., 1817) has no appendix of any kind. The remaining entries are straightforward. The works by Tacitus are the *Agricola* and *Germania*. Translations into French of two attacks by the Abbé V. Gioberti on Cousin were published in the early 1840's: *Le Panthéisme de M. Cousin exposé par lui-même* (1842) and *Considérations sur les doctrines religieuses de M. Victor Cousin* (1844). The "Chronique de la quinzaine" in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for 15 June 1844 gives some idea of Gioberti's manner in controversy.

Reading-list VI

Read or begin 1847
Schelling's Essay on the Plastic

²⁸ The title on the reading-list seems to begin with an "I" and is about the right length.

²⁹ "Rémusat's Abelard" appears on Arnold's reading-list for January 1858. See *Notebooks*, p. 563.

Michelet Hist. France: 1, 2
Beranger
Bouille's Memoirs
Hyg: *Fabularum Liber* [P]
Carlyle's Miscell;
Arist: Poetics

Notes. This final list appears at the end of the 1847 diary. Schelling's *The Philosophy of Art: an Oration on the Relation between the Plastic Arts and Nature* appeared in an English translation by A. Johnson in 1845. The first two volumes of Michelet's *Histoire de France* (I, *Origines de la France*; II, *Tableau de la France*) were published in 1833 and 1834. (Arnold's interest in Michelet, who was influenced by Cousin and was a student of Vico and Herder, must have been stimulated by meeting him in Paris in 1847.³⁰) Under 6 February Arnold's 1847 diary has the entry "bought Béranger" and in December 1847 he writes to Clough, "I have got you the Paris diamond edition of Beranger, like mine."³¹ His enthusiasm for Béranger's poetry was rather short-lived. J. C. Shairp remembers him at Oxford "chaunting with jaunty air / Great words of Goethe, catch of Béranger,"³² but by September 1848 "there is something 'fade' about Beranger's Epicureanism."³³ The Marquis de Bouille's *Mémoires sur la révolution française depuis son origine jusqu'à la retraite du duc de Brunswick* were published in 1801. "Hyg:" is clearly Hyginus, the "Latin mythographer of uncertain date" whom Arnold makes use of in his Preface to *Merope* (1858), so that the unreadable title following the name must be the *Fabularum Liber*, "a series of short mythological legends, with an introductory genealogy of divinities." Aristotle's *Poetics* needs no explanation. Carlyle's *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*, first collected in 1839, reached a third edition in 1847. "Signs of the Times," "Characteristics," and various pieces on German literature would be of special interest to Arnold.

ARNOLD CONFESSED TO CLOUGH in May 1853, "I feel immensely — more and more clearly — what I want — what I have (I believe) lost and choked by my treatment of myself and the studies to which I have addicted myself. But what ought I to have done in preference to what I have done? there is the question."³⁴ There can be little doubt that in this *cri de cœur* "the studies to which I have addicted myself" are the philosophical and related studies reflected in Arnold's six early reading-lists. Without deciding whether or not he was right in thinking that these studies had harmed him as a poet, the motive for them is easily grasped. A passage from "Heinrich Heine" provides a convenient text.

³⁰ See Arnold's letter to Michelet of 10 Apr. 1859: "Permettez-moi de vous rappeler qu'en 1847 J'eus l'honneur de vous être présenté par Monsieur Philareète Chasles . . ." The quotation is from J. M. Carré's "Michelet et l'Angleterre," *Revue de Littérature Comparée*, IV (1924), 302, which is cited by Louis Bonnerot in his *Matthew Arnold: Poète* (Paris, 1947), p. 43, n. 5.

³¹ *Letters of M. A. to A. H. C.*, p. 63.

³² "Balliol Scholars, 1840-1843" in *Glen Dessoray and Other Poems* (1888), p. 218.

³³ *Letters of M. A. to A. H. C.*, p. 92. Arnold is writing to Clough from Switzerland.

³⁴ *Letters of M. A. to A. H. C.*, p. 136.

Modern times find themselves with an immense system of institutions, established facts, accredited dogmas, customs, rules, which have come to them from times not modern. In this system their life has to be carried forward; yet they have a sense . . . that it by no means corresponds exactly with the wants of their actual life, that, for them, it is customary, not rational. The awakening of this sense is the awakening of the modern spirit . . . To remove this want of correspondence is beginning to be the settled endeavour of most persons of good sense. Dissolvents of the old European system of dominant ideas and facts we must all be.³⁵

The basic work of renovation was in the spheres of religion and politics. To Matthew Arnold these spheres were certainly connected, but, unlike his brother Tom, who felt on coming down from Oxford that both kinds of renovation affected him personally and must shape his life, Matthew was concerned intimately at this period of his life primarily with the religious problem. The missionary impulse in social matters, so evident later when the poetic power had waned, was kept in check in the late 1840's by his conception of the poet as a detached spectator ("Resignation"), by some pessimism about the limits of possible social action ("To a Republican Friend," 1 and 2), and perhaps by a certain coldness of temperament, but the religious problem could not be similarly put aside. Arnold's preoccupation with it was not abstract and theoretical, but personal and practical — "a distinct seeing of my way as far as my own nature is concerned."³⁶ The vacuum left as early as 1845 by the loss of belief in orthodox Christianity had to be filled and, as Arnold says, "woe was upon me if I analysed not my situation."³⁷ The reading-lists enumerate some of the instruments used in this analysis.

Arnold's scepticism was always reluctant: his philosophical and allied reading in the 1840's was carried out in an attempt to salvage what he could from the wreckage of his childhood beliefs. The new ideal was Goethean — the man of culture, the many-sided man harmoniously developing all his powers — but under the Oxonian mask of dandyism Arnold was glad to retain most of the old earnestness of Fox How. This is not to deny the exhilaration attending the early reading of *Wilhelm Meister*, Emerson's essays, and the novels of George Sand, or the genuine feeling of emancipation experienced by Arnold and his friends at this time, but it may suggest how quick he was to discover an ethical principle underlying the naturalism of his new world. This principle is expressed in Arnold's own adaptation of a sentence by Spinoza: "Non studemus, ut natura nobis, sed contra ut nos naturae pareamus (Our desire is not that nature may obey us, but, on the contrary, that we may obey nature.)" and the severe sense in which we are to take the maxim is exemplified in a quotation from "Spinoza and the Bible": "For a mind like Goethe's — a mind . . . passionately aspiring after the science . . . of universal nature, — the popular philosophy which explains all things by reference to man, and regards universal nature as existing for the sake of man . . . was utterly repulsive . . . Creation, he thought, should be made of sterner stuff . . . More than any

³⁵ *Essays in Criticism*, 1st Ser. (London, 1883), pp. 159-160. The Heine lecture was delivered in June 1863.

³⁶ *Letters of M. A. to A. H. C.*, p. 110; 23 Sept. 1849.

³⁷ *Letters of M. A. to A. H. C.*, p. 126; 14 Dec. 1852.

philosopher who has ever lived, Spinoza satisfied him here" (*Essays in Criticism*, 1st Ser., p. 333). Arnold could have written this about himself in 1850. It was Goethe who led him to Spinoza, but Victor Cousin was his mentor for much of his other philosophical reading and introduced him to the *Bhagavad Gita*. Arnold's interest in the Indian poem is already in 1847 — and before he had any first-hand knowledge of Spinoza — an inclination towards an immanentist view of deity and, in consequence, ethically speaking, towards detachment from a phenomenal self occupied exclusively with selfish needs and wishes.

Running parallel to the development of the ideas that we have been discussing, Arnold's concern with mythology and with what we should now call comparative religion is in accordance with Goethe's "Der Aberglaube ist die Poesie des Lebens" (*Maximen und Reflexionen*) and with his own conviction that for all men but the philosopher the few really essential religious truths are invariably built in every age into a vast fanciful superstructure, which may nevertheless contain treasures of practical wisdom. The history of religions should be treated as a branch of philosophical history, Arnold thought, and in this subject he was also interested in a more general way. His play with the conception of a *Zeitgeist*, a topic on which Mr. Fraser Neiman has written so excellently,³⁸ shows him attracted by the idea of inevitable historical development, although it is uncertain how far in any age he supposed political institutions, economic life, and religious beliefs to be determined. It may be an example of Arnold's tact that in this instance he knew when not to be curious.

These conclusions do not by any means exhaust the significance of the six early reading-lists for the study of Matthew Arnold,³⁹ but they should be enough to emphasize the striking continuity between the young poet of the 1840's and the author of *Essays in Criticism*, *Culture and Anarchy*, and *Literature and Dogma*. His thinking is surprisingly consistent over the years, perhaps because its unity is more a matter of temperament than of logic.

KENNETH ALLOTT

Liverpool University

³⁸ PMLA, LXXII (1957), 977-996.

³⁹ Dr. A. J. Lubell of the College of the City of New York, who has also examined the reading-lists, is now completing a paper on Arnold's early mental development which should be of very great interest. He has read my article in advance of publication and has been good enough to allow me to reproduce his comments. Dr. Lubell stresses "the contrast between these booklists, which are heavily, if not entirely, philosophical and religious, and the booklists in the *Notebooks*, where philosophers hardly appear." He believes that Arnold's "loss of religious faith in his early years was a determining experience"; that the interest in philosophy and comparative religion revealed in the 1845-47 lists "was the basis of Arnold's later reconstruction of the world and society, the foundation of his emergent rationalism"; and that the thinkers represented in the lists, "along with Spinoza and Epictetus possibly," are the "rigorous teachers" of "Stanzas from the Grande Chartreuse," ll. 67-70. With all this I am broadly in sympathetic agreement. Dr. Lubell thinks that "agnosticism with a religious flavour" is too weak a phrase to do justice to the Lucretian element in Arnold's thought in 1850. It may well be so. The problem for me has been to determine how much more than an imaginative assent Lucretius won from Arnold (clearly, it was *something more*), and it is probably this that makes me chary of being more positive.



:

268 *Morton Dauwen Zabel* : Henry James and H. G. Wells ed. EDEL AND RAY

273 *Edward McWhinney* : The Vinerian Chair and Legal Education by H. G. HANBURY

275 *Henri Peyre* : Taine's Notes on England ed. HYAMS
: Journeys to England and Ireland by A. DE TOCQUEVILLE
ed. MAYER

277 *Arthur J. Taylor* : The British Paper Industry, 1495-1860 by D. C. COLEMAN
: The British Tinplate Industry by W. E. MINCHINTON
: The Rise of the British Rubber Industry
during the Nineteenth Century by WILLIAM WOODRUFF
: Men and Machines by CHARLES WILSON AND WILLIAM READI

279 *T. C. Barker* : Technical Education and Social Change
by STEPHEN F. COTGROVE

280 *M. G. Brock* : The House of Lords in the Age of Reform, 1784-1837
by A. S. TURBERVILLE

282 *J. M. Cameron* : Three Cardinals: Newman, Wiseman, Manning
by E. E. REYNOLDS

283 *F. G. Young* : Florence Nightingale and the Doctors by ZACHARY COPE

:

Henry James and H. G. Wells: A Record of their Friendship, their Debate on the Art of Fiction, and their Quarrel, edited by LEON EDEL and GORDON N. RAY; pp. 272. University of Illinois Press: Urbana, Ill., 1958, \$3.50; Hart-Davis: London, 1958, 21s.

Literary Reviews and Essays, on American, English, and French Literature, by HENRY JAMES, edited by ALBERT MORDELL; pp. 409. Twayne: New York, 1957, \$10.00; Burns and MacEachern: Toronto, 1957, \$12.50.

THE FICTION OF the past century — like modern writing generally — offers a large variety of authors in antithetical pairs: rivals or opponents in art and theory who illustrate the hostility of elements, oppositions of purpose, diversity of craft and principle, that mark the art of the past hundred years beyond that of any earlier time. The novel, English and American as much as French or Russian, exhibits these antitheses as emphatically as modern verse: one has only to match Trollope with Pater, Kipling with Wilde, Dreiser with Willa Cather, Bennett with Virginia Woolf, Joyce with Lawrence, Hemingway with Wolfe, Lewis with Faulkner — as in fact several of these writers have themselves done on polemical or defensive occasions — to realize the continuous drama of divided aims and antagonisms that characterizes the craft in its modern evolution. The drama was never more pointedly underscored than by the friendship, relations, and conflict between Henry James and H. G. Wells during the years between 1890 and 1920 when the issues basic to twentieth-century fiction were coming to their head, were most hotly debated, and were finally most irreconcilably resolved. That James and Wells were destined to meet as friends, respond to each other with mutual curiosity and respect, carry on a seventeen-year correspondence, and end their relations in a public quarrel, has all the appearance of an appointed fate. Without it the record of modern English fiction would be incomplete. With their relations now presented in a full chronicle of letters and essays, excellently edited, that record arrives at one of its most definitive and significant chapters. Drawn together by the law which attracts opposites, the two men were bound to come to a parting of their ways. When the parting came in 1914-15, it took the form of a public chal-

lenge and riposte that brought to a climax the irreconcilable forces that had animated the English novel throughout its development in the preceding century, and that continue to disturb it in ours.

James, having schooled himself as a young critic and novelist in a systematic study of the French, English, and American exponents of his craft — Mr. Mordell's new collection of his early reviews adds further evidence on the zeal of his scrutiny — remained throughout his career avid in his search for new talent and discovery in its practitioners, more urgently so when such talent issued from an experience or purpose unlike his own than when it took the form of resemblance or understudy. In the 1860's and '70's he had been, however critically disposed, fully as absorbed by writers like George Sand, Turgenev, Zola, Flaubert, the Goncourts, Mérimée, and Feuillet as by his acknowledged masters, Hawthorne and George Eliot; and he remained more seriously taxed by these models than he ever became by such associates or disciples as Howells, Constance Woolson, Mrs. Ward, Edith Wharton, and Howard Sturgis. Some law of his nature, some impulse of his curiosity, attracted him to his adversaries or dissimilars. Having at twenty-two denounced the examples of Dickens and Whitman, he reconciled himself to them in his later years. In the 'eighties he succumbed to the spell of Stevenson, in the 'nineties to the "potent appeals" of men as diverse in origin as Kipling, Conrad, and D'Annunzio. The appearance on the scene of Wells — Wells with his ebullience, cocksureness, scientific faith, fantastic or comedic invention, social and moral "cheek" — struck him as a case of flint to the tinder of an art whose prevailing condition of desiccation, doubt, and impasse he fully sensed in the years before and after 1900. The attraction was mutual, classic, historical; inevitably it was doomed to discord and recrimination. Among the quantities of James' work recovered during the past decade — his plays and drama criticism, his writings on art, his *Parisian Sketches* of 1875-76, his essays of travel, his early reviews — his controversy with Wells certainly forms one of the most salient installments, in effect the crucial critical episode of his last twenty years. As for Wells, none of the contention, polemic, or prophecy

in which he so freely and recklessly indulged during his fifty years of authorship brought him closer to the central test and issue of his writer's vocation than his relations and quarrel with James. The present volume thus forms a major chapter in the careers of both men. More than that, it forms a radical chapter in the history of modern fiction.

The two seem to have met first in 1898, but three years earlier, in January 1895, Wells had witnessed, as a tyro critic for the *Pall Mall Gazette*, James' public discomfiture before the jeering gallery at the first night of *Guy Domville* and had reported the occasion in his second effort as a play reviewer. Once the two novelists found themselves living at close quarters in Sussex and Kent — James at Rye, Wells at Sandgate — closer relations quickly developed, and they were soon speeding their books to one another in the rapid succession possible to such prolific producers. James, having emerged from the fiasco of his dramatic ambitions which Wells recorded in the first two items included in the present book, was now writing the six books of the later 'nineties that were carrying him into his "major phase" and "later manner." Wells was pouring forth his tales, scientific fantasies, social comedies, and was thus approaching his most productive decade as a social historian. The record of their interchanges — even apart from the hours of "endless talk" which "there was no Boswell to record" — is regrettably incomplete. Of Wells' letters to James only eleven have survived because of the American's resolution in burning most of his correspondence, as against the forty-six from James to Wells which were preserved by the archivistic zeal of Mrs. Wells. To render the account with all possible fairness, the present editors have therefore included, as a balance to James' letters and his essay on "The Younger Generation" from the *Times Literary Supplement* of 1914 (later included with revisions as "The New Novel" in *Notes on Novelists, 1914*), two long excerpts from Wells' *Experiment in Autobiography* of 1934 (his account of the *Guy Domville* evening and the chapter "Digression about Novels"), his *Pall Mall Gazette* review of the play, his essay on "The Contemporary Novel" of 1911, and the notorious chapter lampooning and parodying James in *Boon*, of 1915. The picture is thus fairly rounded, and it may be said

that few of its kind are on record, make a more engrossing debate, or offer an equal drama of the forces at odds in the writing of the early twentieth century.

Since so much of Wells' own part in the argument is retrospective, it is somewhat difficult to define the relations of the two men at the outset of their friendship. That Wells, like most young writers of his period, respected the older writer, was alternately awed and amused by him, and was certainly flattered by James' attention, seems clear. His torrential bestowal of his books testifies as much. So do his repeated, if terse, words of homage (terse by comparison with James' elaborate courtesies); and so does his obedient reconsideration of "The Turn of the Screw" on 16 January 1899 ("The story is not wrong — I was. My conversion was accompanied by the profound conviction of sin and culminated in the small hours. . . . It isn't at all a lovely story but I treated it with a singularly vulgar lack of respect, and if you were not a novelist I should doubt of your forgiveness"), or his remark to Arnold Bennett on 19 September 1902 about *The Wings of the Dove* ("a book to read and learn from. There are things in it you couldn't do, I couldn't do, nobody could do but James"). So likewise does the visible and never fully allayed discomfort with which he tried to square his attack of 1915 in his later writings. Yet it is apparent that Wells never presented himself as a disciple. His review of *Guy Domville* established an essential divergence of feeling and sympathy concerning literature well before the two men met. Wells had already found his masters elsewhere, and they were not, usually, artists or men of letters.

James, on the other hand, was little given to requiring discipleship of his friends, admirers, or adherents. It is questionable if any of his close writer-friends, from Howells, Stevenson, Sturgis, Conrad, and Mrs. Wharton, to Walpole, Mackenzie, and the quasi-protégés of his final decade, were regarded or written to by him as such, however indulgently, critically, enthusiastically, or guardedly he may have expressed himself as the official *maitre*. What he saw in Wells was what, in another sense, he had shortly earlier seen in Kipling, or more seriously in Conrad: a spring of the fresh energy, unexploited "experience," creative resource, capacity in in-

vention and authenticity of sensibility, which he felt to be a continuous requirement of fiction, against whatever severity of selection, economy, or discipline he may have advocated.

There worked in James a radical and fruitful contradiction, which his attack on "saturation" in the 1914 essay, his aspersions on Tolstoy and Dostoevsky as "fluid puddings," and his general warnings against free invention and unlicensed appetite tend to obscure. Much as he might indict Tolstoy as the "great illustrative master-hand on all this ground of disconnection of method from matter"; heavily though he might apply his simile of the "squeezed orange" to the fecund young novelists of 1914; sharply as he came to criticize Wells himself as an exponent of "so much life with (so to speak) so little living," he had from the first responded heartily to sheer capacity and prodigality in fiction. It shows in his lifelong devotion to Balzac; in his recognition of the "force of pure substance" in Zola; in his eventual recognition of how Dickens had "laid his hand on us in a way to undermine as in no other case the power of detached appraisalism" ("no other debt in our time had been piled so high"); in his eager response to the "rattle of high spirits," the freedom of "vicarious experience," the "active, disinterested sense of the real," the "blessing" of "the sum of the feeling of life as reproduced by innumerable natures," in the early Kipling. "Abundance, certainly, is in itself a great merit," he said of Trollope, "almost all the greatest writers have been abundant." The principle shows in his cardinal statements on his own art: on fiction as revealing that "humanity is immense, and reality has a myriad forms," and that "experience is never limited, and it is never complete"; on criticism as requiring the critic "to lend himself, to project himself and steep himself, to feel and feel till he understands, and . . . to have perception at the pitch of passion and expression as embracing as the air, to be infinitely curious and incorrigibly patient, and yet plastic and inflammable and determinable"; on the artist himself as one who aims "to live in the world of creation — to get into it and stay in it — to frequent it and haunt it — to think intensely and fruitfully — to woo combinations and inspirations into being by a depth and continuity of at-

tention." Even if these arguments or counsels were likely to end in warnings against unbridled imagination, cumulative documentation, failure of form or selection, there worked in James what seems bound to work in any devotee of fiction: a passion for sensory, emotional, and imaginative fecundity; a recognition of the fact that art without substance ensures sterility; a fear of the exhausted inspiration or failure of authority which results from the desiccation of the vital matter on which fiction depends for its life and its future.

Wells offered himself as an example of such fertility, and James' letters to him during the first ten years of their relationship sound continuously with his amazement, exhilaration, incredulity, and delight before the mere phenomenon of the younger man's energy. There was little apparent condescension in his enthusiasm. "James," as the editors rightly say, "welcomed [Wells] as a confrère and an equal, insisting only on their difference in age and experience." His welcome was given some rigorous buffeting. Books came from Wells at intervals of six, eight, twelve months; and with his magisterial observance of literary and fraternal ceremony, James seems to have replied to each with effusive gratitude, lengthy appreciation, elaborate critical discussion, ingeniously oblique reservation, and brotherly soundings of warning and caution. In fact, readers of the letters today must be as surprised by his generosity as by anything. He found it possible to be cordial or enthusiastic about books — not only the finer *Kipps*, *Tono-Bungay*, *Love and Mr. Lewisham*, and *The New Machiavelli*, but *The Wheels of Chance*, *The Sea Lady*, *The First Men of the Moon*, *Mankind in the Making*, *A Modern Utopia* — which the hardened posterity of the 1950's would find it difficult to read, let alone praise. Only when he became worn by the spate and barrage of Wells' fertility did his response begin to flag, falter, and rebel — and then it did so more explicitly to his other correspondents than it did to Wells himself. It was not until 1914 that his sterner judgment took charge, and then in a form which the fractious touchiness of the literary temperament can seldom forgive — by mixing Wells, as the latter put it, in "a bundle with a company of young

men of questionable quality as one of the Younger Reputations."

But he was dealing with an organism more complex and touchy than even his piercing sympathy permitted him to fathom. Slowly, ceremoniously, cumulatively, his reservations made their effect on the prodigy to whom he addressed himself. That prodigy, outwardly so cocksure, recalcitrant, and self-confident, was a man beset by radical conflicts and confusions of nature. He was not only a man who had lifted himself by sheer intellectual aggressiveness and personal spunk out of the servant class in which he had been born, the contrast of whose struggles with James' life of assured station, cosmopolitan ease, and cultured latitude was bound eventually to grate. He was a writer who sensed and recognized the aesthetic authority and serenity of genius with which his own headlong ambition, reformatory impatience, hunger for social and public leadership, were bound to remain at odds. In these years before he explicitly abdicated from literature and announced himself a "journalist" (and apparently long afterward as well), Wells was a man severely divided; and the division — Anthony West has defined it cogently in one of his recent essays on his father — was eventually to bring him to a point of crisis, a belligerent attack on the aesthetic principle, and finally to a condition of mind that must have been the most deep-seated disgruntlement and self-censure he ever arrived at — the introverted disgust and sullen disappointment of his final decades. The "secure and masterly *finish*" of James' "golden globe of leisurely (yet not slow) and infinitely *easy* accomplishment" became an unbearable reproach to a confessed producer of literary "abortions" and "premature births," of the "turbid confusion, the strain and violence," he admitted his books increasingly to show. No dedication to literature as *engagé*, no defiant espousal of journalism, no visions of world influence and World State, could wholly allay the distress his ebullience masked. Appreciative as he could be of letters that mingled "so much heartening kindness with the wisest, most penetrating and guiding of criticism and reproof," or of his "connexion with [James'] beautiful fine abundant mind," he must have come to feel his association as an intolerable ordeal of conscience.

And as one of Wells' friends put it in another connection, "what man wants to live with his conscience?" "I bothered him and he bothered me," was the way Wells himself put his "profound and incurable difference and contrast" with James in his autobiography. The botherment was constitutional to each of them. And it must be admitted that if James' cordiality was put to excruciating tests by Wells' fluency, Wells' respect was put to equally severe tests by James' dissections. James' raspingly reiterated charges of "cheek" and "cheekiness," his deftly cushioned baitings and quibbles, were likely, given the age-old rawness to resentment of the literary profession and Wells' own keenness to social condescension, to rattle sensibilities less vulnerable to a sense of social and artistic inferiority than Wells' were.

When the explosion at last came with Wells' lampoon in *Boon* — when James found himself likened to "leviathan retrieving pebbles" or "a magnificent but painful hippopotamus resolved at any cost, even at the cost of its dignity, upon picking up a pea which has got into a corner of its den," and his art portrayed as "a church lit but without a congregation to distract you, with every light and line focused on the high altar" and "on the altar, very reverently placed, intensely there, is a dead kitten, an egg-shell, a bit of string" — James said, in his first measured reply, that "I am by nature more in dread of any fool's paradise . . . than in love with the idea of a security proved, and the fact that a mind as brilliant as yours *can* resolve me into such an unmitigated mistake . . . makes me greatly want to fix myself, for as long as my nerves will stand it, with such a pair of eyes." Wells had been fixed by such eyes for eighteen years. The fact that he admitted their penetration of his confusions and recklessness was no insurance against the snapping of his own nerves. One is left to wonder that both sets of nerves held out as long as they did.

The break came in 1914. James' essay in *The Times* goaded Wells into elaborating his originally innocuous reference to James in *Boon* into a crude, tedious, and scurrilous travesty. James' tentative response (6 July 1915) brought from Wells a lame defense and apology (8 July). James then rose to full height in a second letter that was final in the given terms of the argument (10 July),

ascending to one of the most eloquent rallies of defense on behalf of his art and his half-century of dedication to it that he ever penned. A round of emphatic personal censure ended grandly in a defiant "aesthetic war-cry": "It is art that *makes* life, makes interest, makes importance, for our consideration and application of these things, and I know of no substitute whatever for the force and beauty of its process." Wells returned to the subject after James' death eight months later, but his uneasy rationalizations in later years make weak reading today. Indeed, except for the honesty of his early review of *Guy Domville* and his deeply felt letter to James on his brother William's death in August 1910, his performance in these letters and documents makes an unimpressive showing of the offhand and the unconsidered. The debate and the seventeen-year friendship both came to their appointed close in 1915.

But not to an end. The argument the relationship defines has returned repeatedly in the writing and criticism of modern fiction. It was pertinent before 1914; it became an open battleground during the 1920's and '30's; it is as relevant as ever to the condition of insecurity, antagonism, and impasse in the novel today. It is important and indispensable that the argument should be presented now, in the living, intimate, spark-striking language of two men who in their time represented their art at its poles, and who discussed and exercised it, not in the sterile terms of theory and abstract analysis, but in the active language of their craft and consciences. It is a further gratification to have the debate laid out — following the partial, slighter, or inadequate versions of it hitherto available — by two editors as informed, as scrupulous, and as balanced in sympathy as the Messrs. Edel and Ray. James and Wells in the first instance assured their argument of classic rank. They have now found editors who have taken pains to preserve that status for it, and to make one of the most fascinating books on the art of fiction to appear in our century.

Albert Mordell is an old devotee and archivist of James. Except for LeRoy Phillips, the pioneer Jamesian bibliographer and collector of the *Views and Reviews* of the years 1865-91 in 1908, and for Percy Lub-

ock in his editions of the posthumous novels, wartime essays (*Within the Rim*, 1918), and unreprinted fiction (1921-23), Mr. Mordell was the first to reassemble James' out-of-print early stories as early as 1919-20 (*A Landscape Painter* and *Master Eustace*) and to give first book-form to the seven early tales of 1866-74 in *Travelling Companions* in 1919. He also promoted the book publication of *Gabrielle de Bergerac* in 1918, and has rendered other services to the cause. His present large volume was in the making for many years. Its original plans for inclusion were partially circumvented by Pierre de Chaignon la Rose's *Notes and Reviews* in 1921, as also by such more recent assemblages of James' journalism as Allen Wade's *The Scenic Art* (1948), John L. Sweeney's *The Painter's Eye* (1956), Mr. Edel's *The American Essays of Henry James* and *The Future of the Novel* (both 1956), and his and Ilse Dusoir Lind's delightful gathering (1957) of the *Parisian Sketches* James wrote for the *New York Tribune* in 1875-76. But the mine of James' reviews, uncollected essays, and random journalism is a deep one. In spite of his frustrating deletions of already edited items, Mr. Mordell's project still offers sixty-two pieces on French, English, and American books and writers, ranging from 1865 to 1884. They come from the *North American Review*, the *Atlantic Monthly*, the *Galaxy*, and the *Nation*, the journals of James' critical and fictional apprenticeship, with two added from the *Independent* and the *English Illustrated Magazine* and two from the *Tribune*. Nor is the quarry yet exhausted. A considerable quantity of travel reviews and sketches and of miscellaneous criticism remains to be disinterred.

The present volume is a rather rough affair in format and printing, with some slips in proofreading to which all editors however scrupulous are liable, and others in expression and reference which perhaps attest the loving devotee rather than the scholarly editor. The essays are equally divided between French and English-American literature. Some show James grappling with the boring assignments and routine tests of the workaday reviewer — reports on prose or verse by Harriet Beecher Stowe, Louisa May Alcott, Julian Hawthorne, Mary Powell, George Barnett Smith, Julia Ward Howe, Florence Percy, Amanda T.

Jones. (Apparently he was never given the chance in his reviewing days to discuss the two poetesses to whom he pays tribute in his biography of W. W. Story — Grace Green-wood and Fanny Fern: "two lovely names, one so sweetly, majestically sad, the other fairly inviting you to tumble with its bearer in the woodland undergrowth.") Yet in these items, hardly less than in the more serious reviews, James is found writing with all the zest, exhilaration, poise, and freshness that characterize his early work even in its most random or journeyman moments. Indeed, one is tempted to call him the most stimulating and refreshing reviewer of the last century, with Bernard Shaw as his one British challenger to the claim. But some of these pieces are much more than random or marginal to his production. There are five essays on Taine, three on Sainte-Beuve, one on Renan, two on Gautier, three on George Sand, two on Hugo (*La Légende des Siècles* and *Quatre-vingt-treize*), two on the Goncourts, two on Mérimée, one each on Daudet and Stendhal, a brilliant one on Turgenev's *Virgin Soil* and a classic deflation of Flaubert's *Tentation de Saint Antoine*, which are indispensable to any study of James' interpretation of French and European literature in the early years when the schools of Paris were his major academy of art and theory. There are four reviews of Howells, dating from 1868 to 1874, that do much to substantiate James' otherwise more personal and testimonial statements on the closest of his American colleagues. There are reviews of Carlyle's version of *Wilhelm Meister*, of Hardy's *Far from the Madding Crowd* (included by Mr. Edel in *The Future of the Novel*), and a long essay on Matthew Arnold which take their place among James' major critical *loci* and assessments. There are lesser pieces on Disraeli, Byron, Mrs. Browning, George Eliot, Parkman, and Froude which must be taken into any account of James' progress as a critical thinker and intelligence during his first two decades in authorship.

Cornelia Pulsifer Kelly was the first to make use of these early reviews in her pioneer study of the *Early Development of Henry James* in 1930. The many students who are now following in her traces will be grateful to Mr. Mordell for sparing them the pains of rummaging in the dusty files and crackling

volumes of the muniment rooms or straining their eyesight over microfilm. The large amount of such rummaging he has done himself sometimes clutters his services. There is a good deal of irrelevance and *curiosa* in his commentary, and an appendix given over to a "psycho-analytic interpretation" of "Madame de Mauves" were better away: it calls for no space in a book of this kind. Yet his zeal and patience call for recognition, if only because they provide occasion for the pleasure, stimulation, and gratitude that are owing to James himself for having kept his early powers up to so exhilarating a pitch in this marginal work, for showing how serious an occasion for excellent writing and perception a book-review can be, and for having made these brilliant contributions to the causes of journalism and criticism in a period when neither of them flourished or was held in anything approaching James' respect by most of its practitioners.

MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL
University of Chicago

The Vinerian Chair and Legal Education, by H. G. HANBURY; pp. 256. Blackwell: Oxford, 1958, 35s.

THIS SOMETIMES DISCURSIVE but always interesting essay concerns the successive incumbents of the Vinerian Chair of Law at Oxford since the Chair was founded in 1758. Because it has been written by the eleventh (and incumbent) Vinerian professor, the essay might at first sight seem to be a rather extended personal conceit. The justification for such a work, however, lies in the historical significance of Oxford in university legal education (though not, be it noted, in general professional legal education) until comparatively recent times. Oxford was the temple of academic English law, and the Vinerian professors were the high priests of the cult. They were, in Max Weber's words, the *honoratores* — dignitaries, leaders of intellectual style — of the law. The history of the Vinerian Chair thus reflects rather closely the general condition of academic legal education in England over the past two centuries — both the occasional intervals of genuine greatness and the more frequent and certainly longer-sustained eras of relative inefficiency or mediocrity.

The Vinérian Chair can boast two recognisedly "great" men — its first incumbent, Sir William Blackstone (Vinerian professor from 1758 to 1766), and its seventh incumbent, Albert Venn Dicey (1882 to 1909). There was one other, the legal historian Sir William Holdsworth (ninth incumbent, 1922 to 1944), who may have suffered a little, in his latter-day reputation, by the rather inevitable comparisons of his own particular intellectual achievements to those of his Cambridge contemporary, Maitland, but who nevertheless probably deserves the accolade "near great." With the two most recent holders of the Chair, Cheshire and Hanbury, now excepted, it can be said that the remaining incumbents were largely second-rate men. Indeed, the five who intervened between Blackstone and Dicey were positively incompetent — a collection of nonentities who quite deservedly remain forgotten at the present day: Professor Hanbury himself rather euphemistically refers to the century or more of their dominium as the "period of eclipse." The explanation for this rather sorry condition of university legal education at a time when England was otherwise flowering — politically, economically, and militarily — is to be found in the fact that the *locus* of legal change was always elsewhere. The prime responsibility for legal education was still centred in the professionally-controlled Inns of Court; and the main impetus for law reform was located in the sovereign legislature, particularly when it was activated by the Benthamite liberal impulse, as it was especially after the passage of the First Reform Bill in 1832. It is not surprising that the Oxford Law Faculty was intellectually becalmed over this same period. Because of their subjects many of the character portraits undertaken by Professor Hanbury are rather colourless and bloodless creations. His treatment of Blackstone is, to be sure, more lively and interesting, though he is perhaps a little unsure in his assessment of Blackstone's intellectual impact in the American colonies. Much the best sketch, however, is that of Dicey — the incomparable Dicey, unquestionably the most outstanding single figure in English law from Jeremy Bentham to the present day.

Professor Hanbury identifies the main features of Dicey's legal philosophy in the following terms: — "(1) he was a patriot, (2)

he was an imperialist, (3) he loved his fellow-men, (4) he was convinced of the power exercised by public opinion, (5) he was a Whig and an individualist." A more satisfactory definition of his complex and occasionally quite contradictory intellectual attitudes might be that they represented a somewhat uneasy blending of Burke and Bentham assisted at times by rather irrational personal prejudices which might lead him into occasional constitutional special pleading. From Bentham, Dicey clearly derived his central constitutional idea of the Sovereignty of Parliament — the legal supremacy of majority will as expressed through the popularly-elected legislature. It is this Benthamite element of Dicey's thinking, with its concomitant notion of a duty of judicial deference to the legislature (judicial "restraint," if you wish) which has found its way into American constitutional law (reinforcing indigenous American attitudes) through James Bradley Thayer and which has its present-day adherents, notably Thayer's intellectual disciples Learned Hand and Felix Frankfurter. On the other hand, Dicey's debt to Burke is clear in his other cardinal constitutional ideas: his emphasis on the role of evolving custom (or Convention) as a source of law; and his elaboration of the "Rule of Law," defined for these purposes as a set of judicially-created, judicially-enforced postulates or principles — rights of man — which no legislative or executive authority may abridge. The twin notions — the Sovereignty of Parliament and the Rule of Law — the classical antinomy of English constitutional law, march rather uneasily together, sometimes the one being dominant and sometimes the other. The concept of the Sovereignty of Parliament was especially attuned to the Roman era of British and Imperial politics, when all governmental authority in the Empire was pyramidal and rules needed, to receive the accolade of "law" (in Austinian language), only a determinate source and clarity and definiteness in their formulation. The concept of the Rule of Law gains additional strength in constitutional law thinking at the present day with the resurgence of Natural Law ideas in legal philosophy. As the problems of control of governmental arbitrariness and intolerance become paramount in the eras of the Welfare State and of the

Garrison State, Natural Law finds some adherents in England and the Commonwealth Countries (quite apart from the United States), and this in spite of the more obvious logical sterilities of Oxford's contemporary neo-Positivist group.

The occasional purely subjective, emotional aspects of Dicey's thinking about public law are to be found in such typical intellectual attitudes as his opposition to female suffrage, which he feared would lead in time to such "dire results" as full manhood suffrage and the admission of women to the Bench and to the Bar and to service on juries; in his rooted hostility to federalism, which he always mistrusted as a governmental form; and in his irrational hatred of the French *droit administratif* system (which he completely misunderstood), which led him, with disastrous and still-continuing consequences for English public law, to oppose any introduction of a system of separate administrative tribunals or other special administrative jurisdiction in England. And it was his diehard Ulster Protestantism which led him to join Sir William Anson, just before the outbreak of World War I, in asserting the constitutionality of a revival of the Royal prerogative power (by that time totally defunct since Queen Anne's day, more than two hundred years before) to refuse Royal assent to a Bill passed by Parliament, in this case the Bill conferring Home Rule on Ireland.

But these incidental prejudices and pettinesses, these contradictions of intellectual position have not impaired the establishment of the Dicey "myth" for countless thousands of English and Commonwealth law students since his time. (Dicey's *Law of the Constitution*, first published in 1885 and now in a ninth edition with many additional reprints, is still a basic student text in English and Commonwealth law schools.) For he taught and studied law in the Holmes' manner, in the "grand way," and in his faults and weaknesses of character as well as in his remarkable strengths Dicey clearly deserves to be ranked among the Eminent Victorians.

Readers of Professor Hanbury's book can hardly avoid being struck by the curious quirks or inanities of University elections that could make Dicey a unanimous choice as seventh Vinerian professor in 1882 yet, only two years later, deny him Maitland as a col-

league at All Souls and choose instead the unknown Thomas Raleigh, to be remembered today as the cause of Maitland's being lost irrevocably to Cambridge (Hanbury blames this particular choice on Oxford's characteristic extreme academic "inbreeding"); or that made Geldart the eighth Vinerian professor, after Dicey, in 1909, in preference to Holdsworth, though the two men were about the same age and Holdsworth was already established in his international reputation. It is not often the university administrations are given a chance to correct their blunders: Holdsworth was at last elected Vinerian professor, to follow Geldart, in 1922.

EDWARD McWHINNEY

University of Toronto

Taine's Notes on England, translated with an introduction by EDWARD HYAMS; pp. xxi + 296. Thames and Hudson: London, 1957, 25s.; Essential: Fair Lawn, N. J., 1958, \$6.00; Longmans: Toronto, 1957, \$5.00. Journeys to England and Ireland, by ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE, translated by GEORGE LAWRENCE and K. P. MAYER, edited by J. P. MAYER; pp. 246. Yale University Press: New Haven, Conn., 1958, \$4.50; Faber: London, 1958, 30s.

THE FRENCH HAVE always looked on the English as upon enigmatic, baffling, only half-human people and delighted in sending journalists, travelers, etchers, and caricaturists to report on the strange mores of their neighbors across the channel. Between Voltaire and Stendhal, and Morand or Maurois, Taine and Tocqueville occupy an enviable place among those observers of English life and analysts of the English temper. It is often asserted that Taine, the systematic mind par excellence, had all his ideas on Britain fully formed and coherently deduced from his postulates before he crossed the Channel, and that he merely undertook the trip to verify his set convictions. True it is that his *English Literature* reads like a stately train of conclusions from, or of illustrations of, a few assumptions. But great works are often composed according to a hypothesis, and if enriched by insight and incisively written, as Taine's account of English letters is, they tower far above more pragmatic and purely descriptive and exterior books of criticism.

Taine is a great critic (who made many mistakes, though fewer than Arnold or than Sainte-Beuve) and perhaps still the most important of Frenchmen to propose a body of critical ideas on how to approach literature and how to relate it to history and sociology. He stands high among the French Victorians who deserve to be reevaluated. Edmund Wilson and Harry Levin have already sketched some of the lineaments of such a revaluation.

Taine spent little time in England; he was there in 1859, perhaps again in 1862 and in 1871. But the freshest and often the keenest travel books by foreign observers have usually been written by travelers in a hurry, who grasped details fast and acutely and did not linger in the foreign land long enough to cease perceiving differences. He searched for general laws behind the details which he jotted down. He was enough of a Stendhalian and even of an artist to be struck by the concrete and to be amused by the idiosyncrasies of the English. But he always endeavored to understand and to categorize. Taine had far more humor than he is often credited with, and far more passion, as his correspondence and the discreet volumes of reminiscences by his nephew André Chevrillon, another profound analyst of the English, show. But he resisted the temptation to treat the quaintness of the English people with the amused condescension which has turned Colonel Bramble and Major Thompson into wooden stereotypes.

Taine's chapters on religion, on the industrial and mercantile spirit of Victorian England, on the miseries brought about by the industrial revolution, on the civic sense and the meek acceptance of hierarchy and of class by the British are excellent, even if they depict a country which has since changed more than it had in the three previous centuries. Much of the volume is impregnated with an admiring envy of a nation where the aristocracy had remained functional, where the conservatives had the good sense to effect liberal reforms, where men did not have to worry perpetually about the possible infidelity of their wives. A whole book might some day be written praising the ill-clothed and uncoquettish but resigned, modest, never unduly tempted women of England and of Germany as seen by Frenchmen. Lamartine,

Vigny, Tocqueville, Laforgue made the heroic decision to marry English wives so as to live securely as husbands; Taine and Bourget were rapturous in their eulogies of women across the Channel, tending to their flower beds and patiently awaiting their husbands' return from the golf course or from the Club. Charles de Villers, the author of an "Erotique comparée," Benjamin Constant, Edgar Quinet and many a Frenchman of this war-ridden century have proved no less admiring of the German "Hausfrau."

The chief severity of Taine is exercised against the lack of conversation of Englishmen, the prevalence of drunkenness among many of them, rich and poor (he attributed their ruddy complexions and their brutal jaws to the effects of port, as other Frenchmen have to the eating of roast beef), against the fashions in women's clothes (of which he was, like Mallarmé, a conscientious observer) and the hideousness of art, especially of statues, in public places. Deep down, he was happy to be and to remain a Frenchman and to prefer education and intellectual life in the country which had, nevertheless, treated him roughly. He extolled Shakespeare and Byron and Anglo-Saxon energy; but he was closer to the oratorical and analytical temper of his countrymen; he preferred Musset to Tennyson, Balzac to Dickens, and even Spinoza, Hegel, and Goethe to any writers and thinkers of Britain.

The introduction to this new and welcome translation of an entertaining and intelligent volume is by Edward Hyams. It is written with alertness and a pleasant amateurishness, but marred by inaccuracies in too many French titles and proper names, and by unfortunate misprints such as "grace" substituted for the first word in Taine's trinity, "race."

Tocqueville is a more profound political thinker than Taine, the most profound probably whom France has had after Montesquieu and Rousseau. He, unlike Taine or Taine's master, Stendhal, was not a hunter of "petits faits vrais." He hardly noticed picturesque details, he had not a word for women's clothes, the decoration of homes, the landscape or the architecture in Britain. But he visited magistrates, lawyers, politicians in England; priests and pastors, innkeepers, and assize courts in Ireland; he knew how to ask

the right questions, always tactfully but with openness, and when the answers jolted his intellectual comfort, he submitted to the evidence thus proposed to him and meekly revised his views.

The danger of a mind like Tocqueville's is the familiar French one: indulging the temptation to generalize. Yet it is more than compensated for by the judicious wisdom with which the analyst of feared, but inevitable, democracy establishes new and revealing links between facts or ideas which remain devoid of long-range significance for others. This volume is made up of disconnected notes and of a few long dissertations in the form of a letter to Gustave de Beaumont. It has never before appeared in English. The notes were jotted down in the course of a five-week trip across the Channel in 1833, then of a summer visit to the industrial Midlands and to Ireland in 1835. The picture of Ireland and her wretchedness, the ghosts of starvation and unemployment incessantly oppressing the country, and the (to a Frenchman) unbelievable bonds between the Catholic population and the Irish clergy, is a sad one. The French traveler refrains from complacent or hasty judgment. Still it is clear that his Anglomania has been dealt hard blows.

Even in England, this critic of his own country was not uniformly addicted to praise. In a perspicacious summary of English history which opens this volume, he failed to experience warm admiration for a people who had changed their religion four times to please their masters, while the French clergy of the Revolutionary era had preferred exile or death to the mere appearance of a schism. The pauperization of industrial workers in Britain, which was to horrify Engels and Marx, caused him to regret that property was not divided up there as in France. But on the whole he found much to be admired in British institutions, or rather in the national temper which had prompted them. Occasionally, he coined an apt epigrammatic formula to compare the two countries which he united in his affection: "The French wish not to have superiors. The English wish to have inferiors. The Frenchman constantly raises his eyes above him with anxiety. The Englishman lowers his beneath him with satisfaction." More often, he lamented that the French had failed to acquire two or three features,

deemed by him essential to Britain and to any resistance to revolutionary threats.

One is the capacity to form associations exemplified by institutions such as clubs, in which individuals unite and cooperate cordially but, thus united, exclude all others. Another one is the link between decentralization and liberty, a decentralization which Tocqueville despaired of seeing established in French mores, with the consequence of an autocratic administration ruling with an iron hand. A third was both beneficent and repulsive: the excessive respect paid to wealth in Britain. Wealth, power, having become the criterion of aristocracy, instead of birth as in France, any one might hope to become a "gentleman"; and the nobility, being encouraged to pursue wealth, developed commerce and industry, thus playing a useful function in the country. For the French it was more difficult to become a "gentilhomme" and the revolutionary ferment in the lower and middle classes was exasperated by the envy and resentment thus fostered. To anyone concerned with the perennially baffling contrast between the British and the French, with the heavy legacy of the past surviving in present events in the two countries, and seduced by that most seductive of indulgences, speculation on the philosophy of history, these two volumes by two of the most thoughtful Frenchmen of the Victorian Age should afford keen fascination.

HENRI PEYRE

Yale University

The British Paper Industry, 1495-1860, by D. C. COLEMAN; pp. xvi + 367. Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1958, 55s.; Oxford University Press: New York, 1958, \$8.80.

The British Tinplate Industry, by W. E. MINCHINTON; pp. xvi + 286. Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1957, 35s.

The Rise of the British Rubber Industry during the Nineteenth Century, by WILLIAM WOODRUFF; pp. xvii + 246. Liverpool University Press: Liverpool, 1958, 35s.

Men and Machines — D. Napier and Son, Engineers, Ltd., 1808-1958, by CHARLES WILSON and WILLIAM READER; pp. 198. Weidenfeld and Nicholson: London, 1958, 35s.

BY COMPARISON WITH its immediate predecessor, the nineteenth century has been much neglected by historians of British industry. The classical industrial histories of Unwin, Heaton, Ashton, Nef, and Wadsworth and Mann all treat of the years before 1800, and only Burns' notable study of the nineteenth- and twentieth-century steel industry can perhaps hold its own in such company. As a result, in industrial histories of the modern era, the nineteenth century has often been cast to play the part of Rome to the eighteenth century's Greece: an age of development and adaptation succeeding to a century of creation and invention. The main pattern of industrial growth in terms of both technology and organization, it is argued, was already emerging before the end of the eighteenth century; the nineteenth century, and more particularly the Victorians, merely built on earlier foundations.

There is, of course, an element of truth in this thesis. In so far as our modern industrial organization may be described as the factory system writ large, its roots can be traced to the eighteenth century — to the age of Watt and Arkwright. But the history of the Industrial Revolution cannot be written solely in terms of the steam-engine and the cotton factory. It is perhaps true that the most fundamental accomplishments of the mechanical engineer — the works of Watt, Maudslay, and Stephenson — already lay in the past by 1837. But in chemical and electrical engineering the future still held the greater secrets; and the discoveries of the Victorian era were to influence profoundly not only the products but the size and organization of industry. The eighteenth century had substituted the power-driven machine for the handworker in manufacturing industry: it had thereby added to the quantity rather than to the range of products at the command of the consumer. The Victorians not only continued this tendency but also brought to a widening world market a growing range of products based on new materials.

The industries whose development is chronicled in these four studies — paper, tinplate, rubber, and machine-making — make a fair cross-section of Victorian industrial life. By 1837 paper and tinplate had each a long and respectable past behind it, stretching in England to the sixteenth and seventeenth

centuries. Machine-making, on the other hand, was in any serious sense a recent newcomer among British industries, and rubber, as Dr. Woodruff notes, "was still largely a curiosity." All four were to make unprecedented strides in output during the Victorian era.

Dr. Coleman's study of the paper industry is an important contribution to industrial history, but for the student of Victorian economic institutions it holds one major disappointment. The contribution of the Victorians to the technique of paper-making lay less in mechanical invention than in raw-material utilisation; but Dr. Coleman, in drawing his work to a close — justifiably enough — at 1860, stops short of the period when wood-pulp established itself as the basic raw material of the industry. The story he tells, of industrial growth in the age of the classical Industrial Revolution, is familiar enough in its broad outlines; but in Dr. Coleman's lucid account it is illuminated by a wealth of detail drawn from the business records of the early paper-makers.

Mr. Minchinton, by contrast, passes rapidly to the Victorian age — an age in which, save for its last decade, British tinplate dominates not only home but world markets. Already in 1837 half of Britain's 9,000 tons of tinplate was being sent abroad, and at times during the next half century — during the course of which production rose to 130,000 tons — as much as three-quarters of British output was exported. This dependence on the foreign consumer, however, placed the industry in a position of considerable vulnerability; the more so since a large proportion of British output (57% in 1891) was sent to one country, the U.S.A. When in 1891 a new protective tariff at last stimulated American steel-makers to develop their own tin-plate industry, British manufacturers were faced with the necessity either to re-equip their industry or to seek alternative markets. At first, in the expansionist years before 1914, they were able to take the second and easier course; but after 1918 re-equipment became inevitable if even a limited hold on foreign markets was to be retained. Mr. Minchinton has explored these vicissitudes and their implications with great thoroughness. Tinplate was never the most "fashionable" of British industries in the eyes of either the public or

the general investor. Because of this its development throws a particularly vivid light on the achievements and limitations of small-scale enterprise in the Victorian economy.

Dr. Woodruff's book is also a study of a small-scale enterprise. Rubber was, with steel and oil, one of the three great new materials brought into full and fruitful use by the Victorians and their contemporaries; and a study of the rubber industry's origins and early development has long been a desideratum of economic historians. Dr. Woodruff's book, despite its title, does not quite meet this need. It is an attempt to build a history of the British rubber industry round the development of a single firm in the English West Country. The result is an excellent piece of business history, but something less than a study of the rubber industry. The firm in question — the Moulton Company of Bradford-on-Avon — was untypical alike in its location, in its initial dependence on American ideas and capital, and in its failure for almost half a century after its foundation in 1848 to expand its works or its payroll. Although Dr. Woodruff by no means neglects the growth of the industry elsewhere in the United Kingdom, his study inevitably lacks perspective. But the quality of his book augurs well for the wider study of the industry which, one hopes, he may find opportunity to undertake.

As if to underline the ubiquity of the small firm in Victorian England, the subject of C. H. Wilson and W. J. Reader's vivid but somewhat superficial business history, is a family enterprise, which, growing steadily throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, thereafter stagnated for almost another half century. In its Victorian heyday in the 1860's the London firm of David Napier and Son was making precision-machinery for the printing trade, the Board of Ordnance, and the Mint. By 1901 its profit had dwindled to a mere £19. The cause of this decline was lack of drive at the top, an ever-present danger with the one-man firm. The concern was saved only by an infusion of new blood — and capital — and by the advent of the motor-car.

The vitality of the small firm had been a factor of strength in early Victorian industrial development. By the end of the reign its obstinate persistence was of more questionable value. In a variety of industries Britain was

beginning to lose ground to foreign competitors, and this was the result, at least in part, of inefficiencies bred of an unwillingness to exploit the economies of scale. It is one of the virtues of Mr. Minchinton's book in particular that he explores the problem of why, while her merchants adventurously sought new markets for British tinplate, Britain's tinplate manufacturers were content to exploit old techniques and old forms of organization. In studies such as these there is promise that Victorian industry will be as well-served by this generation as the eighteenth century has been by the great school of Unwin and Ashton.

ARTHUR J. TAYLOR
University College, London

Technical Education and Social Change, by STEPHEN F. COTGROVE; pp. x + 232. Allen and Unwin: London, 1958, 25s.; Essential: Fair Lawn, N. J., 1958, \$4.50.

THE HISTORY of technical education in Britain has lately become quite a fashionable subject. Several books and articles about it have already appeared, and, as present concern over the shortage of scientists and technicians becomes more and more a topic of everyday conversation, so eager students continue to arrive with plans for further research. Dr. Cotgrove is primarily concerned with today's shortage of trained scientists and technicians, and much of his book relates to the present century and, indeed, to very recent times. In the earlier chapters, however, he considers the foundations of British technical education, and the merit of this book is that he contrives to do this from a fresh point of view.

He is concerned not as previous writers have been with the provision of classes and courses in technical education, but with the social factors which influenced recruitment to those classes and courses. He considers, for instance, why the Mechanics' Institutes lost their working-class support and became instead "the small tradesman's finishing school." He stresses the lack of appeal in a curriculum which offered insufficient teaching of a practical nature; when the middle classes gained the ascendancy in these Institutes, those for whom they had originally been intended felt ill at ease and drifted away. These

points have been well illustrated from a wide range of primary source material by Dr. Mabel Tylecote in her *Mechanics' Institutes of Lancashire and Yorkshire Before 1851* (1957). Her book, however, does not seem to have been published until after Dr. Cotgrove's had gone to press.

While the Government's Science and Art Department achieved only a modicum of success during the third quarter of the nineteenth century, the courses which it supported also failed to attract the working man because they were too theoretical to be of immediate advantage to him. The great change came in the later nineteenth century, and particularly after 1890, when more practical courses which did appeal to the working man's self-interest became available. At the same time, the technical colleges, which were providing these practical classes, were also extending their general courses as industry and commerce required more clerks. Technological change was, in fact, itself bringing about great changes in the level of attendance at technical colleges. (It is a pity that the evidence on this point is not drawn from provincial centres as well as from London.) While Dr. Cotgrove touches upon this all-important technological background, he does not look into it as thoroughly as he might. He mentions the larger business units which needed larger office staffs; but — perhaps because the evidence is elusive — he says very little about the training of these staffs, their attitude towards this training, or the relationship between part-time study and promotion. Again, he does not enquire into the decline in importance to workmen of trade secrets. Earlier in the century, when so much depended upon individual skill, workmen were unwilling to make their private wrinkles generally known, and this was unquestionably one of the reasons why the Mechanics' Institutes confined their technical classes to general topics. Dr. Tylecote quotes some workmen in Ashton-under-Lyne as saying, when invited to join the local Mechanics' Institute: "Do you think we want to have our Trade taught to everybody at the rate of 2s. 6d. per quarter? We are not such fools." With the introduction of new technologies at the end of the nineteenth century, however — with more complex machines and plants, and with machines doing jobs which had formerly

been done by skilled craftsmen — these trade secrets became relatively less important to many employees, and workmen participated much more willingly in practical classes.

To understand the apparent backwardness of Britain in the field of technical education in the later nineteenth century, it is clearly necessary to know much more about this period as a whole than we do. At present we may often be assuming too much. A world accustomed to tariff may easily fall into the trap of reaching decisions which do not do justice to Britain under free trade. For instance, was it necessarily a great loss to Britain when the new method of making dyes, invented by Perkin, took root in Germany? Before we can answer this, we need to know more about the relative importance and profitability to Britain of dye manufacture and of dyeing. Cheap raw materials for the dyer may then have been to Britain's greater advantage. Or again, in the light of what Professor Jewkes and others have had to say in their recent book, *The Sources of Invention*, can we be so sure that the businessmen of later Victorian England were really so obstinate and so far behind the times? Once we have challenged some of these widely-held assumptions and seen to what extent they are justified, we may come to understand later nineteenth-century Britain better. Dr. Cotgrove has made one such challenge: he has contested the view that technical education failed to spread among the population as a whole because of lack of material resources. In so doing he has made a helpful contribution to this active field of study.

T. C. BARKER

*The London School of Economics
and Political Science.*

The House of Lords in the Age of Reform, 1784-1837, by A. S. TURBERVILLE; pp. 524. Faber: London, 1958, 50s.; Essential: Fair Lawn, N. J., 1958, \$9.00.

WHEN PROFESSOR A. S. Turberville died in 1945 he left the typescript of a book intended to be the sequel to his two studies of the House of Lords, "in the Reign of William III" (1913), and "in the Eighteenth Century" (1927). The work had been planned to span the nineteenth century and was complete to 1837, but fragmentary thereafter. This type-

script has now been rearranged and edited by Mr. R. J. White.

The resulting book is useful and readable, though necessarily a trifle unexciting. It provides a straightforward account of the important debates and principal characters in the Lords, and of the peerage creations by successive governments, together with interesting material on the House "as a Court of Law," on the Spiritual Peers, and on the Scottish and Irish Representative Peers. It shows Turberville's fine qualities of historical judgement and sympathy. He revered the House whose doings it was his life's work to chronicle, and was friendly to hereditary privilege. But he always gives the Radicals their due: Eldon, Bentham, and the editor of the *Black Book* of 1820, all have a fair run. In the light of what Professor Aspinall, Professor Gash, and Mr. Kitson Clark have published since 1945, one or two opinions need revision; but in the main Turberville is the authoritative guide on the Lords.

The situation of the Peers at the opening of the Victorian era is described in some detail. Between 1833 and 1841 the Conservatives in the Lords pursued a course of Bill-wrecking which equalled, and perhaps surpassed, any later performances in the same line. Lord Lyndhurst and his friends proclaimed that the Reform Act had brought a revolution and enslaved the Peers, and then acted, with impunity, as if none of this were true. Turberville's explanations of why they were able to do so are convincing in the main, although sometimes a little high-flown. "The initiation of the middle classes," we are told, "into the working of the machinery of Parliament led to a better apprehension of all its interdependent parts." The clarity of this "apprehension" in the 1830's may be doubted. A glance at contested elections suggests that in both Eatanswill and Coketown it was apt to be dimmed by demagogic and drink.

The "Lyndhurst period" illustrates the difficulty of writing a history such as this. Turberville concentrates necessarily on the doings of the Upper House itself. But its immunity from attack depended on attitudes and events which the Conservative majority within it did not control, and scarcely even influenced. So long as the electoral tide flowed towards the Conservatives, and the ministry whose Bills were destroyed

continued to lose support, the Tory Peers were fairly safe whatever they did. Neither their follies nor their occasional fits of prudence much affected the electoral current which determined their fate. The clue to their immunity lies in the nature of the reformed electorate, which was less radical in tone and composition than the Commons of 1833, or even that of 1835. Turberville naturally does not attempt a detailed analysis of this electorate; but only such an analysis will explain the events which he describes.

Two defects detract from the book's authority. Mr. White has made only the minimum "intrusion upon Turberville's prose." No doubt there are strong reasons for such editorial restraint; but it entails leaving untouched blemishes which Turberville himself would probably have removed during revision. There are constant small repetitions and some superficial judgements. The Earl of Limerick argued in 1805, "as events have proved with good reason," that the passage of Catholic Emancipation would only lead to more extreme Irish demands. But what followed the passage of Emancipation in 1829 surely "proves" nothing about what would have followed its passage, in a wholly different situation, twenty-four years earlier.

The second defect is more serious. There are far too many inaccuracies. Unless these are corrected in a reprinting or second edition, the book can hardly become what it ought to be, a "standard authority." Those noted below are taken from chapters 10, 11, and 12.

P. 220 (and 184): Liverpool did not die in 1827; George IV did not commission Canning "to form an Administration" on 1 April. Pp. 223-224: Canning's remark about "property and population" was made, according to A. G. Stapleton, who heard it, on 3 June, not "a week or two" before he died. P. 225: Charles Grant, also a cabinet minister, is not mentioned as having resigned with the other Huskissonites. P. 242: around 130 seats "changed hands" in the 1830 election, not 50. P. 243: the cabinet did not propose to refer the Civil List to a select committee; Parnell made the proposal, and when he carried it, Wellington resigned.

P. 245, note 1: "conviction" should be "connection." P. 250: Newcastle's notorious eviction of tenants came after the 1829 by-election, not in 1831; Sydney Smith's Taun-

ton speech was made in Oct. 1831, not 1832. P. 253, note 3: "Clark" should read "Clerk." P. 254: there are eight mistakes in the quotation from the King's letter of 4 Feb. 1831. P. 256: Grey's "Ministry" did not consist of fifteen people only; his original cabinet consisted of thirteen.

P. 265: the second reading of the first Reform Bill was carried, not on 21 March, but early on 23; Gascoyne's amendment was carried early on 20 April, not on 19. Pp. 266-267: the dissolution was announced on 22 April, not on 23. P. 267: Wharncliffe did not "abandon" his earlier motion; it was debated on 28 March. P. 268: the second reading of the second Bill was passed early on 7 July, not on 8; the Bill finally passed the Commons early on 22 September, not on 21; the reference to the Chandos clause in note 1 misses the essential point that the clause enfranchised tenants-at-will. P. 272: Eldon did not say that "the franchise was a right." P. 273, and note 2: there are two mistakes in the quotations from Greville. P. 275: O'Connell's speech on Ebrington's motion was on 10 Oct., not 19; in second line of quotation from the King to Grey "dignity" should be "honour." P. 276: line 1 should read "quiet and dispassionate." P. 278: "on the 16th" should be "early on the 18th." Pp. 282, line 1, and 285, line 18: a phrase has been omitted without the omission being shown. P. 284: the meeting took place, not on 10 March, but some days earlier; it was attended by Lansdowne, not Melbourne. P. 290, note 2: the figures do not add up because the anti-Reformers' gain of three and the Reformers' loss of three are not mentioned. P. 292: the minority against Ebrington numbered 208, not 280.

M. G. BROCK

Corpus Christi College, Oxford

Three Cardinals: Newman, Wiseman, Manning, by E. E. REYNOLDS; pp. ix + 278. Kennedy: New York, 1958, \$5.50; Burns and Oates: London, 1958, 25s.

MR. REYNOLDS HAS a talent for *haute vulgarisation*, as he has shown in his lives of Sir Thomas More and John Fisher. Here he takes as his subject the interconnected fortunes of Newman, Wiseman, and Manning, a man of genius and two men of talent, whom a conjunction of events brought into close and un-

easy relationship. Those who have read Ward on Newman and Wiseman, and Purcell on Manning, will find no new facts in Mr. Reynolds' study — he has not gone outside the printed sources. The interest of his book lies in the high-lighting of the relations between the three men and in the way in which he treats their lives as evidence for the thesis that all three, despite faults of temperament and moral character, enriched English Catholicism in the nineteenth century. Wiseman, for all his failure to understand the psychology of the English and his administrative incompetence (e.g., he "lost" the documentation upon which Newman relied in his attack upon Achilli), refounds English Catholicism and liquidates the regime of the Vicars Apostolic. Newman makes Catholicism intellectually respectable in the epoch of the Syllabus and the Vatican Council. Manning, so inflexible in dogmatic affairs, brings Catholicism into the main stream of national life through his concern for social justice and his contacts with trade unionists, temperance reformers, crusading journalists, and members of the Salvation Army.

These are all good stories, and Mr. Reynolds tells them well. It would be difficult to challenge the interpretations of character, so far as they go (though it seems odd to say of W. G. Ward that "those who disagreed with him were anathema"). But one misses a sense of the tragedy of Newman's career — a tragedy which is only heightened by the final elevation to the Cardinalate — and a willingness to face the ugly facts about Manning. Mr. Reynolds always takes a rather kinder view of malice and lack of scruple than is reasonable in a just biographer. There is perhaps in his work a trace of that fear of scandal which makes so much Catholic historical writing in English after Lingard and before Father Philip Hughes at best insipid and at worst disingenuous. For example, Mr. Reynolds finds "some exaggeration" in Newman's private memorandum of 1863 in which he comments on the common view among the *bien-pensants* of the day that he (Newman) "made no converts." The remarks in which "some exaggeration" is found are: "Now from first to last, education . . . has been my line, and, over and above the disappointment it has caused as putting conversions comparatively in the background, and the offence it

has given by insisting that there was room for improvement among Catholics, it has seriously annoyed the governing body here and at Rome: at Rome on the side of the philosophy of polemic. I should wish to attempt to meet the great infidel &c. questions of the day, but both Propaganda and the Episcopate, doing nothing themselves, look with extreme jealousy on anyone who attempts it."

Mr. Reynolds has missed a number of opportunities, perhaps in part because (one would surmise) his book was substantially completed before the appearance of Père Bouyer's study and of Dwight Culler's remarkable book on Newman's philosophy of education. Thus, although he has something to say about Wiseman's relatively liberal view of the relations between theology and natural science and rightly remarks that "had his warning been heeded in the coming years of Darwinian and other hypotheses, much bitter controversy would have been avoided," he makes no use of the wonderful note by Newman on Darwin extracted by Dwight Culler from the unpublished material at the Birmingham Oratory. "There is as much want of simplicity," Newman wrote in 1863, "in the idea of the creation of distinct species as in that of the creation of trees in full growth, or of rocks with fossils in them. I mean that it is as strange that monkeys should be so like men, with no *historical* connexion between them, as that there should be no course of facts by which fossil bones got into rocks. . . . I will either go the whole hog with Darwin, or, dispensing with time and history altogether, hold, not only the theory of distinct species, but that also of the creation of the fossil-bearing rocks." Again, Mr. Reynolds notes that Manning thought Paley's argument from Design to the existence of God irrefragable. He should have gone on to point out that Newman had absorbed the lesson of Hume and had abandoned that argument before the appearance of the *University Sermons*. Finally, and oddest of all, there is no reference to Newman's 1884 article in the *Nineteenth Century* on the Inspiration of Scripture. One almost gains the impression that some Catholics still consider Newman to have been a dangerous man.

J. M. CAMERON

University of Leeds

Florence Nightingale and the Doctors, by ZACHARY COPE; pp. x + 174. Lippincott: Philadelphia, 1958, \$5.00; Museum Press: London, 1958, 21s.

ALTHOUGH FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE greatly influenced the development of medical education and practice in the last century, she purposely kept in the background most of the time, pursuing her plans most effectively by means of confidential letters and interviews. Fortunately at her many interviews she wrote copious notes which still exist, though most are unpublished. As she herself wrote, "I can always talk better to a medical man than to anybody else," and, believing that an account of her frequent exchanges of opinion with medical men can provide a truer picture of her character than emerges from other lines of investigation, Sir Zachary Cope, a distinguished London surgeon, has based this book on much relevant unpublished material. Even though the author's high hopes may not be fully realised, this work contains much that is new and much that is of interest.

About sanitation and many other matters Florence Nightingale's ideas were years ahead of her time, but in certain other respects she was antagonistic to new notions. She believed that fevers were not contagious but arose spontaneously as the result of the accumulation of filth. An intended legacy for the founding of a lectureship or professorship of Medical Statistics, a subject in which she was greatly interested, was revoked when she was over seventy years of age on the grounds that she feared it might be used "to endow some bacillus or microbe."

Despite her prejudices and her forthright manner, Florence Nightingale possessed a truly astonishing ability to enlist the help of outstanding men in the pursuit of her mission of medical reform. The account in this book of her skirmishes with her doctor friends, her battles, and her victories reveals an intelligent, farseeing, prejudiced woman, who shunned honours for herself and expected everybody around her to adopt her own standards. She must indeed have been a hard taskmaster, but certainly no harder on others than on herself.

When Florence Nightingale chose St. Thomas's Hospital, London, for the foundation of a training school for nurses, it was not

so much the distinction of the medical staff as the capability of the matron that attracted her. Although not all of the hospital's medical staff agreed with the new ideas about nurses and nursing, the school prospered and in time came to have tremendous effect on the training of nurses and the standards of nursing in Great Britain. But even here Florence Nightingale's prejudices were not absent. Although the Medical Act of 1858 established a Medical Register, it was not until 1919, nine years after the death of Florence Nightingale, that a State Register for nurses was created in Great Britain. There can be no doubt that this delay was largely the result of Miss Nightingale's lifelong opposition to the examination and registration of nurses. "Nursing is not only an art but a character," she wrote, "and how can that be arrived at by examination?" It is clear from her papers that she wrote to or interviewed all the important persons whom she believed she could influence to oppose registration. Yet in 1889 in a letter setting out her views about the registration of nurses she wrote, "I have kept entirely out of the *fray*." To her "kept out of the *fray*" could only have meant "not come into the open."

Miss Nightingale lived to the age of ninety, but during more than half this period her life was that of an invalid, and a doctor's views on this subject are of particular interest. Her first breakdown occurred not long after the exhausting years she spent abroad during the Crimean War. Before that she had suffered an intensely emotional conflict with her family, and had resolved that her call to duty must extinguish all thoughts of marriage. As soon as she returned from the Crimea she plunged into a campaign for army medical reform, but when the report on this was finished she collapsed and retired to rest at Malvern. When she came back to London she had already adopted the state of an invalid, and any unpleasant prospect brought on attacks of palpitation. From that time on she lay most of the day in bed or on a couch, or perhaps sat in an invalid chair, interviewing her visitors one at a time. She was not paralysed and there is no evidence that she suffered from organic disease. Her invalidism did not curb her intellectual activity, nor did it stop her voluminous correspondence, and letter-writing can be a most tiring activity.

Although such types of neurosis, for neurosis it must have been, are frequently only temporary events, Miss Nightingale never recovered. If she had been an ordinary person wishing to live the life of a normal citizen, she might have become well again. But to her, social activities, holidays, travel, entertainments, and convivial meetings were mere frivolities compared with her great, perhaps divine, mission in life. This mission she found she could fulfil as well, perhaps better, in seclusion as anywhere else. She hated publicity but she loved power, and she found that her invalid state enabled her more easily to induce those whom she wished to interview — statesmen, distinguished doctors, and so on — to come to see her at her own time under the most convenient conditions. Most of her work was secret, and secrets were better kept in seclusion. Moreover those who were opposed to her views did not feel happy in openly opposing an invalid. Although it would be wrong to say that Miss Nightingale ever consciously took advantage of her invalidism, it is certain that it was advantageous to the attainment of the objects which she had in mind. As Sir Zachary Cope points out, in some respects her invalidism resembled that of Miss Barrett before Robert Browning appeared on the scene. Elizabeth Barrett's seclusion gave her time to write poetry, but she lost her invalid state under the stimulus of a great passion. Miss Nightingale sacrificed her love to the fulfilment of a great mission. It was indeed a noble sacrifice.

Sir Zachary Cope is the sort of doctor with whom Florence Nightingale would no doubt have vigorously discussed many of her plans. Through his book we can indeed now see new aspects of the stern qualities that helped to make up the reality behind the fabled "Lady with the Lamp."

F. G. YOUNG

University of Cambridge

ANNOUNCEMENT: Papers for the annual meeting of the Victorian section of MLA should be submitted to Professor George H. Ford, University of Rochester, by 15 April 1959. The program will be open, though preference will be given to papers relating to books published in 1859.

VICTORIAN POETRY AND POETICS

Edited by Walter E. Houghton, Wellesley College
and G. Robert Stange, University of Minnesota

draws fully from the recognized canon of Victorian poets and reflects twentieth century re-evaluation of their work. juxtaposes poetic theory with the poetry, in prose selections by the poets themselves and in an Appendix of essays, lectures, and reviews written by critics and scholars during the Victorian period.

in a fine critical introduction acquaints the student with the thought and temper of the period.

through a generous introduction to each poet and abundant, often original annotation provides a broad basis for critical study and discussion.

xxiv + 854 pages • 1959 • \$7.50

* * *

And these RIVERSIDE EDITIONS . . .

Browning: **POEMS OF ROBERT BROWNING**
Donald Smalley, editor. B-3 \$.95

Dickens: **BLEAK HOUSE**
Morton Dauwen Zabel, editor. B-4 \$1.25

Dickens: **DAVID COPPERFIELD**
George H. Ford, editor. B-24 \$1.35

Eliot: **MIDDLEMARCH**
Gordon S. Haight, editor. B-6 \$1.20

Hardy: **FAR FROM THE MADDING CROWD**
Richard L. Purdy, editor. B-18 \$.95

Meredith: **THE EGOIST**
Lionel Stevenson, editor. B-27 \$1.05

Newman: **APOLOGIA PRO VITA SUA**
A. Dwight Culler, editor. B-10 \$1.05

Tennyson: **POEMS OF TENNYSON**
Jerome H. Buckley, editor. B-26 \$1.25

Victorians: **PROSE OF THE VICTORIAN PERIOD**
William E. Buckler, editor. B-30 \$1.65

Clothbound edition: xxxi + 570 pages
1958 • \$3.25



Boston 7, Massachusetts
New York 16, New York
Atlanta 5, Georgia
Geneva, Illinois
Dallas 1, Texas
Palo Alto, California

HOUGHTON MIFFLIN



CONTRIBUTORS

KENNETH ALLOTT, A.C. Bradley Senior Lecturer in English Literature at Liverpool. Editor and author of several works in Victorian and modern literature and General Editor of the *Pelican Book of English Prose*. Now engaged on a book about Matthew Arnold's first thirty-five years.

DAVID ROBERTS, Assistant Professor of History at Dartmouth College. Author of articles on

English political history and of a forthcoming book on the growth of central administration, 1833-54.

HARRY STONE, Assistant Professor of English at Northwestern University. Author of articles on Dickens, the novel, Anglo-American literary relations, and nineteenth-century culture. Now writing a book on Dickens.

SIR CHARLES TENNYSON, C.M.G., man of business and letters. Knighted for his services to British industry. Author of the studies of his grandfather, *Alfred Tennyson and Six Tennyson Essays*.



ADVICE TO CONTRIBUTORS

VICTORIAN STUDIES encourages contributors always to state or clearly imply the relevance of their work not just to a particular branch of knowledge but to the whole Victorian age. Such a statement or implication need not involve a concession in depth or detail, but it does require a deliberate attempt to "place" the article in its Victorian context and so to give a clear sense of its likely significance to a given reader of VICTORIAN STUDIES.

Manuscripts should be styled to accord with the *MLA Style Sheet* (copies of which can be had from the Treasurer, Modern Language Association, 6 Washington Square North, New York 3, N.Y., for 50¢). All matter should be double-spaced and footnotes should be typed together at the end of the article. An editorial decision can usually be reached more quickly if two copies are submitted. A stamped, self-addressed envelope should accompany all manuscripts. Authors should, of course, retain a copy for themselves.

SHELLEY'S MYTHMAKING

by HAROLD BLOOM

A pioneer critical work that finds in Shelley's poetry the governing dialectic in which he expressed man's alternate confrontation and experience of the world. \$5.00

THE VISION OF TRAGEDY

by RICHARD B. SEWALL

An investigation of the tragic vision from Job to the present, with Oedipus, Faustus, Lear, *The Scarlet Letter*, *Moby-Dick*, the Karamazovs, and Faulkner's *Absalom, Absalom!* forming the landmarks along the way. \$4.00

at your bookseller

Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut

289 *E. J. Feuchtwanger* : THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY UNDER THE IMPACT
OF THE SECOND REFORM ACT

305 *David R. Carroll* : UNITY THROUGH ANALOGY:
AN INTERPRETATION OF "MIDDLEMARCH"

317 *Coleman O. Parsons* : THE WINTRY DUEL: A VICTORIAN IMPORT

327 : BOOK REVIEWS

350, 392 : ADVERTISEMENTS

351 *Francis G. Townsend*, ed. : VICTORIAN BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR 1958

395 : COMMENTS AND QUERIES

399 : CONTRIBUTORS

400 : INDEX TO VOLUME II

:

editors Philip Appleman William A. Madden Michael Wolff

book review editor Donald J. Gray

associate editor (England) G. F. A. Best

executive secretary Kay Dinsmoor *editorial assistant* Fred M. Kimball

advisory board John Alford Richard D. Altick Noel Annan William O. Aydelot

Asa Briggs Jerome H. Buckley Leon Edel Gordon S. Haight

T. W. Hutchison Howard Mumford Jones Henri Peyre Anthony Quinton

Gordon N. Ray Donald Smalley Geoffrey Tillotson R. K. Webb

editorial consultant William Riley Parker

FRANCE &
MUSIC

NUMBER

BRIEF HISTORY

MARQUES

THE CONCERT

ROSE

Early Victorian Type Faces, c. 1838. From *The Early Victorian Period, 1830-1860*, reviewed on page 328

THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY

UNDER THE IMPACT OF THE SECOND REFORM ACT



THE STORY OF THE MODERN Conservative Party in Britain is one of the most striking examples of a political party dedicated to conservation and able to remain effective in a period of continuous social and political change. Beginning in 1832 successive extensions of the franchise profoundly altered the political framework of Britain. This general trend was bound to put the Conservative Party into a posture of opposition, but if the Tories had persisted forever in an attitude of sterile negation they must sooner or later have perished as a major political force and the evolution of Britain's political life could have become much rougher. Immediately after 1832 Sir Robert Peel took the first steps towards redefining Conservatism in a manner adapted to the changed circumstances. Even so the Tory Party between 1832 and 1846 remained in its parliamentary personnel chiefly the party of the landed interest, of the aristocracy and the gentry, and made few recruits among the middle classes, a portion of which now had the vote and were striving to enter the citadel of political power.¹ Peel was unable to carry his party united through the repeal of the Corn Laws and it fell to his eventual successor Disraeli to rebuild it. It required a prolonged period of "education" to make the Conservatives again into a party capable of obtaining a majority. The climax of this process came in 1867, when Disraeli, by a remarkable parliamentary *tour de force*, took up the reform bill which his opponents had been forced to drop and carried it through Parliament in a much more far-reaching form.

¹ For a general review of the structure of politics in this period see Norman Gash, *Politics in the Age of Peel* (London, 1953).

The passage of the second Reform Bill was, however, not the end of the "education" of the Conservative Party; indeed many Tories were not so much convinced of the bill's necessity as hoodwinked into accepting it by their leader's dexterity. Once more there were extensive alterations in the political framework and a long stride was taken towards democracy. The ability of the Tory Party to survive as the carrier of conservative principles underwent what was perhaps its most crucial test in the period after the second Reform Act. For the first time there were posed in their modern form the basic questions of Conservative tactics in a two-party system: how to attract a mass electorate without losing the allegiance and enthusiasm of the narrower circle of party supporters; how to evolve policies with a wide progressive appeal without falling into an insipid "me-tooism." As a result tensions arose in the party, some of which have remained characteristic of Conservative politics to the present day. Most of the party leaders appreciated the need after 1867 to give the party a more progressive look, but some preferred to take their stand on the principle of resistance to the changes they considered undesirable, while a considerable portion of the rank and file inside and outside Parliament preferred to follow the diehard leaders. Another set of tensions was due to the increasing transfer of middle-class allegiance from the Liberals to the Conservatives: middle-class Tories were thus pressing to be given more of the positions of influence in the party that had hitherto been almost entirely held by the aristocracy and landed gentry. It is proposed in this paper to show the effect of the new circumstances on the party's leadership and central organisation, and to illustrate by example some of the strains and stresses that arose in the party during this period.

Intra-party tensions are very clearly in evidence in the attacks on Disraeli's position as party leader between 1868 and 1874. Disraeli came to the nominal leadership of the Conservative Party only in February 1868, on the resignation for reasons of health of the fourteenth Earl of Derby. In November 1868, after he had been nine months "at the top of the greasy pole," the first General Election on the new franchise took place. The result was in no sense an endorsement of the Tory leader's gamble in staking the future of his party on a mass electorate and on the innate conservatism of the working classes. Gladstone was returned at the head of the largest Liberal contingent of the century; only in some of the towns of Lancashire did the Conservatives score significant successes amongst the newly enfranchised electors and here special causes were at work, such as strong Protestant feeling against the Catholic Irish immigrants. Disraeli thus had to vacate the

premiership, the policy he had foisted on his party having failed to bring electoral reward. It should therefore not come as a surprise that Disraeli's position as party leader was weak for the next few years and that the opponents of his policy and of the Reform Bill of 1867 should wish for another leader.

The weakness of Disraeli's political position so late in his career has, however, generally been insufficiently emphasized; and it has been too readily assumed that, once he had attained a leading role in Derby's Government in 1866 and had himself been Prime Minister in 1868, his leadership of the party was no longer seriously challenged. There were some purely personal reasons for Disraeli's relative eclipse immediately after 1868. His health and that of his wife were poor, and at his age there seemed little political future for him. Literary preoccupations took priority over politics: he was working on *Lothair*. The strength of Gladstone's Government and the course of events in Parliament did not offer much opportunity for reinvigorating a dispirited Opposition. By 1870 or 1871, however, a good deal of the Liberal impetus had spent itself and it had become clear that Disraeli was not contemplating retirement. In spite of this there continued to be profound distrust of Disraeli and all he stood for in his party, at the top as well as amongst the rank and file. Conservative opposition to Disraeli was of two kinds. Most of it came from those on the right wing of the party who felt that in 1867, in his preoccupation with "stealing the Whigs' clothes," he had surrendered completely and that as long as such policies prevailed there was nothing left worth fighting for. Dissatisfaction with Disraeli also reared its head at the opposite wing, as the Tories gradually recovered their electoral position in the early 1870's: some moderate, middle-of-the-road Conservatives felt that their leader's personality was too flamboyant to be acceptable to the sober voter.

The best illustration of the weakness of Disraeli's position amongst the leading men of his party is supplied by tracing the story of the Tory leadership in the House of Lords after 1868. When Derby retired from active politics in February 1868, Lord Malmesbury, former Foreign Secretary, became the Conservative leader in the Lords; he was in turn succeeded by Lord Cairns after the elections of December 1868. Cairns was very much a Disraeli man: a member of the professional classes, who, after a brilliant career at the Bar, was in February 1868 appointed Lord Chancellor by the new Premier. He found, however, that after holding the lead throughout the session of 1869, his position was unsatisfactory. There had been little unity among Conservative peers on the main measure of the 1869 session, the Irish

Church Disestablishment Bill; Cairns, a recent recruit to the House, lacking the great aristocratic position of many of his colleagues and separated from them by his Low Church, strongly evangelical, views, felt he was not the man to produce unity.²

There were now, in February 1870, two obvious candidates to succeed Cairns: Lord Salisbury, later three times Prime Minister,³ and the fifteenth Earl of Derby, who as Lord Stanley had been Foreign Secretary in the Government formed by his father in 1866. Whoever was chosen might be in a strong position to head a future Conservative Government, for even in the second half of the nineteenth century the Prime Minister was still as often a peer as a commoner. Lord Salisbury was the ablest and most prominent Conservative opponent of the Reform Bill of 1867 (he was then Viscount Cranborne) and had, together with Lord Carnarvon and General Peel, resigned from the Cabinet at a crucial stage during the passage of the Bill in March 1867. Carnarvon wrote at that time of "the bitterness which I can hardly help feeling when I see the ruin to which he [Disraeli] has brought a great party."⁴ As far as Salisbury was concerned, this bitterness had not subsided by 1870. He and Disraeli and even their wives were not on speaking terms.⁵ As late as October 1869 Salisbury had published one of his unsigned articles in the *Quarterly Review*, "The Past and the Future of Conservative Policy," which was by implication scathingly critical of Disraeli. Salisbury made no effort to organise a following in the party, but those who felt that the time had come to offer firm resistance to the tide of reform and democracy looked to him. The fact that Salisbury's name could be seriously considered, in the press as well as in the inner circles of the party, for the Conservative leadership in the Upper House in itself indicated the uncertainty of Disraeli's position at this juncture and the widespread opposition to his policies.

In the circumstances it was vital for Disraeli and his friends to prevent the selection of Salisbury, which would have entailed either his own resignation or a serious party split. Salisbury for his part was totally unwilling to co-operate with Disraeli.⁶ The latter therefore bent all his efforts to securing the election of Derby, although the new head

² Disraeli Papers (in the possession of the National Trust, at Hughenden Manor, High Wycombe, Buckinghamshire), Box XII, Cairns to Disraeli, 19 Nov. 1869.

³ For Salisbury see Lady Gwendolen Cecil, *Life of Robert, Marquis of Salisbury* (4 vols., London, 1921-32) and A. L. Kennedy, *Salisbury, 1830-1903* (London, 1953).

⁴ Richmond Papers (in the possession of the Duke of Richmond and Gordon, at Goodwood House, Chichester), Carnarvon to Richmond, 11 Mar. 1867.

⁵ *Journals of Lady Knightley of Fawsley* (London, 1915), p. 162 (13 Mar. 1869).

⁶ Cairns Papers (twelve typescript volumes in the possession of Rear-Admiral The Earl Cairns, Clopton Hall, nr. Woodbridge, Suffolk; made from the originals in about 1915), Carnarvon to Cairns, 16 Feb. 1870.

of the House of Stanley was by no means as close a political friend at this stage as his father had been. The realization that only Derby could ensure harmonious relations with the leaders in the Lower House and the wide appeal of his name brought about his unanimous election. Derby, however, held a more realistic view of his fitness for the post than the world in general and declined the honour. Later events were to show that he was in fact not a sufficiently decisive personality to have been a successful leader, but at this moment his refusal to assume the responsibility was a staggering blow for Disraeli and his supporters. Desperate efforts were made by Montagu Corry, Disraeli's faithful secretary, to hold up the publication of news "that must be fatal to the hopes of the whole Conservative Party,"⁷ so that further attempts could be made to persuade Derby to accept. In some quarters a scheme was now mooted to make Salisbury leader "in and for the Lords only" and without the need of confidential communication with the leaders in the Commons.⁸ This had little chance of working in practice and the only course remaining was to find a compromise candidate acceptable to all factions.

The Duke of Richmond was such a candidate — he had held Cabinet office and was one of the available Tory dukes. His unanimous election as leader was duly accomplished. Politically Richmond was a nonentity and behind the scenes leaned heavily on Lord Cairns for advice. By virtue of his position as leader of the Conservative peers he was, however, for several years thereafter a possible contender for the Tory premiership. It was conceivable to some minds that after the Tories had won a majority in the General Election of February 1874 the Queen might call on him to form a Government,⁹ and again early in 1876, when Disraeli's retirement on grounds of health appeared probable, there were rumours that Richmond might succeed him.¹⁰ In the immediate situation of 1870, however, when Salisbury's election as leader of the Tory peers would have threatened a serious split in the party and perhaps have fatally undermined Disraeli's position, Richmond's election preserved the unity of the party and communications between the leadership in the two Houses of Parliament.¹¹

⁷ Disraeli Papers, Box XIII, Corry to Disraeli, 20 Feb. 1870.

⁸ Cairns Papers, Gathorne Hardy to Cairns, 22 Feb. 1870.

⁹ Richmond Papers, Earl Russell to Richmond, 8 Feb. 1874.

¹⁰ Harrowby Papers (in the possession of the Earl of Harrowby, Sandon Hall, Stafford), LV, 181, memorandum by Lord Sandon of a conversation with Carnarvon, 18 Jan. 1876.

¹¹ There were some difficulties even between Disraeli and Richmond; see W. F. Monypenny and G. E. Buckle, *Life of Disraeli* (London, 1949), II, 514. Buckle hints in several passages at some of the leadership controversies discussed in this paper.

This was not the end of the challenges to Disraeli. Later in 1870 J. A. Froude wrote, "I have been among some of the Tory magnates lately. They distrust Disraeli still, and will never again be led by him. So they are as sheep that have no shepherd. Lord Salisbury's time may come. But not yet."¹² Lower down in the party there was at least as much opposition to Disraeli's leadership as there was at the top and for the same reasons: he had foisted on the party a radical innovation which was repugnant to many Tories and which had not even brought electoral success. The antagonism among the provincial rank and file of the party to Disraeli and the policies he embodied is strikingly shown in the lengthy preparation for the visit to Lancashire which the Conservative leader eventually paid in April 1872. In the towns of Lancashire the Tory working man was a reality and well organised. These men, to whom Disraeli had given the vote in 1867, wanted to invite him to a great political demonstration. Many of the Tory gentry outside the great towns were, however, opposed to the project and the Member for South-East Lancashire, the Hon. A. F. Egerton, had to write to Disraeli on Christmas Day 1870:

the Conservatives of the middle and lower classes are, generally speaking, warmly in favour of asking you to come here, and this is also the feeling of the gentry in N.E. and S.E. Lancashire, on the other hand in N. and S.W. Lancashire the gentry are not in favour of holding any political demonstration at present; they consider that the Conservative cause needs no strengthening in their districts, and there is a section of them who have not forgiven your Reform Bill . . . I am also informed that Lord Derby would decline any large political meeting under present circumstances . . .¹³

It is interesting to note that even Lord Derby, whom Disraeli had backed to keep Salisbury from the leadership in the Lords, was so little inclined to share a platform with a former associate of his father. The leading men of Lancashire Conservatism continued to view a visit by Disraeli to their county as inopportune for at least another year. Viscount Sandon, Tory M.P. for Liverpool and later a member of Disraeli's Ministry, wrote to Samuel Graves, his fellow Member for the city, in September 1871 that the appearance of Disraeli, possibly accompanied by some of his late Cabinet colleagues, would only harm the Tory cause and added: "it would be said — it is after all a struggle for place between two Cabinets and though the present one is bad enough we are not prepared to accept the feeble Conservative Cabinet robbed

¹² Quoted by Sir H. W. Lucy, *Memories of Eight Parliaments* (London, 1908).

¹³ Disraeli Papers, Box B, Lancashire Visit.

of some of its strongest men by the defection of General Peel, Salisbury and Carnarvon.”¹⁴ R. A. Cross, another Lancashire M.P. and later Home Secretary in Disraeli’s Government, held similar views at this time.¹⁵ It was not until early in 1872 that the obstacles to Disraeli’s Lancashire visit disappeared and preparations went ahead.

At about this time the anti-Disraeli movement at the top of the party reached its climax at a gathering of leading Tories at Lord Exeter’s seat, Burghley House. For several days the question of the leadership was discussed with inconclusive results.¹⁶ Dislike of Disraeli’s policies, of what later came to be called Tory Democracy, was now only one factor in the situation. More widespread was the simple feeling that Disraeli was not a good leader and that Derby would have a greater pull with the unattached voter. The fact that the meeting led to no conclusion shows, however, that Disraeli’s leadership, irksome as it was to many, was nevertheless indispensable.

The popular enthusiasm that surged around Disraeli on his three-day visit to Manchester in April 1872, as well as other signs of his popularity amongst the masses, did much to quell dissatisfaction in the party with his personality. *The Times* said of Disraeli’s reception at Manchester, “If he were the most potent of ministers instead of the chief of the weakest Opposition which Parliament has known for many years, he could not have met with a more hearty welcome.” In a speech at the Free Trade Hall in Manchester and in another address two months later at the Crystal Palace Disraeli set himself to outline in general terms the policy of a future Conservative Government.¹⁷ The three main planks of his platform were support for the Established Church, an active imperial and foreign policy, and social reform. This was a comprehensive programme which commanded widespread assent in the Conservative Party. Carnarvon, one of the three rebels of 1867, now admitted that he had been overmuch frightened by the Reform Bill and that it had worked out better than he had expected. He praised the Manchester speech and found nothing in it he could not agree with.¹⁸

Salisbury, however, was not yet ready to make it up with Disraeli

¹⁴ Harrowby Papers, I, 306, Viscount Sandon to S. R. Graves, M.P., 1 Sept. 1871.

¹⁵ Harrowby Papers, LII, 246, R. A. Cross to Lord Sandon, 28 Aug. 1871.

¹⁶ Monypenny and Buckle, *Life of Disraeli*, II, 513.

¹⁷ See *Selected Speeches of the Earl of Beaconsfield*, ed. T. E. Kebbel (2 vols., London, 1882).

¹⁸ Iddesleigh Papers (in the possession of Mother John Mary, Convent of the Assumption, Kensington Square, London, W. 8), Sir Stafford Northcote to Disraeli, 23 Sept. 1872. For Carnarvon, see Sir Arthur Hardinge, *Life of the 4th Earl of Carnarvon* (3 vols., London, 1925).

and there was still a group of irreconcilables in the parliamentary party. Any break in the rising curve of Conservative fortunes could have brought renewed malaise and tension to the party. Disraeli's refusal to take office in March 1873, when the Gladstone Government had been defeated on its proposals for a Catholic University in Ireland, was justified by the future course of events, but for a time it gave rise to renewed murmurs against him. Colonel Taylor, the Conservative Chief Whip, told Disraeli frankly during this crisis that, while in case of a dissolution they might get a majority in England of a hundred seats, the nominal leadership of Derby would be a gain.¹⁹ The highly coloured language of a letter of support Disraeli sent to the Conservative candidate at a by-election in Bath in October 1873 caused more uneasiness. W. H. Smith, the Member for Westminster, for whom Disraeli opened a great political career by giving him an appointment in 1874 and who thus became one of the first great commercial magnates to hold high office as a Tory, wrote about the Bath Election Letter: "Disraeli has ruined himself and rendered reconstruction of parties — new choice of leaders — almost inevitable."²⁰ Smith's outburst and the continuing undercurrent in favour of Derby showed dissatisfaction with Disraeli and tension in the party from a different angle than the malaise of the right wing that had been so much in evidence in earlier years: now it was the feeling that unless the Conservative Party presented a very moderate, responsible image to the electorate, it might again fail to get a majority in the elections that could not be for long postponed. Smith and many of those who wanted Derby as leader felt that Disraeli's political style was too extravagant to reassure the voter. Derby's cross-bench political personality, on the other hand, appealed to the commercial and professional middle classes who had up to then usually voted for the Liberals. When the General Election at last came in February 1874 the Tories obtained their first independent majority since 1846. It was only this evident triumph that stilled, at any rate for the time being, the voice of Disraeli's critics, whether they came from the right or the centre of the party.

The years after the passage of the second Reform Act also witnessed a great growth in the extra-parliamentary organisation of both political parties. These developments were mainly responsible for the polarisation of the modern two-party system and for that tightening of party discipline which, by increasing the independent effectiveness of

¹⁹ Disraeli Papers, Box XIII, Col. T. E. Taylor to Disraeli, 14 Mar. 1873.

²⁰ See Sir Herbert E. Maxwell, *Life and Times of W. H. Smith* (2 vols., Edinburgh, 1893).

the House of Commons, has fundamentally changed the balance of the Constitution. The growth of organisation on the Liberal side has received most attention from historians and was more spectacular in its immediate political effects: it scored its first striking successes at Birmingham under the aegis of Joseph Chamberlain, it spread to other parts of the country in the wake of the agitation surrounding the Education Bill of 1870, and it greatly strengthened the radical wing of the Liberal party with the foundation of the National Liberal Federation in 1877.²¹ Developments in Conservative party organisation were less spectacular, but in some respects in advance of those on the Liberal side. In the constituencies there was an extension of the older type of Conservative association or registration association and a new movement of working men's Conservative or Constitutional associations or clubs. At the centre, in London, the two main landmarks were the foundation of the National Union of Conservative and Constitutional Associations in 1867 and of the Conservative Central Office in 1870. In the field of organisation Tory intra-party tensions were again very much in evidence during this period. The necessity of paying more attention to organisation was itself an outcome of the extension of the franchise, and therefore those who were opposed to the advance of political democracy looked upon organisation and the men engaged in it with a jaundiced eye.

The central management of electoral affairs in both parties was traditionally in the hands of the Whips. After 1832 the business of corresponding with the leading men in the constituencies and with the registration associations that were springing up grew in volume, and the Whips thus required assistance for their extra-parliamentary work. This is how the job of party agent arose. In the days of Peel these functions were discharged by F. R. Bonham.²² After the break-up of 1846 and Disraeli's rise to the leadership alongside Derby, the Conservative Party agency became vested in the London firm of solicitors, Rose, Baxter, Norton & Co. The trial of petitions in cases of contested elections before committees of the House of Commons provided much legal work and an income for the firm, which employed a large number of clerks to deal with the affairs of the Conservative Party. Philip Rose, a partner in the firm, was in charge of party management from 1853, helped by Markham Spofforth, another member of the firm, who took

²¹ See R. T. McKenzie, *The British Political Parties* (London, 1955), R. S. Watson, *The National Liberal Federation* (London, 1907), and M. Y. Ostrogorski, *Democracy and the Organisation of Political Parties* (London, 1902).

²² See Norman Gash, "F. R. Bonham: Conservative 'Political Secretary,' 1832-47," *English Historical Review*, LXIII (1948), 502.

over completely with the election of 1859.²³ In 1867 Spofforth was still party agent, the professional among a group of men who concerned themselves with electoral management under the general supervision of the party leaders. The group also included Colonel Taylor, the Chief Whip, the Hon. Gerard Noel, an Assistant Whip, Montagu Corry, Disraeli's secretary, and surprisingly, Lord Nevill, soon to succeed to his family honours as the fifth Earl of Abergavenny. Nevill appears to have been the only *grand seigneur*, who, without holding any official position connected with the Whips, interested himself in party management.

For the General Election of 1868 this group became an election committee: it collected information, prodded sluggish localities into action, sometimes discouraged contests, and watched over the spending of money from the central party funds. There was a strict limit to the amount of pressure that could be brought to bear from the centre on local party activity. The party label had not yet become so important in elections that its withdrawal from a candidate (which was the ultimate sanction of the national party headquarters and leaders) was a very powerful weapon; nor were the contributions from the central party fund sufficiently large to have given the centre much leverage. Thus party management after 1867 was in principle similar to what it had been in the period since 1832 and differed only in degree: the amount and importance of organisational activity outside Parliament increased.

The first of the two major new developments in central party organisation on the Conservative side, the foundation of the National Union, had the active encouragement of Taylor and Nevill, who were neither Tory Democrats nor Tory Radicals but were both interested in winning elections.²⁴ It seemed a useful move to pull together in a national federation the growing number of Conservative working-men's associations and clubs. The party leaders were approached to lend the enterprise their blessing, but were reluctant to commit themselves. At the inaugural meeting of the National Union in November 1867, Tory politicians of the first rank were conspicuously absent. There was much discussion on whether the word "Conservative" would scare off the working-class voter and the inclusion of the word "Constitutional" in the title of the Union was decided on as a compromise.²⁵ During the

²³ See H. J. Hanham, "British Party Finance 1868-1880," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, XXVII (1954), 83. Rose was created a baronet by Disraeli in 1874 and became one of his executors. Spofforth became Senior Taxing Master in Chancery in 1876.

²⁴ Disraeli Papers, Box XVI, bundle 23.

²⁵ See Minute Books of the National Union Conferences, in the possession of the National Union of Conservative and Unionist Associations, London.

elections of 1868 the National Union functioned chiefly as an agency for issuing and distributing pamphlets and by 1869 it was virtually moribund.

One reason for the initial failure of the National Union was that there were other bodies already in existence providing a liaison with Conservative organisations outside London, for example the Metropolitan Conservative Alliance. After the General Election of 1868, Spofforth resigned from the job of party agent and the link with the firm of Rose, Baxter, Norton & Co. ceased. Therefore a new agent with an office of his own had to be found and in April 1870 John Eldon Gorst, a thirty-five-year-old barrister, was appointed on the recommendation of the Chief Whip, Gerard Noel.²⁶ Gorst had had a brief spell in the House of Commons and he clearly hoped that the position of party agent would be a stepping stone to political advancement, itself an indication that organisation was now regarded as of greater importance than ever before. The premises out of which Gorst operated soon came to be known as the Central Conservative Office. Gorst was at this time also secretary of the Metropolitan Conservative Alliance and used its connections to make contacts in the provinces.²⁷ This very nearly led to the complete demise of the National Union, which had virtually no function left to perform. After a year of working the new system, Gorst found, however, that the National Union, owing to its links with working-men's associations and clubs, would after all provide the best front for his Central Office in dealing with local bodies and in political propaganda. He and his assistant, Major the Hon. C. K. Keith-Falconer, then became honorary secretaries of the National Union and the close link between it and the Central Office began, which has lasted to the present day. Both bodies from then onwards occupied the same office premises; and only once, in 1884, when the controversy raging round Lord Randolph Churchill and his friends was at its height, was there a threat that the National Union might have to separate from the Central Office.

The new Central Office and its presiding genius Gorst contributed much to the Conservative revival in the early 1870's and to the victory of 1874, but they also met opposition from within the party similar to that which affected the position of Disraeli. Gorst was a middle-class professional man and a fervent Tory Radical. He regarded it as his new task to turn into concrete reality Disraeli's concept of the Tory working man: "I do not dissent from your view that the mass of

²⁶ Disraeli Papers, Box XVI, letters from the Hon. Gerard Noel, April 1870.

²⁷ See H. St. J. Raikes, *Life and Letters of H. C. Raikes* (2 vols., London, 1898).

the people is, or may be made, Tory" he wrote to Disraeli.²⁸ A democracy which votes Tory was the original meaning of the phrase Tory Democracy which became so fashionable in the 1880's. In practice there was scope for an expansion of local organisation and for initiative from central party headquarters chiefly in the larger towns. Here were the newly-enfranchised working-class electors whom it was hoped to turn into Tories. Here also were the middle classes, in commerce, industry, and the professions, who up to then had been mainly found on the Liberal or Radical side in politics, but were now turning in increasing numbers to the Tories. In Gorst's view it was as important to attract them to the Conservative Party as it was to appeal to the masses, so as to form from the middle class a permanent faction of Tory leaders in the towns, for "masses cannot move without leaders." On the other hand, in county divisions and in the many smaller boroughs which still had the right to send one or two members to Westminster, the conditions of a previous phase in electioneering continued to prevail. Household suffrage had not yet been extended to the counties, and there and in the smaller boroughs family influence was still the most important single factor in elections. To be a county member was still a mark of high social distinction. In this sphere the new Central Office had therefore hardly any standing. It was, however, in the larger English boroughs that the difference between victory and defeat for the Tories mainly lay, and of the eighty-six additional seats they won in 1874, compared with 1868, no less than thirty-five were won in the larger English boroughs, outside Lancashire and Cheshire, where the Conservatives had already done well in 1868.²⁹

There was thus ample justification for the policy of concentrating on the middle and working classes of the larger towns, but it met with little understanding or support from all those who had grown up with an older Tory Party. Among the party leaders only Disraeli and Cairns took a personal interest in organisation and it was undoubtedly on the support of the former that the whole effort largely rested.³⁰ Gorst was aware that his personal fortunes were tied up with those of his leader, and he did a great deal, for example, to promote Disraeli's visit to Lancashire in the face of persistent discouragement. The occasion itself, as we have seen, strengthened Disraeli's position as

²⁸ Disraeli Papers, Box A, letters of Sir William Hart Dyke, Gorst to Disraeli, 2 Dec. 1874.

²⁹ See F. H. McCalmont, *Parliamentary Poll Book*, 2nd Edition (London, 1880). Also Charles Seymour, *Electoral Reform in England and Wales* (New Haven, 1915).

³⁰ See H. E. Gorst, *The Earl of Beaconsfield* (London, 1900), ch. xiii.

leader and at the same time showed that the Tory working man, demonstrating in his thousands, was a reality.

When Gorst's engagement as party agent ended after the election of 1874, he began to complain to Disraeli with bitterness growing through the years that he was deprived of his due political reward because of his adherence to the "popular principles which you taught me, which won the boroughs in 1874, and which though for the time being in discredit must ultimately prevail."³¹ The Whips, so Gorst felt, with whom he had to work in party management, were mostly drawn from the Tory landed gentry; before 1874 they reluctantly put up with Gorst's methods and principles because they might contribute to victory; as soon as the victory was won they discarded and refused to reward him. Even making generous allowance for personal incompatibilities and Gorst's tactlessness there can be no doubt that the early history of the Conservative Central Office presents another instance of the stresses that arose in the party in the attempt to adapt it to more democratic conditions.

These tensions amongst the Conservative Party managers re-emerged in the more spectacular controversies surrounding Lord Randolph Churchill in the 1880's. Gorst, who re-entered the House of Commons in 1875, was once more engaged as party agent after the Conservative defeat in the General Election of 1880.³² By this time the importance of party organisation was no longer in dispute and the success of the National Liberal Federation had converted even the most reluctant. Yet the friction between Gorst and some of the other party managers, whom he himself called the "old identity," quickly reappeared. It was again a conflict between two very different political conceptions: on the one hand Tory Democracy, the idea of the Tory Party as a mass party, not afraid of further extensions of the franchise, with the middle class increasingly assuming the role of leadership; on the other hand the idea of rallying behind the Conservative Party, still led by the landed gentry, all the forces that could be invoked to resist the advance of dangerous radicalism. Gorst's duties and powers as party agent were more clearly defined in 1880 than they had been before, but his position was greatly complicated by the fact that he was now an M.P. In the House of Commons he soon banded together with Lord Randolph Churchill, Arthur Balfour, and Sir Henry Drummond Wolff to form the small ginger group which became known as the Fourth

³¹ Disraeli Papers, Box B, Miscellaneous, Gorst to Beaconsfield, 4 Apr. 1878.

³² Hambleden (W. H. Smith) Papers (National Register of Archives, Public Record Office, London), Ser. I, packet A, July 1880.

Party.³³ In and out of season they harried and goaded the enemy, the Liberal Government and its chief, Gladstone, and in the process increasingly affronted their own more staid and cautious front bench led by Sir Stafford Northcote. Thus there was added to the disputes between Gorst and others in the inner circle of Conservative Party management the more public disagreement between the Fourth Party and the Conservative front bench in the House of Commons.

In November 1882 Gorst once more resigned from the party organisation; at the same time, in an unsigned article in the *Fortnightly Review*, he repeated in public many of the charges he had so frequently made in private: the Tory Party was too much of an aristocratic clique and must become more popular; the aristocratic members of the party had taken no interest in organisation or the new associations before 1874, but had only rushed in to share the spoils; since then social influences had become predominant again, the distinction between borough and county members had been revived, and there had been misdirection of patronage.³⁴ The dispute between Lord Randolph Churchill's friends and the Tory leaders now entered its acute phase, too well known and peripheral to be discussed here. In this dispute the question of the party organisation was much to the fore; the particular object of Lord Randolph's attack was the Central Committee, now the official title of that group of party managers with whom Gorst had found it so difficult to work. It was in fact widely supposed that Gorst was the strategist behind the Fourth Party attacks.³⁵ When the quarrel was finally composed in the summer of 1884, the Central Committee was abolished, but the structure of the central party organisation remained essentially as it had been evolved in the years after 1867. Personalities and issues thus connect the tension of the early days of the Central Office with the more public clashes of the 1880's.

There now remains the question to what extent the Conservative Party was successful in the period after the second Reform Bill in finding a permanently valid accommodation with the fact of an advancing democracy. The victory of 1874 showed that retrograde influences in the party had been sufficiently muted to allow the presentation of an acceptable image to the electorate. It showed, moreover, that the new conditions gave the party a better chance of attaining a major-

³³ See W. S. Churchill, *Life of Lord Randolph Churchill* (2 vols., London, 1906) and H. E. Gorst, *The Fourth Party* (London, 1906).

³⁴ "Conservative Disorganisation" (Part I of "The State of the Opposition"), *Fortnightly Review*, XXXII (1882), 668.

³⁵ For example, Iddesleigh Papers, Lord Barrington to Sir Stafford Northcote, 4 Apr. 1883.

ity than those prevailing between 1846 and 1867. In the glory of that moment many of the intra-party strains and stresses of the preceding years disappeared. In the formation of his government Disraeli was careful, however, to give due consideration to the claims of family and influence. Representatives of many of the great Tory families found places in his Cabinet. Some of the leaders of the country gentlemen, who, had they been left out of the government, might have formed a "cave," were given office.³⁶ On the other hand hardly any of the middle-class representatives of the great industrial cities who now sat on the Tory benches figured in the Disraeli Government. One gets the impression that in the next few years the party leaders, while recognising the importance of these men, approached them with a certain reluctance and that they were not yet fully assimilated to the serried ranks of Tory country gentlemen.³⁷ The one striking exception was W. H. Smith.

The second Disraeli Administration was thus decidedly conservative in its choice of men. In measures it was also less productive than might have been expected from the earlier outpouring of ideas by its chief. Partly this was due to the fact that Disraeli no longer had the physical vigour to sustain a heavy legislative programme, partly to preoccupation with foreign affairs after 1875; but it is probably not fanciful to suppose that this cautious approach, in men as well as in measures, was due to the tensions within the party during the preceding years, to the difficulty Disraeli had had in maintaining himself as leader, and to his reluctance to take any further risks with party unity or with his own position. Moreover, the social reform measures of the parliamentary sessions of 1874 and 1875, important as they were, were of a kind to be easily swallowed by the landed interest. Disraeli was, however, anxious to avoid the impression that his Government and party were taking any backward steps: for example, he personally intervened³⁸ when in the course of the passage of the Education Bill of 1876 his colleagues prepared to accept a clause, moved from the floor of the

³⁶ *The Times*, in a leading article on 3 Mar. 1874, commented on the predominance of county members in the new Government and, referring in particular to the appointment of the young Earl of Pembroke as an Under Secretary at the War Office, wrote: "Mr. Disraeli has always shown himself singularly conscious of the charm the early command of a great inheritance backed by a long descent conveys."

³⁷ Iddesleigh Papers, correspondence between Sir Stafford Northcote and Disraeli. As a consolation prize some of these men were asked to second the Address in reply to the Speech from the Throne at the opening of a Parliamentary session, e.g., W. R. Callender (Manchester) in 1874, John Torr (Liverpool) in 1877, and Robert Tennant (Leeds) in 1878.

³⁸ Salisbury Papers (property of the Marquis of Salisbury, deposited at Christ Church, Oxford), Lord Sandon to Salisbury, 22 July 1876; *Hansard*, debates on Mr. Pell's clause, 20 July 1876 and following days. Disraeli similarly intervened on the Endowed Schools Bill in 1874.

House, which seemed to him reactionary. On the whole the record of social reform of the first Conservative majority Government in a generation could be called fair but not spectacular, sufficient at any rate to maintain the image of a popular party with the electorate. When the electoral defeat in 1880 once more plunged the Tory Party to a parliamentary position weaker even than in 1868, many prophets foresaw doom. The best that could be hoped for now, so many Tories thought, was to shore up a few temporary dams of resistance against the encroaching tide of Radicalism. Tory Democracy was in their view a counsel of despair — it meant entering a bidding auction for the favours of the ravenous masses which would only accelerate ruin. Even the great Beaconsfield himself was gloomy about the future in the last year of his life and seemed to have exhausted his capacity to meet the situation with creative policies. It was not surprising, therefore, that tensions rose again in the party in the 1880's.

The cold facts did not, however, justify such a desperate view of the prospects of the Conservative Party after the defeat of 1880. The evidence is incontrovertible that, compared with the General Election of 1868, the Tories strengthened their hold on the voters, predominantly working-class, in the big industrial cities in the election of 1880.³⁹ Thus there was even in 1880 a good prospect of gradual recovery. It is true that the crisis that eventually ushered in twenty years of almost uninterrupted Conservative rule in 1886, namely the breakdown of Liberal unity, had no connection with the electoral position of the Tory Party. Nevertheless the Conservatives could hardly have recovered and maintained the status of a governing party so successfully had they not enjoyed a broad electoral base, popular and progressive leaders, and a sound organisation. Leaving aside the narrower considerations of electoral success, the Conservative Party triumphantly fulfilled the destiny that Edmund Burke would have marked out for it: it helped to make Britain's transition to a political democracy a process of organic change and contributed to the avoidance of violent breaks. It had a large share in one of the achievements of which the Victorians were justly proud — the peaceful evolution of their political institutions.

Southampton University

³⁹ See Alfred Frisby, "Voters NOT Votes: The Relative Strength of Political Parties as shown by the last two General Elections," *Contemporary Review*, XXXVIII (1880), and, by the same author, "Has Conservatism Increased in England since the Last Reform Bill?" *Fortnightly Review*, XXX (1881). The Tory percentage of the vote in the twenty-nine largest English constituencies contested in both General Elections rose from 37.5% in 1868 to 44.3% in 1880.

DAVID R. CARROLL

UNITY THROUGH ANALOGY:

AN INTERPRETATION OF "MIDDLEMARCH"



THE convention of the direct authorial comment in the Victorian novel presupposes an intimacy of response which the twentieth century has been unwilling to give. Modern criticism has been at pains to isolate and condemn this convention without according the novels the response it demands, a response which, if accorded, would immediately place the convention in correct perspective. More recently, however, the authorial comment has been seen as one more novelistic technique which can be used or misused for a variety of purposes, and as such it is looming less large in the final definition of meaning. Simultaneously more attention is being paid to symbol, imagery, and structure; perhaps we are beginning to recapture the sort of response Frederic Harrison described in 1866 in a letter to George Eliot:¹

I read [*Felix Holt*] all through again just as if it was new to me altogether and I have read it over 4 or 5 times again. I find myself taking it up as I take up Tennyson or Shelley or Browning and thinking out the sequences of thought suggested by the undertones of the thought and the harmony of the lines. Can it be right to put the subtle finish of a poem into the language of a prose narrative? It is not a waste of toil? And yet whilst so many readers must miss all that, most of them even not consciously observing the fact, that they have a really new species of literature before them (a romance constructed in the artistic spirit and aim of a poem) yet it is not all lost. I

¹ *The George Eliot Letters*, ed. Gordon S. Haight (7 vols., New Haven, 1954-56), IV, 284-285.

know whole families where the three volumes have been read chapter by chapter and line by line and reread and recited as are the stanzas of *In Memoriam*.

With his statement as epigraph I wish to show how an awareness of "the undertones of the thought" in *Middlemarch* leads to a realisation of unity through analogy.

I

Middlemarch consists of several groups of characters which touch briefly at their circumference. We are shown the characters in action within their own groups whilst at the same time glimpsing other groups in the background. George Eliot manipulates the interconnections between these apparently self-contained social worlds to reveal "the stealthy convergence of human lots" and the "slow preparation of effects from one life on another" (ch. xi). Dorothea's quest, which is central to the novel, is an attempt to find a principle that will unify the fragmentariness which this structure of the novel postulates. This principle, which she gradually discovers, is to be found ultimately in the nature of one's relations with one's fellow human beings. As Dorothea is educated into this knowledge, the complexities of *Middlemarch* society disappear — we come to see them either as derivatives or corruptions of the simple theory of human relations she evolves. The unifying force of this personal ethic is extended through the cosmos of the novel by means of analogy. The analogies help to define the central search and at the same time universalise its significance. In order to demonstrate George Eliot's use of analogy it is necessary first to trace the development of Dorothea's quest for a unifying principle.

Dorothea is looking for "some lofty conception of the world which might frankly include the parish of Tipton and her own rule of conduct there" (ch. i), and the central conflict in the novel is between this theoretic aim on the one hand, and on the other her ardent nature and provincial situation, "struggling in the bands of a narrow teaching, hemmed in by a social life which seemed nothing but a labyrinth of petty courses" (ch. iii). Unlike Saint Theresa, Dorothea is "helped by no coherent social faith and order which could perform the function of knowledge for the ardently willing soul" (Prelude); and so her search for a viable philosophy is complex and bewildering. A personal "social faith" can only come through genuine self-knowledge, and self-knowledge only through suffering. And it is the suffering which Dorothea has to undergo which finally resolves this conflict — she comes to understand simultaneously both herself and her relationship with others.

This regeneration through successive disenchantments,² a movement which underlies all George Eliot's novels, is described in her well-known letter to Sara Hennell in 1848:

Alas for the fate of poor mortals which condemns them to wake up some fine morning and find all the poetry in which their world was bathed only the evening before utterly gone . . . It is so in all the stages of life . . . and we see ourselves and all about us as nothing more than miserable agglomerations of atoms . . . This is the state of prostration — the self-abnegation through which the soul must go, and to which it perhaps must again and again return, that its poetry or religion, which is the same thing, may be a real ever-flowing river fresh from the windows of heaven and the fountains of the great deep — not an artificial basin with grotto work and gold fish.

Letters, I, 264

Dorothea's first disenchantment is the failure of her marriage with Casaubon; and in the "stupendous fragmentariness" (ch. xx) of Rome, a clear echo of the above letter, we have a vivid correlative of Dorothea's confusion and disillusionment. The visit to Rome also emphasises the futility of Casaubon's research, and from this double realisation comes Dorothea's first lesson: "she had felt the waking of a presentiment that there might be a sad consciousness in his life which made as great a need on his side as on her own." Then, in the next paragraph, George Eliot develops the significance of Dorothea's presentiment and in doing so makes one of the most central definitions in the novel:

We are all of us born in moral stupidity, taking the world as an udder to feed our supreme selves: Dorothea had early begun to emerge from that stupidity, but yet it had been easier to her to imagine how she would devote herself to Mr. Casaubon, and become wise and strong in his strength and wisdom, than to conceive with that distinctness which is no longer reflection but feeling — an idea wrought back to the directness of sense, like the solidity of objects — that he had an equivalent centre of self, whence the lights and shadows must always fall with a certain difference.

(ch. xxi)

During the rest of her life with Casaubon, "where the sense of connection with a manifold pregnant existence had to be kept up painfully as an inward vision" (ch. xxviii), she attempts to retain this distinct "feeling." And as she does so, her mind becomes less theoretic and her quest more realistic: "She was no longer struggling against the perception of facts, but adjusting herself to their clearest perception; and now when she looked steadily at her husband's failure, still more at his possible consciousness of failure, she seemed to be looking along the one track where duty became tenderness" (ch. xxxvii).

After Casaubon's death, she learns of the codicil to his will and of Ladislaw's feelings towards her. As a result she passes out of her

² See Barbara Hardy, "The Moment of Disenchantment in George Eliot's Novels," *Review of English Studies*, n.s., V (1954), 256-264.

protracted disenchantment into a second hopeful phase: "She might have compared her experience at that moment to the vague, alarmed consciousness that her life was taking on a new form, that she was undergoing a metamorphosis in which memory would not adjust itself to the stirring of new organs. Everything was changing its aspect . . . Her whole world was in a state of convulsive change" (ch. I). Yet she has not attained a full comprehension "with that distinctness which is no longer reflection but feeling," of her relationship with others. A second disenchantment is required for her to assimilate fully and to practise the lessons she has derived from her marriage. This occurs when she surprises Ladislaw and Rosamond together at Lydgate's. Ladislaw becomes for the moment the second "detected illusion" (ch. lxxx). Here at the climax of the novel, Dorothea transcends by an effort of will an egocentric interpretation of the situation and looks at it from the point of view of the "equivalent centre[s] of self" of the other protagonists:

It was not in Dorothea's nature, for longer than the duration of a paroxysm, to sit in the narrow cell of her calamity, in the besotted misery of a consciousness that only sees another's lot as an accident of its own.

She began now to live through that yesterday morning deliberately again, forcing herself to dwell on every detail and its possible meaning. Was she alone in that scene? Was it her event only?

(ch. lxxx)

Not only must she look at the situation from their point of view, but she must accept the obligations which this brings: "And what sort of crisis might not this be in three lives whose contact with hers laid an obligation on her as if they had been suppliants bearing the sacred branch?" (ch. lxxx). Struggling to achieve this vision, she looks out into the dawn and experiences the revelation which is the moment of regeneration:

She opened her curtains, and looked out towards the bit of road that lay in view, with fields beyond, outside the entrance-gates. On the road there was a man with a bundle on his back and a woman carrying her baby; in the field she could see figures moving — perhaps the shepherd with his dog. Far off in the bending sky was the pearly light; and she felt the largeness of the world and the manifold wakings of men to labour and endurance. She was a part of that involuntary, palpitating life, and could neither look out on it from her luxurious shelter as a mere spectator, nor hide her eyes in selfish complaining.

(ch. lxxx)

The sense of connection with a "manifold pregnant existence" is no longer merely an "inward vision," and Dorothea acknowledges the revelation by discarding her widow's mourning, experiencing "the tradition that fresh garments belonged to all initiation" (ch. lxxx). Then she returns to Rosamond to reconcile her with Lydgate, and through this comes herself to marry Ladislaw. Dorothea has attained a simple but extremely basic "social faith"; she has experienced the inescapable

unity of mankind, at the same time recognising the inviolable separateness of the individual.

II

Casaubon's search for his "Key to all Mythologies" is the first analogy which obliquely defines this central theme; it helps us to understand Dorothea's search in greater detail, and prepares us for its culmination. He, like Dorothea, is seeking a "lofty conception" which will show "that all the mythical systems or erratic mythical fragments in the world were corruptions of a tradition originally revealed. Having once mastered the true position and taken a firm footing there, the vast field of mythical constructions became intelligible, nay, luminous with the reflected light of correspondences" (ch. iii). This search for a unifying theory is clearly analogous to Dorothea's quest; and in "the true position" for which he is striving we have an anticipation of her moment of vision in the dawn. But the complete unreality of Casaubon's researches is shown by the way in which, although these are being used to define the central search, they in no way help him to understand the fundamental nature of that search. When Dorothea's philanthropic ardour becomes too insistent he seeks refuge in historical parallel: "Mr. Casaubon apparently did not care about building cottages, and diverted the talk to the extremely narrow accommodation which was to be had in the dwellings of the ancient Egyptians, as if to check a too high standard" (ch. iii).

The final futility of Casaubon's search is symbolised in the "stupendous fragmentariness" of Rome, whose "gigantic broken revelations" (ch. xx) are outside the scope of his mind. The symbol of Rome also marks a stage in Dorothea's analogous search — marriage with Casaubon has failed to provide the unifying principle she desires, and her inward confusion is reproduced in the chaos around her. But her personal grief in this city of suffering is a necessary stage of development which will eventually lead her to full knowledge and to Ladislaw, who here epitomises the beauty which can be found beneath the apparent confusion of Rome. However, at present, the clue to the "labyrinth of petty courses" which is Dorothea's life in Middlemarch has yet to be found; Casaubon's mind has merely "reflected . . . in vague labyrinthine extension every quality she herself brought" (ch. iii), and so she is placed in antithesis to the Ariadne in the Vatican museum. One lesson has, however, been learned. Now, after her disenchantment, she is "no longer struggling against the perception of facts, but adjusting

herself to their clearest perception," whereas "Mr. Casaubon's theory of the elements which made the seed of all tradition was not likely to bruise itself unawares against discoveries . . . it was a method of interpretation which was not tested by the necessity of forming anything which had sharper collisions than an elaborate notion of Gog and Magog" (ch. xlviii). Her search, unlike his, is becoming less theoretic and more empirical.

The workings of the historical imagination provide a second analogy to Dorothea's quest for a social ethic. In the midst of the despair at Rome, Ladislaw appears and underlines by contrast the inadequacy of Casaubon's imagination. When the three of them meet at dinner, Ladislaw "passed easily to a half-enthusiastic, half-playful picture of the enjoyment he got out of the very miscellaneousness of Rome, which made the mind flexible with constant comparison, and saved you from seeing the world's ages as a set of box-like partitions without vital connection" (ch. xxii). He is a forerunner of Deronda who was interested in "the faint beginnings of faiths and institutions, and their obscure lingering decay" (ch. xxxii); and in both characters the ability to project themselves back in time is an analogy, a symptom almost, of the ability to project themselves into other people's points of view. Later in the novel we learn that Ladislaw's "point of view shifted as easily as his mood" (ch. xxxix); and we see his inability to choose a profession as an aspect of Deronda's later disease of sympathy: "His imagination had so wrought itself to the habit of seeing things as they probably appeared to others, that a strong partisanship, unless it were against an immediate oppression, had become an insincerity for him" (ch. xxxii). They both eventually find a "strong partisanship" in politics, and their energies and sympathies are channelled towards a definite end.³

The analogy here is not ironic for it points directly to Dorothea's ultimate vision of "the largeness of the world" and its "involuntary, palpitating life." Its use is simultaneous with her growing awareness of Casaubon's "equivalent centre of self," and her growing refusal to see human beings as "a set of box-like partitions without vital connection."

This last phrase suggests another analogous search. Lydgate too is seeking unity in plurality in his anatomical investigations. He is searching for the "vital connection" between the different organs of the body:

The more he became interested in special questions of disease, such as the nature

³ Jerome Beaty's note, "The Forgotten Past of Will Ladislaw," *Nineteenth Century Fiction*, XIII (1958), 159-163, substantiates this connection.

of fever or fevers, the more keenly he felt the need for that fundamental knowledge of structure which just at the beginning of the century had been illuminated by the brief and glorious career of Bichat . . . That great Frenchman first carried out the conception that living bodies, fundamentally considered, are not associations of organs which can be understood by studying them first apart, and then as it were federally; but must be regarded as consisting of certain primary webs or tissues, out of which the various organs — brain, heart, lungs, and so on — are compacted . . .

(ch. xv)

Once again, the terms are readily transposable to Dorothea's search for a theory of social unity. She is looking for the foundation of the structure of society, and the implicit definition of it here anticipates her final realisation that man must be seen simultaneously as an individual and as a member of society. The "primitive tissue" of society⁴ for which she is searching and which she at last finds, is suggested in a comment George Eliot makes on Bulstrode's theory of providence: "There is no general doctrine which is not capable of eating out our morality if unchecked by the deep-seated habit of direct fellow-feeling with individual fellow-men" (ch. lxi). This habit is the "tradition originally revealed" which will make intelligible the "constructions" of *Middlemarch* society.

Again, as in the case of Casaubon, there is an ironic severance between Lydgate's scientific work and his human relationships; and George Eliot uses some minor analogies to drive home this dichotomy. Lydgate is first attracted to anatomy by reading as a boy a passage on "the valves of the human heart" (ch. xv), from ignorance of which he will of course be ruined. Later, in Paris, he is engaged on "some galvanic experiments" when he becomes infatuated with an actress. He "left his frogs and rabbits to some repose under their trying and mysterious dispensation of unexplained shocks" (ch. xv) in order to undergo a similar therapeutic experience himself with Laure. Apparently this galvanic experiment has been successful, for "three days afterwards Lydgate was at his galvanism again in his Paris chambers, believing that illusions were at an end for him" (ch. xv). But the conflict and cross-reference between his "two selves" (ch. xv) continues into his relationship with Rosamond when he first succumbs to her influence whilst studying "Louis' new book on Fever" (ch. xvii). We are prepared for his marriage by his coveting and acceptance of Farebrother's "lovely anencephalous monster" (ch. xvii), and finally Rosamond's breaking down of his de-

⁴ Since writing this essay I see that Professor Quentin Anderson has used a similar phrase, "the 'primitive tissue' of a community," in his chapter on *Middlemarch* in *From Dickens to Hardy*, ed. Boris Ford, The Pelican Guide to English Literature, VI (London, 1958), pp. 274-293. He points out that "The master image of the book precisely parallels Lydgate's physiological inquiry: this is the image of human relationships as a web" (pp. 276-277), without showing the more detailed analogy with the central theme.

sire for independence coincides fittingly with an experiment on maceration. George Eliot is at pains to point the analogy: "That evening when he went home, he looked at this phials to see how a process of maceration was going on, with undisturbed interest . . . The reveries from which it was difficult for him to detach himself were ideal constructions of something else than Rosamond's virtues, and the primitive tissue was still his fair unknown" (ch. xxvii). His search for a literally organic unity, as well as helping us to understand the organic social unity which is the object of Dorothea's quest, serves as a running commentary on his relationship with Laure and Rosamond. The analogies emphasise the discreteness of "the two selves within him."

III

Once we have grasped the central theme of the novel and the way in which it is being used, the ramifications are extensive. It becomes clear that almost every character in the novel has his or her own cosmology which serves as a guide or a warning to the central search. Each cosmology is finally judged as to its comprehensiveness and its basis in reality by reference to Dorothea's final revelation, in which she finds "the primitive tissue," "the tradition originally revealed," upon which all the cosmologies ought ultimately to be based.

It would be tedious to examine all the variations of this theme, but we may glance briefly at a few. For example, Rosamond, "whose basis for her structure had the usual airy slightness, was of remarkably detailed and realistic imagination when the foundation had been once presupposed" (ch. xii); into her structure, the "gossamer web" of "young love-making" (ch. xxxvi), she incorporates Lydgate willy-nilly, with the result that his researches collapse before her more persistent constructions. Bulstrode, on the other hand, utilises the divine scheme of things for his own purposes: "In his closest meditations the life-long habit of Mr. Bulstrode's mind clad his most egoistic terrors in doctrinal references to superhuman ends" (ch. lii). His conduct serves as a warning of the way in which "that spiritual religion, that submergence of self in communion with Divine perfection" (ch. iii), for which Dorothea yearned at the beginning of the novel, can be perverted. Caleb Garth sees life in terms of "business" and his world-picture is both realistic and comprehensive:

Caleb Garth often shook his head in meditation on the value, the indispensable might of that myriad-headed, myriad-handed labour by which the social body is fed, clothed, and housed. It had laid hold of his imagination in boyhood. The echoes of the great hammer . . . the precision and variety of muscular effort wherever exact

work had to be turned out, — all these sights of his youth had acted on him as poetry without the aid of the poets, had made a philosophy for him without the aid of philosophers, a religion without the aid of theology. (ch. xxiv)

Mrs. Cadwallader appears as a comic Mrs. Transome, with a similarly aristocratic scheme of things; her interest centres in the “exact crossing of genealogies which had brought a coronet into a new branch and widened the relations of scandal,” and “she believed as unquestionably in birth and no-birth as she did in game and vermin” (ch. vi). Her cosmos is judged and found wanting in the scene at Featherstone’s funeral when Dorothea and her friends watch the proceedings from the upper-acting level of Lowick Manor: “The country gentry of old time lived in a rarefied social air: dotted apart on their stations up the mountain they looked down with imperfect discrimination on the belts of thicker life below. And Dorothea was not at ease in the perspective and chilliness of that height” (ch. xxxiv). Finally, we may mention Joshua Rigg, who, in superiority to Mr. Casaubon, desires and obtains a plurality of keys: “The one joy after which his soul thirsted was to have a money-changer’s shop on a much-frequented quay, to have locks all round him of which he held the keys . . .” (ch. liii). Standing apart from the other characters is Mary Garth, whose very definite reality throughout the novel springs ultimately from her unique refusal to refashion the world according to her own wishes: “she neither tried to create illusions, nor indulged in them for her own behoof” (ch. xii). The universal validity of the pier-glass image which opens chapter twenty-seven is questioned only here in the presentation of her character — she is not prepared to allow egocentricity to produce “the flattering illusion of a concentric arrangement.”

Everyone in the novel has to work out his own cosmology because the society in which he is living is in a constant state of flux; it is because Dorothea inherits “no coherent social faith and order” that her quest is directed to finding the “primitive tissue” of society upon which all the other world-pictures are based. This state of flux of Middlemarch society is seen as one more search for unity:

Old provincial society had its share of this subtle movement: had not only its striking downfalls, its brilliant young professional dandies who ended by living up an entry with a drab and six children for their establishment, but also those less marked vicissitudes which are constantly shifting the boundaries of social intercourse, and begetting new consciousness of inter-dependence. Some slipped a little downward, some got higher footing . . . while a few personages or families that stood with rocky firmness amid all this fluctuation, were slowly presenting new aspects in spite of solidity, and altering with the double change of self and beholder. Municipal town and rural parish gradually made fresh threads of connection . . . (ch. xi)

Provincial society is becoming aware of its organic unity; the society which includes Lydgate and Casaubon is itself seeking a unity in plu-

rality, is refusing to see itself as a "set of box-like partitions without vital connection," is in fact becoming aware of its "primary webs or tissues." And George Eliot underlines subtly but with persistence the constant erosion of social stratum upon social stratum, the striving to overcome the fragmentariness inherent in the basic structure of the novel.

This growing self-awareness which is presented in dramatic detail in *Middlemarch*, finds expression at large in the Reform movement, the crucial years of which are covered by the novel. And here we have the final analogy with Dorothea's search. In a recent article⁵ Mr. Jerome Beaty has shown by gathering together the terse political references in the novel how it is possible to reconstruct the main events of the Reform movement from 1829 to 1832, which form a shadowy but meticulously planned background to the fictional events. He has examined the technique of this "history by indirection," but without showing its analogical function. In fact, what George Eliot is doing is to articulate and suggest the significance of the main lines of Dorothea's quest for a "social faith" by means of the parallel political events. The cross-references between fiction and reality are, however, oblique and, on the few occasions when they become overt, their significance is concealed by their ironic explicitness; for example, chapter nineteen begins, "When George the Fourth was still reigning over the privacies of Windsor, when the Duke of Wellington was Prime Minister, and Mr. Vincy was mayor of the old corporation of Middlemarch, Mrs. Casaubon, born Dorothea Brooke, had taken her wedding journey to Rome." That such references play a part in defining the central theme is suggested not by their obtrusiveness but by their insistence.

The main parallels can soon be stated. The first signs of the coming political upheaval are presented by reference to Brooke's "documents on machine-breaking and rick-burning" (ch. iii); and it is in the same chapter we are given the first full description of Dorothea's discontent, "hemmed in by a social life which seemed nothing but a labyrinth of petty courses." Her hoped-for release through marriage fails — reform cannot come from a Casaubon who is seeking the patronage of Peel. Casaubon's death coincides with the dissolution of Parliament in April 1831, the last Parliament to stalemate reform; and it is his death, of course, which opens the way for Dorothea's new relationship with Ladislaw, a zealous reformer. "Her whole world was in a state of con-

⁵ Jerome Beaty, "History by Indirection: the Era of Reform in *Middlemarch*," *VS*, I (1957), 173-179. I am indebted to Mr. Beaty for his reconstruction of the political background.

vulsive change" (ch. 1), as is the political world as it prepares for the "famous 'dry election'" (ch. li). The Commons pass Lord John Russell's Bill and Dorothea experiences her revelation in the dawn, but soon afterward the Lords throw out the Bill and Dorothea has to face concerted opposition to her marriage with Ladislaw. But shortly the First Reform Bill will be passed and Dorothea will find a partial fulfilment in marriage. At this stage, Mr. Beaty points the analogy in detail:

Indeed there is a parallel in the fiction. The old world of *Middlemarch* makes a final effort to resist Dorothea's marrying an unsuitable foreigner . . . All is in vain. Dorothea will marry Ladislaw. But the wedding, the most important fictional event of the novel, takes place off stage, after the action in the novel ends too: it is scheduled for three weeks after the scene at Freshitt, very close to the June seventh date of the passage of the Reform Bill. This coincidence lends an air of finality or completeness to the story that began nearly three years earlier by bringing to a close a historical as well as a fictional series of events. (Beaty, "History," p. 179)

This "coincidence" also rounds off the political analogy which has made us become aware of the wider significance of the central theme of the novel. This implicit relationship between the fictional microcosm and political macrocosm states that there is an interaction between Dorothea's quest and the Reform movement at the same time as it implies the tenuousness of that interaction. This is very different from the direct interaction in George Eliot's overtly historical novel, *Romola*, where the characters control and are controlled by political events: "as in the tree that bears a myriad of blossoms, each single bud with its fruit is dependent on the primary circulation of the sap, so the fortunes of Tito and Romola were dependent on certain grand political and social conditions which made an epoch in the history of Italy" (ch. xxi). The irony of the relationship between microcosm and macrocosm in *Middlemarch* lies in the fact that Dorothea, throughout the novel, is never in direct contact with the political movement, although the analogy we have outlined asserts that she embodies the essence of reform. In the last paragraph of the novel, however, George Eliot transcends this ironic severance by a subdued optimism: "But the effect of her being on those around her was incalculably diffusive: for the growing good of the world is partly dependent on unhistoric acts; and that things are not so ill with you and me as they might have been, is half owing to the number who lived faithfully a hidden life, and rest in unvisited tombs."

IV

In the letter I used earlier as an epigraph, Frederic Harrison tried to persuade George Eliot that she alone was the person capable of

writing the Positivist novel for which they had all been waiting. It is tempting to speculate how far she met this challenge in *Middlemarch*, for, when we place Harrison's suggestions alongside George Eliot's use of analogy to unify and define, the two have a great deal in common; and the key to all the mythologies of contemporary society which Dorothea discovers could provide the basis of a Comtist ethic. But more immediately relevant to our judgment of the novel here is George Eliot's reply to his letter in August: "I think aesthetic teaching is the highest of all teaching because it deals with life in its highest complexity. But if it ceases to be purely aesthetic — if it lapses anywhere from the picture to the diagram — it becomes the most offensive of all teaching" (*Letters*, IV, 300). In order to deal with this complexity, the novelist employs a variety of formal techniques. These become "offensive" when they attempt to coerce the reader, they become powerless when the material they inform is not realised. But even when there is a successful combination, the two elements — the realistic and the formal — seem to demand contrary responses: the first that we not only contemplate but immerse ourselves in the immediate scene, the second that we see the function of that scene in the context of the whole. In *Middlemarch* they are fused completely. The very real complexity of the cosmos of the novel is asserted throughout, and yet this complexity is made meaningful by George Eliot's use of analogy. The "diagram" has been built into the "picture" without loss of reality.

*Fourah Bay College (University of Durham)
Sierra Leone*



THE WINTRY DUEL:
A VICTORIAN IMPORT

THE BOIS DE BOULOGNE was long the resort of duelists whose exploits were for the most part soon forgotten. One duel, however, quickened the imagination of French painters and through them stimulated Victorian dramatists. This influence of life on art and of art on drama I propose to trace. In the winter of 1856-57, two merrymakers, Deluns-Montaud and Symphorien-Casimir-Joseph Boittelle, became so incensed at each other that, without taking time to change their costumes of Harlequin and Pierrot, they hurried to a dueling field. Deluns-Montaud ran Boittelle through the chest with his sword. Despite being thought a corpse, Boittelle recovered and lived to be a prefect of police and a senator. The victor was later a deputy.¹

Two painters separately began work on topical canvases. The first in

¹ Victor Guillemin, "Étude sur . . . Gérôme," *Procès-Verbaux . . . Académie . . . de Besançon, année 1904* (Besançon, 1905), p. 145n.; *Nord: Dictionnaire biographique illustré*, 2^e éd. (Paris, 1909), pp. 95-96; *The Goncourt Journals 1851-1870*, trans. Lewis Galantière (New York, 1937), pp. 156-157, 25 June 1863.

time was Thomas Couture, who devoted a crayon sketch, an unfinished painting, and a completed canvas to *The Duel after the Masked Ball*. In the canvas it is dawn; the place, a small clearing among tree-studded slopes; the action, Harlequin holding his sword confidently while one assistant makes suggestions and another pleads for reconciliation, Pierrot standing diffidently while a bearded second holds a massive-hilted sword and another second, wearing an Indian feathered topknot, looks on (see figure 1). Activity and languor, contrasted in the two principals, foreshadow the outcome. Just before the Salon opened in 1857, Couture's 9 by 12½-inch canvas was sold for 3,300 francs. It is now in the Wallace Collection, London.

Jean Léon Gérôme was not so much interested in the preliminaries or in swaggering-Harlequin, cringing-Pierrot traditionalism as in the reality of the central action. His untitled original version, a 20 by 28-inch canvas, and his two copies have been variously called *The Duel in the Snow*, *The Morning after the Masquerade*, *Sequel of a Masked Ball*, *The End of the Ball*, *The Duel after the Masked Ball* (or . . . *the Masquerade*), *Tragedy and Comedy*, *The Duel of Pierrot*, and *The Death of Pierrot*. The scene is a clearing in the Bois de Boulogne. In the background are bare trees, the principals' carriages, and their waiting drivers. In the middle distance, Harlequin, relegated to the role of second, holds the left arm of the victor, who is in Indian dress, as both retreat toward their carriage on the right. On the trampled snow between them and the group in the left foreground lie Pierrot's cloak and the victorious Indian's sword and a few feathers shorn from his topknot. Three men in costume severally hold Pierrot, gaze in horror at his death-mask face, and try to stanch the flow of blood from his chest wound. The sword seems to be slipping from the dying man's flaccid hand; his legs are rigid, his torso limp. Light is concentrated in the snow and, even more, in Pierrot's face and apparel. The atmosphere, like the retiring forms, is heavy and gray (see figure 2 for the version in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore).

Gérôme's representation was easily the favorite among the 2715 paintings hung at the Palais des Champs-Elysées in the 1857 Salon. Viewers were transfixed as if they could hear Pierrot's death rattle. Professional critics were enthusiastic and at the same time perplexed. Only two of them judged the work as art. Edmond About thought the figures carelessly drawn and lacking in animation: besides being terribly elongated, Pierrot was modeled out of bread crumb and stuffed with straw, and the weight of the group rested on one man's unbraced knee. Paul de Saint-Victor was just as positive that the postures were right, the drawing of copper-plate precision, and the total effect soundly conceived.²

Other critics applied the criteria of life. Alexandre Dumas and Henri Delaborde, as well as About agreed that the subject was unconvincing. Although students may rush from a ball to kill each other in carnival dress,

² Edmond About, *Le Moniteur Universel*, CXXXIX, 773-774 (16 July 1857). On p. 774, About discusses the Couture-Gérôme rivalry in representing "un fait vrai et contemporain." Saint-Victor is quoted by Pierre Larousse, *Grand Dictionnaire universel du xix^e siècle* (Paris, 1865-90), VI, 1350.

Gérôme's antagonists and seconds seem old enough to be sober notaries. Such men may forget to make their wills or to write their wives, but they will hardly defy the dueling convention of black pantaloons. But the majority of critics agreed with Gustave Planché that the episode possessed verisimilitude.³

Criticism, however, was chiefly penned in terms of narration, drama, and even choreography rather than of art and life. In *Le Monde Illustré*, J. Doucet spoke of Gérôme as having finished a noble page of commentary "à la Danse macabre," which would compel the most sterile imagination to explain the event by creating stories. Théophile Gautier suggested to readers of *L'Artiste* that Gérôme's pitiless composure and his dryness, exactness, and strength as narrator were "comme une page de Mérimée." Through its antithesis of "action terrible, acteurs grotesques," the painting seemed to ask Harlequin, "Qu'as-tu fait de ton frère Pierrot?" For Dubosc de Pesquidoux the painting evoked the impression of a breathtaking tableau, drama, or recital of events. But the painter and art critic, Étienne Jean Delécluze, commented that the literary aspect predominated over the artistic and that the dramatic cord was drawn too taut.⁴

The much discussed painting itself was sold to the Duc d'Aumale for 20,000 francs, becoming a part of the Condé Museum at Chantilly. It crossed the Channel to London and Twickenham exhibits in 1857 and 1862, enjoyed great success at the Paris Universal Exhibition of 1867, and brought the artist a prize as late as 1898. It was reproduced countless times by etchers, lithographers, engravers, and photographers. Perhaps the first English engraving, H. T. Ryall's *A Duel after a Bal Masque* (11½ by 17¼ inches), done early in 1858 for Gambart and Company, included 25 presentation copies, 700 copies in different states and at prices ranging from four to ten guineas, and an *unlimited* number of prints at two guineas each.⁵ Gérôme's father-in-law, the famous art dealer, Goupil, circulated thousands of prints through the branches of his firm in Paris, Berlin, New York, The Hague, and London.

In executing two copies of his own painting, Gérôme tried to clear up the confusion about the identity of the victor. The Chantilly original shows Harlequin holding the Indian by the arm and talking to him as they walk toward their carriage. The Indian's head is turned toward Harlequin, who would seem to be comforting or counseling his principal. A copy in the Academy of Art at Leningrad makes the relationship even more obvious, because the Indian's head is turned slightly away from Harlequin. The Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore houses a second copy in which the Indian definitely averts his face. If these three versions could be filmed and run off in what I take to be the order of their composition, the dusky savage would be seen to turn his head in despair from the facile consolations of his second.

³ Guillemin, pp. 143-145, 180; About, pp. 773-774.

⁴ *Le Monde Illustré* for 18 July 1857, p. 5; *L'Artiste*, nouvelle série, I, 245-246 (5 July 1857); Guillemin; Larousse. See also Fanny Field Hering, *Gérôme* (New York, 1892), pp. 68-75.

⁵ Records of the Knoedler Art Galleries, New York City.

This clearer identification, however, adds to the copies a sentimental note of regret from which the original is free.⁶

It is not improbable that, before the *Duel* was shipped to the exhibition of French artists in London, Gérôme added to his "composition a little after the English taste" (Hering, p. 77) the telltale feathers shorn from the Red Indian's topknot by Pierrot's wild sword. Certainly the English, unlike the French, were not confused about the identity of the victor. Over a period of a year, the London *Athenaeum* consistently referred to Harlequin as the second. In Gérôme's "powerfully dramatic," "terrible and appalling," "truly tragic picture," Pierrot's "face is a three-act tragedy reduced to one look. . . . There is an epitome of a hundred passionate novels in this painting," which teaches "a finer moral lesson" than any work since Hogarth's time.⁷

Such was the material which appealed to the aging playwright, Edward Fitzball, who had based his most popular melodrama, *Jonathan Bradford*, on an actual murder. His "original domestic drama," *Christmas Eve; or, The Duel in the Snow*, opened at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, on 12 March 1860. In an hour and twenty-five minutes of acting time, the events hastened through poison, dire prophecy, death at midnight, retributive infidelity, and a challenge at a masquerade ball to the death of both antagonists, Pierrot and the Indian. Except for this sensational complication in the finale, Fitzball imitated Gérôme's grouping in his climactic tableau. He also enforced the Hogarthian moral that adultery does not pay, by salubrious remorse and death, all at the mournful stroke of midnight.

The *Illustrated London News* informed its readers that "this remarkable playwright" had adopted Gérôme's celebrated painting as his closing scene. "The rest is occupied with incidents calculated to account for such a catastrophe." The critic, more mindful of Gérôme than of Fitzball, described the last set, a park in the falling snow, as the Bois de Boulogne. A week later, the staff artist of the same periodical implied the superiority of Gérôme by representing only one victim in his pen drawing of the theatrical tableau. The Indian of the melodrama died before Pierrot, but in this drawing is shown walking away with his second, Harlequin, as in the painting (see opposite).⁸

In his use of tableau, the theatrical equivalent of painting, to crystallize a dramatic moment and to give spectators the pleasurable thrill of recognition, Fitzball was so successful that the management of Drury Lane was exultant. The new piece had "elicited unequivocal marks of approbation from a crowded audience."⁹ Its vogue was so great, in fact, that sometime between 1860 and 1864 the characters in a stage version of Dumas' *The Corsican Brothers* were regrouped to pirate Fitzball's effects.

⁶ For the three versions, see F.-A. Gruyer, *Notice des peintres* (Paris, 1899), p. 484; N. A. Kushelev-Bezborodko and M. M. Dalkevich, *Imperatorskia Akademiiia Khudozhestvo* (Saint Petersburg, 1911), plate in Vol. III; and *Handbook of the Collection, Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore, c. 1936), p. 166.

⁷ *Athenaeum*, 27 June 1857, p. 825; 30 Jan., 24 Apr., and 12 June, 1858, pp. 151, 535, 757.

⁸ *Illustrated London News*, 17 and 24 Mar. 1860, pp. 251, 285.

⁹ Advertisement in *The Times*, 14 Mar. 1860, p. 8.



During the 1850's the versatility of Charles Albert Fechter, creator of the dual rôle of the severed Siamese twins, Fabien and Louis dei Franchi, had been emulated by Charles John Kean and other London actors. So intense did the competition become that, as a biographer of Kean's says, "nearly every theatre in the metropolis brought forward versions of their own."¹⁰ To survive under such conditions, each adapter of Grangé and Montépin's dramatic version of Dumas strained after novelty. Gérôme, by way of Fitzball, proved helpful. Thus the stage direction for a tableau in the original version reads: "On voit une clairière de la forêt de Fontainebleau; d'un côté est un jeune homme qui essuie son épée et de l'autre Louis de Franchi, couché entre deux témoins qui lui portent secours."¹¹ The direction in Lacy's Acting Edition and in French's Standard Drama reads:

An open clearing in the forest of Fontainbleau — at Centre is Chateau Renaud, who is wiping his sword, and on the other Louis dei Franchi, upon the ground, Right Centre, supported by a Surgeon and his Second, who are rendering him assistance — two other Gentlemen in position Right, realizing the group from the picture of "The Duel."

Tableau.¹²

¹⁰ J. W. Cole, *The Life and Theatrical Times of Charles Kean* (London, 1859), II, 32. "For a time, the subject became a perfect mania."

¹¹ E. Grangé and X. de Montépin, *Les Frères corses*, I, xvii: undated copy in Harvard College Library.

¹² Grangé and Montépin, *Les Frères Corsos; or, The Corsican Brothers* (London, n.d.), p. 20. The same tableau concludes Act I and Act II. Also see the advertisement of "an



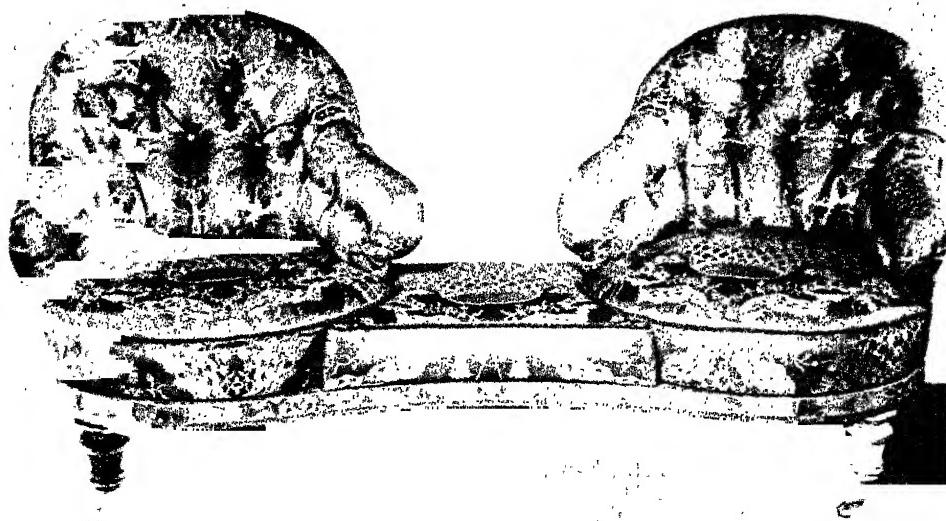
Figure 2 (see page 318)

from the picture in the Walters Art Gallery — by permission

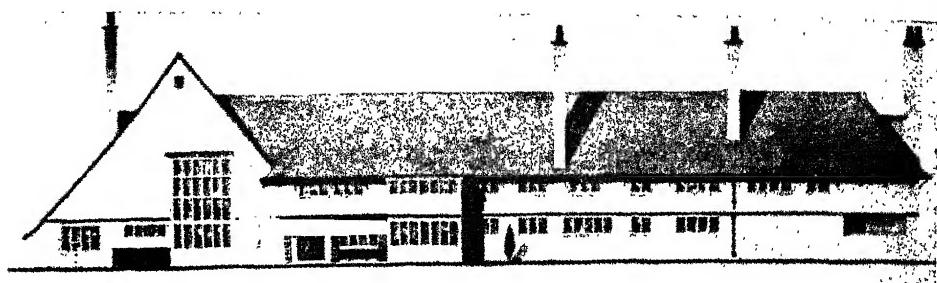
Silver teapot, designed by A. W. N. Pugin, c. 1845
Victoria and Albert Museum



From *The Early Victorian Period, 1830-1860*, reviewed on page 326



Sofa ("Sociable") covered in silk damask woven by Baily and Jackson,
Spitalfields, c. 1844. Stoneleigh Abbey, Warwickshire



C. F. A. Voysey: Hog's Back, Surrey; Julian Sturgis House, 1896

from *Architecture, Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, reviewed on page 329

Lewis Cubitt: London; King's Cross Station, 1851-52





- 328 *John Steegman* : The Early Victorian Period, 1830-1860 ed. EDWARDS & RAMSEY
: From Gothic Revival to Functional Form by ALF BØ
- 329 *Vincent Scully* : Architecture, Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries
by HENRY-RUSSELL HITCHCOCK
- 331 *G. D. H. Cole* : The Advent of the British Labour Party by PHILIP POIRIER
: Labour and Politics, 1900-1906 by FRANK BEALEY and HENRY PELLING
- 334 *H. W. McCready* : The Trades Union Congress, 1868-1921 by B. C. ROBERTS
: A History of the National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives, 1874-1957 by ALAN FOX
- 337 *Michael Kraus* : Lord Aberdeen and the Americas by WILBUR DEVEREUX JONES
: The Great Democracies by WINSTON S. CHURCHILL
: The Anglo-American Connection in the Early Nineteenth Century by FRANK THISTLETHWAITE
- 340 *Preston Slosson* : The Empire-Commonwealth, 1870-1919 ed. BENJAMS, BUTLER, & CARRINGTON
- 342 *David Allan Robertson, Jr.* : A Century of Mountaineering, 1857-1957 by ARNOLD LUNN
- 343 *Jerome H. Buckley* : Caricatures by Max from the Collection in the Ashmolean Museum
: Max's Nineties: Drawings, 1892-1899 by MAX BEERBOHM
- 344 *Alan S. Downer* : Bulwer and Macready ed. SHATTUCK
- 346 *Melvin Richter* : Bernard Shaw and the Nineteenth-Century Tradition by JULIAN B. KAYE
- 347 *G. Kitson Clark* : Democracy in England by DIANA SPEARMAN
- 348 *Roger Prouty* : The Board of Trade and the Free-Trade Movement, 1830-42 by LUCY BROWN

The Early Victorian Period, 1830-1860, edited by RALPH EDWARDS and L. G. G. RAMSEY; Vol. VI of **THE CONNOISSEUR PERIOD GUIDES**; pp. xii + 180. Connoisseur: London, 1958, 42s.; Crown: New York, 1958, \$6.95. **From Gothic Revival to Functional Form**, by ALF BØE; pp. ix + 184. Humanities Press: New York, 1958, \$3.50; Blackwell: Oxford, 1957, 18s.; Oslo University Press: Oslo, 1957, 18 kr.

IT IS NOW well over thirty-five years since the vogue for "Early Victorian" began to set in, at any rate in England. By around 1934 the vogue was sufficiently established for a Victorian Exhibition to have been arranged in one of the big London houses, as a fund-raising scheme for St. Bartholomew's Hospital. It became chic to collect papier-maché chairs, Staffordshire pottery figurines, and wax fruit under glass domes. They were "rather amusing" and had the advantage of being inexpensive (as this reviewer gratefully remembers). The vogue gained strength when the late Queen Mary turned her insatiable collector's appetite to Victoriana, and prices began to rise. Now that objects earlier than 1850 are technically antiques, the vogue has spread to New York, and prices are often quite high. Third Avenue is as full of Victoriana as the Brompton Road and Beauchamp Place used to be.

The appearance of the Connoisseur volume under review marks the transition of what was formerly a vogue to a subject of general, even popular, attention. Not that the volume is "popular" in the pejorative sense; on the contrary, it is the product of scholarship on a distinguished level. It is, as it says, a Guide to the arts of the period, but it goes beyond just that in being a critical and, on the whole, discriminating appraisal.

The most dangerous pitfall in exploring a new field of artistic research is that we too often persist in assessing taste as being "good" or "bad" by the standards of our own day rather than by the standards of its period. True, in all art-history criticism a yardstick becomes necessary, the yardstick being our own taste. This is not a constant but a variable, differing from one generation to the next. The constant must be the taste of the period

itself. The varying yardsticks can only be effectively applied after the creative thought of the period in question has been explored objectively and dispassionately.

Already most aspects of the nineteenth century are viewed from the historical approach and, as this reviewer has said elsewhere, few people today will judge Palmerston or Peel, Tennyson or Newman, by the same standards that they would apply to present leaders of political or philosophic thought. Yet in criticising the Fine and Applied Arts of the Victorians, most of us pronounce judgments which are valid only in relation to our own contemporary experience, and which ignore the conditions prevailing at that time. The true historian of Taste has to consider, first, the social and economic conditions in which the arts of a period were produced; and, second, the expressed opinions of that period on its own art.

We may quote one example of the unhistorical approach in this book. One of the contributors says that the main charge against Early Victorian design is its "equation of beauty with elaboration." It is perfectly true that such equation was generally accepted, and the results, in our eyes, seem pretty terrible. But the charge can equally well be made against many of the products of the late Renaissance; one need only consider Fontainebleau. Yet few people who now condemn the products of 1850 have the courage to condemn Benvenuto Cellini and his patrons for the vulgarity of their taste, although the equation is exactly the same.

To return to the volume itself. It is a combined effort. It consists of twelve essays, all factual and historical rather than critical, on Architecture, Furniture, Painting, Silver, Ceramics, Textiles and Costume, Metalwork, Musical Instruments, Bookbinding, and Typography. Seven of the contributors are, or were formerly, of the Victoria and Albert or British Museums; four others are of the Universities of London and Birmingham and the Art Galleries of Manchester and Birmingham. This Guide, therefore, speaks with the highest possible authority; but, as is usual in such joint endeavours, the parts are more satisfactory than the whole. Everything about the *What* is here, but there is too little about the *Why*.

The interest and usefulness of this Guide

would have been enhanced by an introductory essay relating the production of works of art to the social and economic background, and also interpreting for us the aesthetic thought and criticism of the time not from the points of view of specialists in their several fields but from the comprehensive standpoint of the art historian. This, unfortunately, has not really been provided by either Ralph Edwards' Foreword or the opening chapter, "The Age of Progress," contributed by the distinguished historian and economist A. J. Taylor. Mr. Taylor's chapter is a brilliant summary of party politics, economic changes, scientific and industrial development, changes in the social structure, colonial growth, Reform, Catholic Emancipation, and other subjects proper to a Lecturer in Modern History. The only subject that is not even remotely touched upon, or even glanced at, is the aesthetic thought of the period. One must regret that an opportunity to chart this unmapped field has been missed.

Reference has been made above to the Early Victorian equation of Beauty with Elaborateness. But there is no mention in this Guide of that second equation which runs throughout the period in disturbing conflict with the first, namely that of Beauty with Utility. Not functionalism, but usefulness. One legacy of utilitarianism was doubt about the usefulness of art; this legacy accounts for some of the strange undercurrents beneath the concept of the Great Exhibition, and also for the earnest heart-searchings of the Prince Consort and Sir Henry Cole. Yet nowhere in this volume is the name of Jeremy Bentham invoked.

Perhaps this criticism is asking for something that was never intended in a Guide of this nature; if it wasn't, one feels that it really should have been. This, however, although a deficiency in the field of *Why*, does not lessen the excellence of the separate *Whats*. All the chapters, particularly the section on printing, contain material that will enlighten even the most experienced observer of this period. The illustrations (ninety-six plates and innumerable figures) are very good, but they perhaps do not sufficiently illustrate the confusing conflict of revivals that beset the Early Victorian architects and designers. That conflict is essential to the *Why* of that age, at once so self-assured and so filled with doubt. Never-

theless, one can fully agree with the publisher's blurb, that the book "is of unique importance" to the growing number of those interested in any form of Victorian studies.

In contrast to the Connoisseur volume, Mr. Bøe's book is concerned more with theories of *Why* than with facts of *What*. It is, as its subtitle describes it, a study in Victorian theories of design, and was originally presented as a thesis for an Oxford degree in 1954 by Mr. Bøe, a student of Oslo University. Although the book is smaller, the scope is wider; it ranges, in fact, from the commercial design of the 'forties and of the Great Exhibition, through Pugin's battle for Gothic Reform, the Schools of Design, the materialist convictions of Sir Henry Cole and the opposed philosophy of Ruskin, the relation of ornament to ethics, through William Morris down to Voysey and Godwin at the end of the century. In an appendix Mr. Bøe gives the thirty-seven propositions of Owen Jones, as set forth in the immensely significant *Grammar of Ornament* (1868).

The book is learned and well-informed, as theses have to be, but it does not really do a great deal towards straightening out the maze of moral and aesthetic confusion that seems to have bedevilled the period. Moreover, it is surely begging the question to explain the "debasement" of Early Victorian taste as being due to the introduction of machine-made goods; hand-made objects by skilled craftsmen displayed exactly the same characteristics as in machine-productions, as the Catalogue of the Great Exhibition clearly demonstrates. The best chapter in the book is that on Pugin and Gothic Reform, and it is excellent.

JOHN STEEGMAN

The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts

Architecture, Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, by HENRY-RUSSELL HITCHCOCK; PELICAN HISTORY OF ART; pp. xxix + 498. Penguin Books: Harmondsworth and Baltimore, 1958, 70s. and \$12.50.

THE PUBLICATION OF the present volume of the Pelican History of Art is an important event in the field of nineteenth-century studies. Earlier general histories of the architecture of the past hundred and fifty years have been written by men who were rather hostile to Victorian architecture and more or less ig-

norant of it. The books of Tallmadge, Kimball, and Giedion, for example, all suffer in different ways from a lack of historical objectivity in relation to nineteenth-century events. Proximity in time may have been largely responsible for this fault, but the pleading of special causes — in Tallmadge's and Kimball's cases that of twentieth-century eclecticism and in Giedion's that of the International Style of the 1930's — also had something to do with the polemical rather than historical method through which they approached the earlier century. An aesthetic aversion to most nineteenth-century buildings has thus further complicated a problem which is difficult enough because of the staggering bulk and variety of material which must be considered.

Professor Hitchcock is uniquely fitted by his long experience and study to bring historical objectivity to bear in both these categories. He has looked at Victorian buildings long enough to be able to evaluate them upon their own terms and in relation to the intentions of the architects who designed them, and he has studied the period as a whole with an integrity of purpose that enables him to accept its multiplicity as a fact which requires no apology but which does demand hard work from the scholar who would attempt to understand it. For these reasons Hitchcock's present volume treats the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as integral parts of a continuing development. Modern architecture is seen as a natural outgrowth of nineteenth-century experiment, while the earlier period is allowed to retain those qualities which were uniquely its own. The architectural villains and heroes who populated the books mentioned above, and others like them, have thus disappeared from Hitchcock's work. The polemicist may decry a certain loss of clarity which results, but the historian can only applaud this honest approach to the complexity of truth.

It may also be true that Hitchcock does not generalize enough and that his present book often tends toward the character of a catalogue rather than that of an historically critical text. Yet because it is packed with the names of architects and buildings and with their dates, it will always remain an essential work of reference. These qualities it shares with most of the other volumes of the Pelican

series; it is intended to be neither quite a handbook nor a piece of advanced criticism nor a work of profound historical analysis. Instead it attempts a sound and serviceable presentation of as much information as can be packed into it by a scholar who is a master in the field. Still, even to present the relevant information concerning nineteenth and twentieth-century architecture in intelligible form requires a major feat of organization. Here Hitchcock, especially for the nineteenth century, has done a masterly job. Of his 427 pages of text, 280 pages deal with the period 1800-1900. Part I, concerned with the first half of the century, correctly isolates the three major and essentially contemporary movements which dominated the period: first, Romantic-Classicism; second, the Picturesque and the early Gothic Revival; and finally, the development of new techniques of building with iron and glass. In these complementary movements the old emotional and intellectual unity of the baroque period is upset and fragmented. Baroque integration of freedom and order divides into the opposites of harshly geometrical Romantic-Classicism and the purposefully anti-classical picturesquesque which culminates in the compulsive ethic of the Victorian Gothic Revival. Hitchcock's treatment of the precursors and practitioners of the Romantic-Classical movement both in Europe and America is excellent. Boullée, Ledoux, Soane, Percier and Fontaine, Schinkel, and Latrobe are all convincingly set in the general scene. The author's handling of the Gothic Revival is as effective as was to be expected after his previous monumental work, *Early Victorian Architecture in Britain*. In the field of the new technology Hitchcock continues to resist the temptation, as other scholars have not, to see the engineers as demi-gods, and he is therefore able to discern what the engineers themselves owed to the architects and general architectural theory of their own period.

In Part II, 1850-1900, Hitchcock first deals with what he calls the "High Styles" of Victorian Gothic and Second Empire — both of which he sees as the lush and peculiarly nineteenth-century flowering of earlier Gothic and Romantic-Classical modes — and he then goes on to describe the rising tide of invention in structure and space organization which centered, respectively, around the office build-

ing and the house. In both these fields Hitchcock makes a contribution to history by fully correlating for the first time the developments in Europe and the United States. His own unique researches into English commercial structures and house planning have enabled him to synthesize events there with those in the United States which have already been published by other scholars. His own earlier works on Richardson, Sullivan, and Wright have, however, also assisted him here. To these great names are now added, among others and as taking part in an international movement, those of Philip Webb, Richard Norman Shaw, and C. F. A. Voysey in England, and William Ralph Emerson, McKim, Mead, and White, and Bruce Price in America. The continuity in space which seems the most characteristic and original expression in architecture of a peculiarly nineteenth-century attitude toward man and the world, is thus well described and documented in the present volume. Such continuity, though little related by Hitchcock to the intellectual and philosophical movements from Hegel through Comte to Bergson which were its corollaries, is still viewed by him as creating the forms of Art Nouveau, a discussion of which in the years after 1890 begins his consideration of twentieth-century architecture.

His Part III, dealing with the period 1890-1957, is as competent as his earlier sections. Here one is perhaps more tempted to take issue with some of Hitchcock's evaluations and to regret more seriously than before his general avoidance of larger problems relating to the intellectual, emotional, and philosophical meanings embodied in the architecture of the past two generations. He himself divides the period into generations, placing Perret, Garnier, Wright, Wagner, Behrens, and others in the first and Gropius, LeCorbusier, Mies Van der Rohe, and Oud in the second. Some major architects, such as Aalto, are seriously undertreated while others, like some of the Latin Americans, are perhaps overstressed. Despite such natural disagreements, one can still credit Hitchcock with having treated the subject sensibly and usefully, and in a way which links the present understandably to its past.

VINCENT SCULLY

Yale University

The Advent of the British Labour Party, by PHILIP POIRIER; pp. 288. Columbia University Press: New York, 1958, \$4.50; Allen and Unwin: London, 1958, 25s.

Labour and Politics, 1900-1906, by FRANK BEALEY and HENRY PELLING; pp. xi + 314. Macmillan: London, 1958, 30s.; St. Martin's Press: New York, 1958, \$7.00.

THESE TWO BOOKS, which have appeared almost simultaneously, cover broadly the same ground — the history of the Labour Representation Committee, which became the Labour Party, from its birth in 1900 to the General Election of 1906. But to a large extent they do so differently. Mr. Poirier sticks to a very narrow interpretation of his subject, whereas Messrs. Bealey and Pelling range a good deal more widely. Both are based on a much wider study of original papers than has been possible for earlier writers; and in particular both make good use of the Herbert Gladstone Papers, from which they are able to extract the full story of the electoral arrangements made between the L.R.C. and the Liberal Head Office in 1903. As it was this arrangement which alone made possible the emergence of a Labour Party thirty strong at the General Election of 1906, this full story is evidently of no little importance. What comes out very clearly is that Herbert Gladstone, as Liberal Chief Whip, approached the negotiations in a very friendly spirit and received the entire collaboration of Campbell-Bannerman in doing so. It is also made clear that, while Ramsay MacDonald carried through the negotiations on the L.R.C.'s behalf, Keir Hardie was fully aware of them at the time, and gave his full approval to them. They were kept secret because both parties were afraid of the response of their own rank and file if the negotiations became known, and it was indispensable for the L.R.C. to be in a position to deny that any understanding with the Liberals existed, mainly for fear of socialist opposition but also because Labour was making a strong bid for the votes of Conservatives as well as other working men, and wished to appear as the spokesmen of an united Labour Party independent of both the older parties.

The L.R.C. was founded in 1900, at a conference called by the Trades Union Con-

gress, representing trade unions and socialist societies. It thus came seven years after Keir Hardie's Independent Labour Party, which had set itself the task of bringing the trade unions into alliance with the socialist societies in an independent party. The problem was how to do this without asking the trade unions to commit themselves to socialism, of any sort, yet to do it in such a way as to emphasise the independence of the new grouping from the Liberals as well as the Tories, and thus from the existing group of Labour M.P.s — chiefly miners — who sat as members of the Liberal Party, and received the nomination of local Liberal Associations. Hardie and his I.L.P. followers realised that the only chance of accomplishing their task lay in avoiding any definite programme save on a narrow group of labour questions, on which most trade unionists and socialists could be expected to agree. Hardie therefore opposed the attempt of the Marxist Social Democratic Federation to commit the new body to a definitely socialist name and programme, and put forward a proposal — which was carried — for a Labour Group which should agree to act in unison and to hold itself independent of both the older parties, while prepared to cooperate with either in pursuit of its own ends or to oppose either if it put forward proposals contrary to Labour interests.

Out of this compromise arose the L.R.C., which came into being at a difficult time. Even before the Taff Vale decision, the trade unions were suffering from a number of adverse legal decisions; and the troubles in South Africa were leading to sharp cleavages of opinion at home, so that anti-imperialism was no possible basis for a party representing Labour aspirations.

It has often been said that what made the L.R.C. was the Taff Vale decision of 1901, which largely persuaded the trade unions (except the Miners) to throw in their lot with it, and to take it seriously. This was undoubtedly true to a very great extent; but it must not be forgotten that a Labour Party was on the way well before the Taff Vale decision, and would have come in any case, though it would probably have taken longer to establish itself without Taff Vale. Inde-

pendent Labour had indeed made substantial progress in local politics, though not in Parliament, well before 1900. There, indeed, Labour had been unrepresented, except by the Lib-Labs, since the disastrous General Election of 1895, in which Keir Hardie had lost his West Ham seat, and the Liberals too had gone down badly to defeat. But by 1900 Labour had grown a good deal stronger, especially in Yorkshire, whereas in Lancashire there was still a strong contingent of Tory working men, especially among the textile workers, and in London the small socialist minority, largely under S.D.F. leadership, had little contact with the main body of the working classes.

The L.R.C. Conference of 1900 had an attendance representing half a million trade unionists, who far outnumbered the very small socialist societies, even though these contributed on the basis of a membership they did not really possess. But some of the trade unions attended only with a watching brief, and it was unknown how many of them would actually affiliate. Nor was it at all certain what the L.R.C. was empowered to do on their behalf. Certainly not to put up candidates of its own; for each affiliated society had its own candidates and had to find a constituency organisation prepared to adopt them. The L.R.C. itself had neither individual members nor local organisations: it normally worked through the Trades Council, or Trades and Labour Council, of a particular area, and had no authority to issue orders to anybody. Moreover, it had hardly any money, as even those trade unions which raised political funds from their members kept them to themselves. The I.L.P. had plenty of candidates, but no money to finance them with: the trade unions needed persuading to supply even the modest sums needed for keeping the L.R.C. in more than nominal existence. Ramsay MacDonald, who was chosen as secretary and devoted most of his time to the work, received in the early years no salary, and had even considerable difficulty in getting very modest sums to cover office expenses.

The books of Mr. Poirier and Messrs. Bealey and Pelling both argue that MacDonald showed himself exceedingly good at the job. This is almost certainly a correct

judgment within the assumption of what he was setting out to do. Certainly no one could well have been better at negotiating with Herbert Gladstone the agreement of 1903 under which the Liberals promised not to oppose Labour candidates for a number of seats. For MacDonald, though not a Lib-Lab, was wholeheartedly in favour of a friendly understanding of this sort — at any rate of one in which Labour made no concrete promises in return, though such promises were implicit in the practical application of the agreement. Gladstone's head office had no power to coerce the local Liberal Associations into standing down if they wished to fight. He could only bring pressure to bear, and hope for the best; and when the local Liberals showed an uncompromising spirit and could find a candidate and the necessary funds for a fight, he could do nothing. Thus it happened that he was much more successful in Lancashire, where the Liberals were relatively weak, than in Yorkshire, where they were much stronger. In Scotland his writ did not run at all, and there was no Liberal-Labour pact, open or secret. But in England, on the whole, the pact of 1903 came off when it was put to the test two and a half years later. Of the twenty-nine seats won by the L.R.C. at the General Election of 1906 only Jowett in Bradford and Barnes and Wilkie in Scotland won in three-cornered contests. Moreover, eleven of the wins were in two-member seats, and in nine of these only a single Liberal appeared and ran in effect in double harness with the Labour man, with whom he shared most of his votes; and no fewer than thirteen seats were won in Lancashire and Cheshire, whereas in Yorkshire the L.R.C. won only two seats, and no more in all Scotland. For the rest two were in London, one in Greater London (West Ham), three in Durham and Northumberland, one in Leicester, one in Staffordshire, and one in Kent, plus Hardie's seat in Wales.

Thus, out of thirty-nine constituencies mentioned in Herbert Gladstone's list of seats he promised not to contest — which included twenty-three in which he said no difficulty existed, plus five which he declared to be adjustable and another six which he described as alternatives — the Labour Party in 1906 fought all save eleven and won nineteen, in sixteen cases without Liberal opposition. This

list includes only England, and not Scotland, Ireland or Wales, to which the argument did not apply. In one of the cases the L.R.C. did not fight the seat which was held by Richard Bell, the Railwaymen's secretary, who had reverted to his Lib-Lab status; and three other seats were fought only by unofficial candidates — in two cases by Socialists and in the third by John Ward of the Navvies' Union and the N.D.P. The L.R.C. was under pledge not to contest seats against candidates sponsored by trade unions and on the Trades Union Congress list; and in a few cases it failed to win a seat though the Liberals stood aside. But out of fifty seats contested it won twenty-nine; and one more was added when J. W. Taylor, of the Durham Colliery Mechanics and the I.L.P., joined it immediately after the election.

The L.R.C., before it entered into this compact with the Liberal Head Office, had considerably strengthened its position, both by securing additional trade union affiliations and by requiring national bodies which affiliated to it to contribute compulsorily to its election fund. It had also introduced a system of card voting, which gave the affiliated bodies representation in accordance with their numerical strength, and had thus established the dominant control of the trade unions over it, the Co-operatives having refused to join. But apart from these internal changes, the L.R.C. developed but slowly; and the seats which it gained at by-elections were won in two cases by trade unionists formerly associated with the Liberal Party and in the third case by Will Crooks, who, though a Fabian, had primarily Liberal and Progressive affiliations. The L.R.C. was certainly not, when it entered the 1906 election, predominantly a socialist party, though there were socialists among its trade union supporters as well as in the I.L.P. It was, in effect, a foregone conclusion that, though nominally independent, it would in fact support the Liberals on most issues; and so in fact it did, while standing out for its full pound of flesh in respect of the amendment of trade union law. It could not, indeed, have taken up any other attitude, with the Liberals coming forward as sponsors of a considerable social reform programme and with working-class sentiment overwhelmingly favourable to free trade and the "Big Loaf" as against

[Joseph Chamberlain's imperialist protectionism.

In these books, Mr. Poirier and Messrs. Bealey and Pelling do not discuss whether it was or was not a good thing that the new Labour Party took up this line. They take it for granted that that was how it had to be, and rightly conclude that it was the only way in which an effective third party could have been brought at all quickly into being. They have but little to say of the S.D.F., which stood apart during most of these critical years, and not much of the dissident groups in the I.L.P. which took the protests of strict independence as meaning what they said and deeply resented the pacts, of which they had only half-knowledge, between the L.R.C. and the Liberals. These malcontents, indeed, never had the chance of building up a national Socialist Party of their own, or even a Socialist-Radical Party based on an alliance with the anti-imperialist Radicals, whose forces dissolved when the war was over. But it is clear that Keir Hardie at any rate believed the Liberal Party to be on the point of dissolving into fragments rather than of winning the great electoral victory of 1906, and had hopes that in its dissolution a new left-wing party of radicals and socialists would be born. Reluctantly, Hardie supported the pact with the Liberals, while continuing to deny its existence. The Labour Party came into being as an outcome of that pact, but in a divided frame of mind between its socialist elements and those who either remained Liberals at heart or, like MacDonald, were fully prepared to work in with the Liberals, at any rate for the time being.

In this upsurge of Labour sentiment, Nonconformity obviously played a considerable part. Labour, as Messrs. Bealey and Pelling show, won its victories mainly in those areas in which the Nonconformists were strong. But this was less because the Nonconformists went Labour than because the areas in which they were strong were also those in which industry reached its greatest development, and trade unionism also developed its greatest activity.

Of these two books, some will prefer the one and some the other. Mr. Poirier's is indeed the more finished performance; for by not straying beyond a mere narrative of the events, it is able to present them with less

complication than Messrs. Bealey and Pelling; but they in their turn, attempting to go rather deeper than he attempts to go, cannot quite manage to explain everything in terms of MacDonald's negotiations with Herbert Gladstone, or of Keir Hardie's acquiescence with them, or even of the coming of Shackleton or Henderson or Crooks or the strengthening of the trade union element in the Labour Party as a consequence of the agitation over Taff Vale. For there was in reality a growing of Labour consciousness which cannot be attributed exclusively to these causes, but was a product of them, of the feelings stirred up by the South African War, and of the social welfare sentiments which attached themselves to the cause of the unemployed and to the plight of the school children who were sent to school but were unable to profit by it because they were underfed. Such factors played a varying part in the creation of the Labour Party in different parts of the country and in different sections of opinion; and they also played an important part in reviving the Liberal Party as a party animated in part by conceptions of social welfare: so that for a time after 1906 the two were able to work largely together. These books are largely the history of their coming together as well as of their drifting apart; it was in the following years that, having practised this collaboration, they fell apart again when the Liberals, after reconstructing themselves for a while as a party of social reform, broke, as a consequence of their wartime differences, into two bitterly divided parties, and thus afforded to the Labour Party the unexpected opportunity to succeed them as one of the two principal claimants to political power. Of this there was no thought in the formative years after 1900; for though Keir Hardie and others dreamed from time to time of the coming break-up of the Liberal Party, there was no forethought of how it would come about, and in practice the Labour Party aspired to no more than the status of an independent minor party, analogous to the Irish Nationalists.

G. D. H. COLE

Nuffield College, Oxford

The Trades Union Congress, 1868-1921, by B. C. ROBERTS; pp. 408. Allen and Unwin: London, 1958, 35s.; Harvard University

Press: Cambridge, Mass., 1958, \$6.50.

A History of the National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives, 1874-1957, by ALAN Fox; pp. viii + 684. Blackwell: Oxford, 1958, 35s.

NONE BUT THE MOST DEVOUT British Trade Unionists will find Mr. B. C. Roberts' *The Trades Union Congress, 1868-1921* an exciting book. Indeed, one is reminded of what Crane Brinton has called "good, dull British history"; it is notable that the dust cover boasts that this book will become "a standard source of reference." Nevertheless, it fills an important gap in the history of the British labor movement. T. U. C. history has to date had only the hostile, deprecating Webbs and the reminiscences of George Howell and W. J. Davis. These books are now supplanted by Mr. Roberts' careful, detailed study, made with no personal axe to grind and with no personal triumphs to celebrate. He has had the records of the T. U. C. at his disposal, but appears to have relied, for the greater part, on printed sources long available. That he has accomplished what no one has previously performed is a demonstration not of an inside track but of great diligence and application. The history of the T. U. C. has certainly appealed to other researchers and writers as a possible theme, but all have surrendered before the heavy demands of the subject. Mr. Roberts is therefore to be applauded for the industry which, sustained over a ten-year period, has brought this history to publication.

The major pitfall facing the historian of the T. U. C. is the omnibus character of the organization. In its narrowest sense the T. U. C. was a pressure group, permanently organized to press a legislative program which developed with the changing circumstances and needs of the union movement. The annual conference was the means by which the support of constituents was organized and demonstrated; the Parliamentary Committee was the instrument by which the lobby was made effective in Whitehall and in the Houses of Parliament. But the Trades Union Congress was always much more than a lobby. It was a major organ of the labor movement, and its annual conference early became a forum in which all developments affecting labor found expression. The historian of the

T. U. C. therefore finds himself drawn far afield and involved in writing what is little less than a history of the British working-class movement itself. He must record the principal strikes, the rise and fall of trade and prosperity, the political activities of the working man and the swing of the political pendulum in general elections, the spread of collectivist ideas, the impact of wars and peace conferences. In addition, the leading personalities of the union movement must all be presented and their positions detailed. Against so sweeping and kaleidoscopic a background, it is difficult to make the Trades Union Congress, meeting once a year for five days only, appear much more than incidental; it is difficult to give it anything resembling a history; rather it is bound to appear the plaything of other forces, and these usurp the foreground. That Mr. Roberts has persevered in his task is indicative of his courage, but it must also be added that often one must look closely in his chapters to find the T. U. C. itself. This fault was inherent in the task, but a better result might have been achieved by dealing at greater length with the Parliamentary Committee, for it was more or less active throughout the year and principally through it were government and parliament influenced.

Perhaps the most striking feature of the T. U. C.'s first fifty years as this study describes them is the persistence of the attitudes and policies of Victorian unionism into the twentieth century. The T. U. C. was inaugurated in 1868 in imitation of the Social Science Association with emphasis upon papers and discussion, but it soon ceased to be an academic gathering. The Hornby vs. Close case, the Sheffield Outrages, the appointment of the great Royal Commission on trade unions, and the extended franchise of 1867 all helped turn it into a legislative lobby, and the first Parliamentary Committee was appointed in 1869. From that point on, T. U. C. history has, as Mr. Roberts shows, a remarkably high degree of consistency, despite all attempts to divert it from its course. Its aims and interests were neither industrial nor revolutionary: it aspired neither to fight the employers nor to change society. Though it began as an expression of nineteenth-century social liberalism and was dominated by working-class Liberals in the beginning and

later by Labour Party men, the Trades Union Congress consistently refused to identify itself with any political party and was prepared hopefully to accept any government. Nor did the Parliament of Labour ever subscribe to particular political or social principles. It was always as undogmatic about socialism as it was about laissez-faire and free enterprise. It was empirical and pragmatic, opportunist, and semi-bourgeois; it acquired its ideas, functions, and policies as it went along. By one means or another, on one principle or another, it sought for its constituents a higher standard of living, a more secure influence in the affairs of the state, and the defence of union interests against all counter-attacks.

It is obviously not easy to estimate the degree of success the T. U. C. had achieved by 1921 in the pursuit of these objectives, but Mr. Roberts can at least claim for it an important role in the creation of what the Webbs called the "industrial democracy" of the twentieth century. Not only that, however. The domination of government by property was overcome by reformist, not revolutionary, methods; and these were the methods which the T. U. C., with its roots in nineteenth-century liberalism, consistently advocated. Its ingrained caution was, perhaps, the most obvious of its persisting characteristics, and Mr. Roberts rightly draws particular attention to this in his concluding chapter. He finds its basis in the sectionalism of the union movement and especially in the autonomy of individual units which could be committed to common action only with difficulty and which, in order to preserve maximum freedom, regularly opposed all efforts at greater centralization and initiative. How local and particular the outlook of an individual union might be is apparent in the second study with which this review is concerned.

The "local history school" in British labor movement studies has produced some worthy results to date — R. T. Arnot's studies of the Miners and W. W. Craik's *Public Employees*, for example — and to these books we are now invited to add *A History of the National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives, 1874-1957*. The union itself commissioned the work in 1954 to celebrate the first eighty years of its history, and it secured Mr. Alan Fox, Research Fellow at Nuffield College, to do the job. Mr.

Fox was given full access to the union's records and a free hand in their interpretation. The result, if it may prove useful to the operatives and their union, is not likely to attract many more; indeed, the book must give pause to those students of the modern British labor movement who have so long argued that the great need in the field was for more histories of individual unions. Part of the disappointment here lies with the author. Certainly, Mr. Fox has been industrious enough; he has produced a book of almost 700 pages, all carefully annotated and brim-full of facts, quotations, statistics, and the rest. But his cornucopia turns it all out in lumpy, undigested form. Worse still, while Mr. Fox is writing history, he is no historian — he knows far too little of the historical setting of his theme; he is incapable of narrative; his analysis is always in static rather than in dynamic terms; his writing is poor and his presentation lame. Even making full allowance for these deficiencies, one is driven to wonder whether any general history of an individual union, however detailed and intense, is likely to make the expected contribution to the understanding and appreciation of the union movement as a whole or the labor movement in general. The history of a particular union must by its very nature be highly idiosyncratic and local; it must be related primarily to the individual industry and to its particular and peculiar features.

Mr. Fox's book is in fact almost as much an industrial as a union history, and students of industrial development are likely to find it informative. The union itself was not active in general labor enterprises, and its history, therefore, throws little light upon them. There are, for example, but a scant half-dozen references to the Trades Union Congress. Two aspects of Mr. Fox's labors will, nonetheless, earn the thanks of the student of the British labor movement. One of these is the demonstration he gives, especially in the early chapters, but also again and again in the body of his book, of the close relationship of industrial technology on the one hand and labor morale, organization, migration, etc., on the other. Mr. Fox analyses these matters in some detail and what he has to say of them is important. The second interest the student of the British labor movement is likely to discover in this work is the discussion of developments since

1945 — the changing role of the union in a welfare state, its relationship to productivity drives and to government control and planning, its response to inflation, austerity, wage restraints, and the like. Perhaps the most striking feature here is the way in which the union has become an instrument of public policy or the national interest and even of government programmes. A measure of this was natural enough when a Labour government was in power; that it should have continued and grown throughout the post-war period is perhaps a good example of the basic unity of British society in time of adversity.

H. W. McCREADY

McMaster University

Lord Aberdeen and the Americas, by WILBUR DEVEREUX JONES; pp. xii + 101. University of Georgia Press: Athens, Ga., 1958, \$2.00.
The Great Democracies, by WINSTON S. CHURCHILL; Vol. IV of **THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING PEOPLES**; pp. xi + 403. Dodd, Mead: New York, 1958, \$6.00; Cassell: London, 1958, 30s.

The Anglo-American Connection in the Early Nineteenth Century, by FRANK THISTLETHWAITE; pp. viii + 222. University of Pennsylvania Press: Philadelphia, 1959, \$4.50.

THE AMERICAN, after the War of 1812, turned his back on Europe to face westward. Thus runs the conventional version in most books. If we are to continue to accept this interpretation we shall have to add the observation that during the nineteenth century Americans often looked over their shoulders at Europe. England was still the mother country for millions of Americans who, despite the bitter memories transmitted from the Revolution, were proud of their English heritage.

Englishmen on the other hand were, and still are, often unaware of the numerous threads that linked together the Anglo-American community in the nineteenth century. Their general historical narratives usually picture an England immersed in domestic and European affairs, blocking Russia's expansion southward, while she herself was expanding her own empire in Asia, Canada, Africa, and Australia. One would suppose, to judge by the paucity of references to the United States, that the latter made but little impact on the

English scene in this era.

In the realm of high politics,¹ it is true that the United States did not weigh heavily. Controversies over the northern border of America, while irritating and even (in the case of Oregon) productive of war clouds, did not strike deeply into the consciousness of British officials. America seemed on the periphery of an enlarged European world, acted upon from the center but itself not yet strong enough to bring pressure upon that center. But once the historian's canvas is enlarged to include more than domestic and international politics, the view of Anglo-American relationships is altered. America may have infrequently entered into the line of vision of Britain's officials, but for a great many of her subjects the New World lay squarely before their questing eyes. An emigrant farmer wrote rapturously of his new home in Iowa. His letter, said a contemporary in England, "was read at the village inn and at the Methodist Chapel every Sunday until it was nearly worn out. The Lord had now opened a door of escape." Having decided to leave, "the whole village was at work packing and mending clothes. A farewell service was held in the Methodist Chapel, which was crowded, and the service lasted through night till daybreak." In the glorious spring-time, over thirty men, women, and children marched through the village singing hymns. Their neighbors walked with them for miles. Prayers were said for the emigrants until it was known they had arrived safely in their new home. "This induced others, in batches of threes and fours, to follow for several years."

This aspect of the transatlantic story is not the concern of Professor Jones nor of Sir Winston Churchill. Professor Jones pays a well-merited tribute to Lord Aberdeen, who strove to compose the differences between his country and the United States over the Canadian boundary. It is the author's view that Aberdeen, shrugging off chauvinist opposition, created an atmosphere favorable to a pacific settlement of potentially dangerous issues. Aberdeen's purpose, it is asserted, was to maintain peace with the United States and to prevent the development of a Franco-American alliance. To Lord Derby and Gladstone, Aberdeen bequeathed a legacy of peaceful solutions of thorny Anglo-American

questions. Aberdeen was proud of the satisfactory outcome of the negotiations over the Maine and Oregon boundaries. "On our retirement," he wrote to a colleague, "I am not aware that we leave any question behind us which is likely to grow into a serious quarrel with the United States."

The story of friction between the United States and England in the decades following the Revolution is one that is well-worn. Less familiar is the counter-theme sounded in both countries of the need for collaboration to preserve a common heritage and to stand together against absolutism. In 1820 the *Edinburgh Review* called on America "to throw from her the memory of all petty differences . . . and to unite herself cordially with the liberal and enlightened part of the English nation; their disunion will give dreadful advantages to the enemies of all improvement and reform." England's solitary strength, now inadequate for the task of combating reaction in Europe, should be augmented by rising America might. "Her influence as well as her example, will be wanted in the crisis which seems to be approaching; and that influence must be paralyzed and inoperative, if she shall think [it] a duty to divide herself from England." Some thirty years after this exhortation from the *Edinburgh Review* the Crimean War again spurred talk of the need for defense of western civilization by Anglo-American cooperation. "When Cossackism has established itself on the shores of the Atlantic," a writer in the *Dublin University Magazine* warned, "it will be too late to discuss the *policy* of intervention, too late to take the initiative."

In the twentieth century no one has given greater vitality to the cause of cooperation in the Anglo-American community than has Sir Winston Churchill. By word and deed he has promoted it. The importance to him of America may be partly measured by the assignment of over forty percent of his pages to the United States in his survey of "The Great Democracies." In conventional English fashion he has given disproportionate space to America's Civil War. These smoking pages smell of gun powder and rumble with the throb of battle. Men of action, and action itself, especially that taken in behalf of great moral principles, evoke his deepest enthusiasm. Lee and Lincoln are his heroes. The

war itself, says Churchill, "must upon the whole be considered the noblest and least avoidable of all the great mass-conflicts of which till then there was record."

Excellent as these Civil War chapters are, they seem romantic to the critical scholar. But of course Churchill is not writing for that breed. His audience is a vast mass of readers delighting in spirited prose that expresses strong opinions and reflects the author's own transcendent personality. Among his countrymen Gladstone is singled out as "the greatest popular leader of his age" who "has hardly been equalled in his power to move the people on great moral issues. He stands, too, in the very front rank of House of Commons figures." His "achievements, like his failures, were on the grand scale." The famed Churchill wit is here, too, as in a hilarious description of George IV, his brothers, and their family relationships.

Less than four hundred pages, however, are too few to cover adequately so large a territory as England, Canada, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and "The Great Republic" of America. The terminal date of the volume, 1900, also deprives it of the excitement of his personal participation in shaping world history. The content of Churchill's volume, for the most part, is the familiar drum and trumpet history along with political skirmishes in the forum. It makes for a grand Victorian pageant, but something is missing.

Frank Thistlethwaite supplies some of the missing elements. He reminds us of the many strands that linked America with England in the half-century following the War of 1812—the economic ties, the relations between British political radicals and the United States, the humanitarian movement, notably in behalf of slaves and women's rights, and finally, the influence each country exerted upon the other in advancing educational reform. *The Times* in a statement on July 4th, 1851, the year of the Great Exhibition, understood the closeness of the relationship: "For all practical purposes the United States are far more closely united with this kingdom than any one of our colonies, and [with us, they] keep up a perpetual interchange of the most important good offices; taking our manufactures and our surplus population and giving us in return the materials

of industry, of revenue and of life." In the generation before the Civil War almost half of American exports went to Britain, which in turn furnished forty percent of United States imports. Capital, labor, and technical competence in business and banking organization flowed westward to help build America's economy. Nearly every collier in mid-nineteenth-century South Wales was said to have a close friend or relative in America and was himself thinking of emigrating.

America as an ideological force, a "beacon of freedom" to the London Working Men's Association, exerted its strength directly on those outside the positions of power in English life. And conservative elements had to recognize that strength. Regrettably, *Blackwood's Magazine* testified to America's influence: "The current sets in strong and fast from the Transatlantic shores, and the old bulwarks of England are fast giving way before its fury." Reformers who looked across the Atlantic thought that the New World had much to teach the Old in reducing costs in litigation and in enlarging the area of freedom in journalism, communications, education, and politics. As the *Westminster Review* put it, America had done most to fulfill the utilitarian principle of "the greatest happiness of the greatest number." Jeremy Bentham himself stated to President Jackson that he was "more of a United States man than an Englishman." There were some skeptics, even among radicals. G. T. Harney, editor of the Chartist *Northern Star*, thought that unless America underwent a social revolution her future would be a copy of Europe — "The community divided into two great classes: a horde of brigands monopolizing all the advantages of society, and a multitude of landless, profit-ridden slaves, deprived of even the name of citizens." Harney was a minority voice among a chorus of America-idolators. Most Chartists saw in America the fulfillment of their dreams for a republican England, and they hailed with delight further "Americanization" of their native land.

The Dissenters in the nineteenth century enjoyed the same transatlantic intimacy that they had possessed in the eighteenth. American Unitarians, Quakers, Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, and other sects were in close contact with British co-religionists. Religious revivals begun in either country spilled

over into the other. "Unite Britain and America in energetic and resolved co-operation for the world's salvation," said two British Congregationalist delegates to the United States, "and the world is saved."

The body as well as the soul was to be saved by these Anglo-American reformers. Together they proposed a new penology, better treatment of the insane, temperate drinking, emancipation of women, and peace among nations. On each side of the Atlantic educational reformers sought inspiration in the other's example. Americans looked abroad for aid in raising standards on the college level; more often America was cited in Britain in arguments for better elementary schooling. Members of Parliament, in speeches advocating governmental expenditures for libraries, reminded opposing colleagues of American generosity in this field. In a perceptive exposition, Thistlethwaite points up the tie between anti-Corn Law agitation and other reform movements. For promoters of a closer Anglo-American community the figure of Richard Cobden hovered over the Atlantic like a benevolent deity.

It was the anti-slavery movement that evoked the most intense response among transatlantic reformers. "I hardly exaggerate," said Wendell Phillips, "when I say that the sympathy and brotherly appeals of British Christians are the sheet anchor of our cause." The enormous success of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in England, where more than a million copies were sold within a year of publication, powerfully reinforced an existing hostility to slavery.

Thistlethwaite's volume (originally delivered as lectures at the University of Pennsylvania) was not intended to cover the whole field of Anglo-American relations. Thus he omits the materials on literary and scientific relations. The popularity of Scott and Dickens in America is a familiar story, but not so familiar is the fame of Cooper and Longfellow abroad. It was *The Times* which in 1868 remarked that Longfellow was the favorite of the educated as well as the masses, adding that "no poet of our own or of any other land is so widely known." What Thistlethwaite does include is a fresh and thoughtful appraisal of an area of history too little known to American or English scholars. Perhaps his

volume too much ignores eighteenth-century precedents for the connections it describes. It would seem also, to these American eyes, that the scales are weighted a mite too heavily on the side of English contributions. But that may merely be due to the angle of vision. What is important is that Thistlethwaite's work is a welcome example of a newer historiography that reminds us of elements of unity rather than the monotonous theme of discord in the Anglo-American world.

MICHAEL KRAUS

City College, New York

The Empire-Commonwealth, 1870-1919, edited by E. A. BENIANS, SIR JAMES BUTLER, and C. E. CARRINGTON; Vol. III of **THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE**; pp. xxi + 948. Cambridge University Press: London and New York, 1959, £5 and \$19.50.

THE THIRD VOLUME OF *The Cambridge History of the British Empire* officially covers the period from 1870 to 1919; but it would be more accurate to say that there is a kind of "iris in" for the general period of Gladstone and Disraeli, and an "iris out" in the early 1920's, just after the peace settlement of the First World War. Quite properly, there is no definite beginning or end in a work designed to give the reader the feeling of change which belongs to an age of transition. Similarly, there is no rigid compartmental division of material. The work is divided topically, much more than chronologically, and inevitably there is a great deal of overlapping in content. Such subjects as the Jameson Raid, the abolition of the slave mart of Zanzibar, and the attitude of Gladstone toward imperialism recur again and again in different contexts and from the point of view of different authorities. This is not a fault, perhaps it may even be a merit, since it gives a forum's breadth of discussion to many controversial questions.

There are also deliberate limitations in the scope of the work. Most important of all, this is a history of the Empire *as a whole* rather than of its separate parts. Only incidentally is there mention of the political events within a colony or dominion, and even British party politics enter the picture only when colonial

or foreign politics are involved. For example, Sir James Butler can say of the abolition of the slave trade in eastern Africa, "This achievement was perhaps the most beneficent of Gladstone's first ministry," without even thinking of the Education Act, the disestablishment of the Irish Church, the secret ballot, or any other of the numerous reforms of that administration; he is writing solely in the context of colonial policy. On the other hand, so many pages of the book are devoted to European diplomacy, often with only occasional references to the colonies, that it might almost have borne the title "British Relations to the Rest of the Empire and with Foreign Powers, 1870-1919."

A final limitation, also deliberately chosen, is that the work is addressed only to those who already know a great deal about the subject. It is for scholars, advanced students, and publicists, not for casual readers and beginning students. Thus it would be interesting to know what an average "well-informed" man-in-the-street would make of Mr. A. F. Madden's passing remark — a fairly typical sentence — "The mutual suspicion of miners and capitalists on the Rand had been stressed by Kruger's attempt to appease the magnates, by the blunder of the Edgar incident and by the exposure of the Leyds-Lippert negotiations; but the failure of the Bloemfontein Conference had given their grievances a new unity." He would turn to the index, and find this the only recorded mention of the fate of Edgar, the Leyds-Lippert negotiations, and the Bloemfontein Conference. He would look for an explanatory footnote, and see a reference to the Parliamentary Papers. In short, this is less a history, in the textbook sense, than a series of learned essays about the facts of history. It is comment and interpretation rather than narrative.

Such are the deliberately assumed limitations, the framework, of the volume. Now for the picture itself. Apart from the very detailed bibliography, the book consists of nineteen topical historical essays: a general survey of the 1870-1919 period by the late E. A. Benians, who edited the whole volume and also contributed an article on "Finance, Trade, and Communications, 1870-1895"; "Imperial Questions in British Politics, 1868-1880," by J. R. M. Butler; "The Opening of Tropical Africa, 1870-1885," by J. Sim-

mons; four chapters by F. H. Hinsley on the diplomatic history of the period; "Imperial Problems in British Politics, 1880-1895," by R. E. Robinson; two chapters on imperial defense by W. C. B. Tunstall; "The British Empire and the United States of America, 1870-1914," by Anthony Steel; "Changing Attitudes and Widening Responsibilities, 1895-1914," by A. F. Madden; "Development of the Imperial Conference, 1887-1914," by J. E. Tyler; "Imperial Finance, Trade, and Communications, 1895-1914," by G. S. Graham; "The Empire at War, 1914-1918," by C. E. Carrington; "The Empire and the Peace Treaties, 1918-1921," by K. C. Wheare; "International Law and Colonial Questions," by Sir H. Lauterpacht, a judge in the International Court of Justice, and R. Y. Jennings; and "The Colonial Office, 1801-1925," by R. B. Pugh, who takes a long running start through the early nineteenth century. All are British scholars, and most of them are associated with Cambridge, Oxford, or London, though some are at present connected with other institutions.

Two trends in general mark the 1870-1919 period of the British Empire. One is the enhanced appreciation of the importance of the outer Empire to the British Isles; the other, the gradual evolution of "Empire" into "Commonwealth," a process which began long before 1870 and was by no means complete in 1919, but which made significant progress between those years. Sir Charles Dilke was, in general, a far-seeing man, but his remark about the lack of connection between colonial and European affairs — "Australia would scarcely feel herself deeply interested in the guarantee of Luxemburg, nor Canada in the affairs of Serbia" — must rank as one of the world's worst prophecies, so great is the difference in perspective between 1869 and 1914! Granville, as Colonial Secretary, even thought that the time might come when Great Britain would say to Canada, "You are now so rich and strong that we must take the initiative and ask you to agree to a friendly separation"; in other words, the young bird was not only to be permitted to fly away, but was positively to be pushed from the nest. Gladstone thought that "the material greatness of our nation lies within the compass of these islands, and is, except in trifling particulars, independent of all and

every sort of political dominion beyond them." Lest it be supposed that Liberals held a monopoly of Little-Englandism in those days, Stanley's attempt to interest the British in the exploitation of the Congo basin was ignored even by "the imperially-minded administration of Disraeli," and equally so by British and American private enterprise. Leopold of Belgium seized the opportunity which the British had neglected.

It need hardly be said that everything had changed by the turn of the century. The blatant popular jingoism of the Boer War period was, indeed, a very brief interlude, which even the imperialist chiefs — Milner, Chamberlain, and Rosebery — disliked, but nearly everyone was a convert to imperialism of one type or another. Even the Fabian Socialists, such as Shaw, Wells, and the Webbs, for a time accepted the Boer War as a regrettable necessity in that consolidation of the world into a common civilization which was their dream. At various times, also, humanitarians favored British expansion in Africa and the Pacific to put down abuses of native peoples which occurred more frequently under weak native rulers or chartered company control than under the direct rule of the British Crown and its responsible officials.

Equally great was the change in the respect and attention which the British showed to their colonial kinsfolk. The principle of self-government had already been recognized before the period covered by the present volume, but it would certainly have surprised the men of 1870 to find the Dominion representatives separately represented at the peace conference, separately signatories of the Treaty of Versailles, and separately members of the League of Nations. The Dominions also won complete control over their own tariffs and local racial questions, but this was not always a triumph for "liberty," since all the Dominions were more protectionist than the home government, and the Afrikaner was far more race conscious than the Londoner. Sometimes a gain for liberalism in one field, as in colonial autonomy, means loss in another.

Dr. Steel's section on Anglo-American relations is, of course, of special interest on this side of the water. Like all the other articles in the book, it is admirably free from nation-

alist bias or partial propaganda. He points out, indeed, that on several occasions Canadian interests have been sacrificed to Anglo-American friendship, but he holds that this was a diplomatic necessity. Moreover, if America was sometimes a harsh negotiator (as over the Alaskan frontier), in other matters, such as the seal fisheries, "the American case was the sounder in common sense and equity." He denies the popular legend that the British fleet at Manila ever threatened the German, but admits that Anglo-American friendliness during the Spanish-American War was of permanent value to both countries: "From 1898 the new imperialist United States assumed new responsibilities and incurred new liabilities, rivalries and dangers — and this at a moment when the British Empire, too, began to be threatened by third parties as it never had been for a century. Naturally the two empires, so increasingly similar in social and economic structure, grew closer together whether they wanted to or not."

PRESTON SLOSSON

University of Michigan

A Century of Mountaineering, 1857-1957, by SIR ARNOLD LUNN; pp. 263. Macmillan: New York, 1958, \$6.75; Allen and Unwin: London, 1957, 30s.

JUST A HUNDRED YEARS AGO, at Zermatt, a young Yale graduate named August Strong encountered a number of young Englishmen, members of the newly-founded Alpine Club. Most of them came from the Universities; they were "full of talk, always in the best of humour, at home in a discussion of a point in the classics or in the small talk of the drawing room"; they managed also to be physically tough and "to keep perfectly cool in the midst of frightful perils." This, the young American decided, was "a set of Englishmen so peculiar as to be well worth knowing."

Fifty years after, their Club had elected to membership most of the famous pioneers of British climbing and, in addition, an impressive lot of men generally known for attainments other than Alpine. To see Leslie Stephen, John Tyndall, and Edward Whymper on the list should surprise no one. Some other A. C. names may be not quite expected;

for example, those of W. E. Forster, and of his cousins of the Buxton family, and of his brother-in-law, Matthew Arnold. Ruskin, though publicly scornful of men who treated the Alps "as soaped poles in a bear-garden," joined the Club in 1869. The Cambridge contingent, strong from the start, included F. J. A. Hort, who once got benighted, in the company of Lightfoot, on an Oberland moraine; Montagu Butler, Headmaster of Harrow and Master of Trinity; and (astonishingly, as so often) Oscar Browning. The President who formally expressed the Club's grief at the death of Queen Victoria was James Bryce.

In 1957, the centenary year, Sir Arnold Lunn, A.C., described the Club as "a perfect period piece, the Victorian ethos of which survived well into the present century." His book, produced as a tribute to the Club by the Swiss Foundation for Alpine Research, charmingly recounts the story of mountaineering from the Golden Age (1854-65) to the present. Readers of *Victorian Studies* will find in it many interesting passages. The author supplies data from his analysis of the A. C.'s early membership (about two-thirds "professional") and tells with candor how in later times two well-known mountaineers, on first coming up for election, had to endure blackballing. A. F. Mummery, conqueror of the Grépon (1881), was believed to be in retail trade; Lunn himself was a director of his father's travel agency.

Remembering the importance of religion in the lives of the Lunn's, one notices also Sir Arnold's criticism of Ronald Clark's suggestion, in *The Victorian Mountaineers* (1953), that the rapid development of mountaineering owed something to the "impingement of science on religion." Sir Arnold insists that there was no connection. A believer himself, regretful that it "is no longer fashionable to refer to one's Creator in a book intended for an Alpine public," he quotes (twice) Alfred Wills' unashamed account of his feelings on the summit of the Wetterhorn. The believer took his reverent feelings with him to the peaks; the agnostic, his doubts. But even Tyndall, by his own account, was "filled with adoration" in the Alps; and Leslie Stephen, despite his "near-philistinism," perceived something of "beauty which is not wholly of this world."

No one would call Lunn's book a history. It is one man's discourse, enlivened by reminiscence and opinion. It makes enjoyable reading; it also leads one to take down other volumes from the Alpine shelves — classics like Wills' *Wanderings among the High Alps* (1856) and Tyndall's *Glaciers of the Alps* (1860), historical works like Sir Gavin de Beer's *Travellers in Switzerland* (1949) and Clark's *Victorian Mountaineers*, and (above all) the bound volumes of the *Alpine Journal*, highly recommended for browsing. Here Stephen sketches John Ormsby; here Freshfield remembers how Tennyson explained lines in "Come down, O maid"; here Mumm writes on "Ruskin and the Alps." The special Volume LXII, *Alpine Centenary, 1857-1957*, has a foreword by the President, Sir John Hunt, and essays by members whose equals for the pleasant task would be hard even to imagine. Both the Alpine Club and its journal, one must conclude, are sets "worth knowing."

DAVID ALLAN ROBERTSON, JR.
Barnard College

Caricatures by Max from the Collection in the Ashmolean Museum; pp. 32. Ashmolean Museum: Oxford, 1958, 2s. 6d.
Max's Nineties: Drawings, 1892-1899, by MAX BEERBOHM, with an introduction by Osbert Lancaster; pp. 56. Lippincott: Philadelphia, 1959, \$5.00; Hart-Davis: London, 1958, 30s.

HARD THOUGH IT SOMETIMES SEEMS to keep straight the chronology, Max Beerbohm's best and most admired writings date from the second decade of our own century: *Zuleika Dobson* first appeared in 1911; the shining parodies that constitute *A Christmas Garland*, in 1912; and *Seven Men*, including the biography of that arch-Decadent Enoch Soames, in 1919. And his finest volume of drawings, *Rossetti and his Circle*, came even later — in 1922. Yet in the beginning, as Wilde once remarked and as Osbert Lancaster now reminds us, the gods gave Max "the gift of eternal old age"; and his first book impudently presented itself in 1896 as a final summing up, *The Works of Max Beerbohm*. Indeed by endowment, choice, and calculation Max remained always so much a man of the 'nineties that, though he survived until three years ago in a

more or less alien world, we make no great mistake in associating him forever with that decade and the wit, polish, and artifice of its exuberantly blasé dandiocal culture.

The attractive booklet *Caricatures by Max*, edited by the Keeper of the Ashmolean, assembles twenty-eight drawings made between 1894 and 1926, now in the Museum collection. Fifteen of these are here published for the first time; and among the new ones are deft impressions, each a mild critical judgment, of fellow authors and artists, Barrie, George Moore, Henry James, Sargent, Steer, and Conder. The "G. K. Chesterton," which the editor dates "about 1912," is a magnificently bulbous arrangement of a great black evening suit abutting on the edge of a lightly sketched banquet table. "At the Pines," apparently from the time of *Rossetti and his Circle*, depicts an aged, carpet-slipped Swinburne admonishing a hunched saturnine Watts-Dunton, while a voluptuous long-necked Jane Morris looks yearningly down upon them from a huge Pre-Raphaelite canvas. In such pieces Max achieves the certainty of his mature manner. Only three of the twenty-eight caricatures, however, were actually executed in the 'nineties: the "Oscar Wilde" (from *Pick-me-up*), a devastating scrawl of sinister wiry tangles; a sad, delicate-handed, debonair "George Wyndham"; and a precise, grotesque "Aubrey Beardsley," the gaunt beaked head on a frail wisp of body. Each of these three is competent; but none yet bears the hallmark of Max's distinctive style.

In *Max's Nineties*, the first of several volumes designed to survey Beerbohm's art decade by decade, we may trace his aesthetic derivations and the beginnings of a personal idiom. Mr. Lancaster's bright but all too brief introduction emphasizes Max's palpable and freely acknowledged debt to Pellegrini, the "Ape" of *Vanity Fair*, but also suggests the influence of some French contemporaries and, less immediately, of Burne-Jones. The "Aubrey Beardsley" of this volume skillfully poses the aesthete against a formal Beardsleyan backdrop, and the bold "Phil May" cleverly imitates May's own vigorous technique. Max in the 'nineties seems intent above all on mastering the modes of his period. Many of his subjects are accordingly so local in their appeal that we need some sort of annotation

(the editor has provided none) in order to appreciate the quality of the caricature, but nearly all in their fashion breathe a *fin-de-siècle* air. A few of the drawings, however, also suggest, either by theme or method of attack, the future direction of Max's talent. The rather loosely sketched "Celtades Ambo: Edward Martyn and W. B. Yeats" anticipates the far superior "Mr. W. B. Yeats, presenting Mr. George Moore to the Queen of the Fairies," which appeared in *The Poet's Corner* of 1904 as a sharply detailed and balanced water color. And the "Nocturne: Mr. Whistler Crossing the Channel," which pictures the Butterfly as a top-hatted witch riding a broomstick through a star-strewn sky above the Straits of Dover, clearly indicates what Max will accomplish when he begins to conceive his caricatures in terms of a unified composition. He has most certainly perfected his own characteristic and inimitable style by the time he draws the amusing sequence "Mr. Gladstone Goes to Heaven," with which *Max's Nineties* concludes. But the editor does not venture to date these maturely turned, acidulous little satires. Undoubtedly they belong to a much later period of Max's development. Yet like much of his best work, they are retrospective in theme and spirit. They recapture the mocking irreverence with which a skeptical young dandy of the 'nineties once appraised the career of a solemn high-Victorian statesman.

JEROME H. BUCKLEY

Columbia University

Bulwer and Macready: A Chronicle of the Early Victorian Theatre, edited by CHARLES H. SHATTUCK; pp. 278. University of Illinois Press: Urbana, Ill., 1958, \$5.75.

"THE THEATRE . . . was completely dominated by the star system; the play as a rule was written for the leading actor, adapted to his peculiar mannerisms, and directed to his best advantage." In thus dismissing the Victorian drama in half a paragraph of *The Victorian Temper*, Jerome H. Buckley was but following the conclusions of most post-Shavian criticism. Just how a drama is to have any existence at all if it does not become part of an actor's theatre never seems to enter into the discussion. That Alleyn was a joint-creator with Marlowe, Burbage with Shakespeare,

Mrs. Bracegirdle with Congreve, or Forbes-Robertson with Shaw is a mystery into which the literary historian is unwilling to enter, though he will discuss with professional competence architecture, gardening, Newtonian physics, or Darwinian biology. While no one in his right mind will pretend that Victorian dramatic literature has a life of its own, the cultural historian who refuses to look closely at the theatre of his period is allowing one of his most valuable tools to rust unused.

It is true that in the theatre between the managements of Kemble and Irving the actor was generally the dominant partner in the process of dramatic creation. But it has been remarked before that the actor is a most intimate mirror of his audience, a reflection of its aspirations, attitudes, and frustrations. Let who will analyze a nation's songs, the analyst of a nation's actors will possess himself of its inmost spirit. Where, for example, is there a more quintessential treatment of the romantic revival than in Hillebrand's *Life of Edmund Kean*? William Charles Macready, whose letters make up half the bulk of the volume under review, was equally the quintessence of mid-century England. He was a gentleman, a scholar — frugal, hard-working, despotic with his family and his theatrical company. He befriended and encouraged young writers, published a bowdlerized edition of Pope, read widely and intelligently in the radical scientific and philosophic works of the age, clung to his religious faith with gritted teeth and exclamatory reiterations, and, after his retirement from the stage, conducted a school for the education of the operative classes. Anticipating a later synthesizer, he even billed himself as The Eminent.

Among writers, his closest friend was Charles Dickens, but that playwright manqué was of little direct service to his theatrical career. It was the industrious and now largely forgotten Bulwer-Lytton, whom he met as early as 1834, who was to furnish him with many of his most attractive original roles. Indeed the collaboration of author and actor was to give to the English repertory three plays which held the stage long after the departure of the only begetters; *Richelieu* in fact was professionally performed in New York as late as 1927. Some suggestion as to how this theatrically sturdy, if aesthetically negligible, work was accomplished was re-

vealed by Brander Matthews in 1911 in his *Letters of Bulwer-Lytton to Macready*. Professor Shattuck is so charitable as to describe Matthews' editing as "far from satisfactory." It is downright shocking, but it represents fairly the kind of scholarship to which theatre-history has been subjected. The manuscripts are frequently misread, misdated, "improved," and no hint is offered as to their location; the best efforts of Professor Shattuck have failed to turn up the originals, and he has been forced to a hypothetical re-editing based on common sense, intuition, and Macready's letters and diaries. To this he has added a much larger number of hitherto unpublished letters from both correspondents. The result is completely happy: this collection throws open the doors of the dramatic workshop and casts light into more corners of the creative process than any other published body of theatrical documents.

This is a strange and continuously fascinating account. It will be strange principally to those who are theatrically naïve, who are unaware (as Bulwer apparently was) of the difference between novel-writing and play-making, and who will condemn (as Bulwer did not) the controls which the economy of the theatre must impose, as inimical to the artistic process. Bulwer, with "the greatest going literary reputation of the day," was not a humble man, but he was a professional. Determined to try his fortunes in the theatre he turned to the leading actor of the day for advice and assistance. He had chosen well: Macready had worked his way up through all the offices of the theatre from provincial stage manager to metropolitan star, he had proved himself a useful adviser to playwrights like Sheridan Knowles whose success was unquestioned, he had turned his own hand to the rescue of Shakespeare from the hands of Colley Cibber. Further, although Macready was a "romantic" actor and most at home in Shakespearian or dimidiata-Shakespearian roles, he was aware of the rising dramatic spirit of his age, the spirit that was to tidy up the shambles of the debased panoramic drama with the logic of events of the *pièce-bien-faite* and make possible the theatre of naturalism and social criticism.

Bulwer's dependence on Macready was heavy. If he proposed a subject from history, Macready's questioning or criticism would

often decide the emphasis. If he outlined an action, Macready's sense of theatrical logic, of the necessity for preparation would often determine the final structure. Nor was Bulwer blind to his indebtedness. "You see, my dear Fellow," he acknowledged, "that you must always suggest my plots and situations. Till you gave me the outline [of *Money*] I was all abroad — I only return to your lips your own chalice." For his part, Macready recognized his own dependence upon Bulwer. A constant supply of "new and original" characters was needed to balance the roster of classical roles. And Macready, who could count the house between his entrance upon the stage and his first speech, worked indefatigably to uncover novelties. In three decades he produced nearly a hundred new plays, and performed in many of them. But Bulwer was always his best hope among playwrights, and he put as much energy into his correspondence with the author as he put into one of his famous revivals of Shakespeare in which all the techniques of modern theatre art were anticipated.

The fascination of this book lies in the fact that it does something much more than assemble the evidence about a major event in a minor art of the dead past. Bulwer and Macready were not only professional men and artists, they were characters in the great drama of a society that was changing in spite of itself. They were also pleasantly anti-theatrical: Macready, formal, precise, decorous; Bulwer, disorderly, spasmodic, and (at least in Macready's eyes) bohemian. From littered study and crowded dressing room they exchange ideas and criticisms, but they also set down themselves, their stubbornesses, their prejudices, their enthusiasms, their discontents. Further, Professor Shattuck, following a wise principle of dramaturgy, has introduced a third actor, John Forster, who is about equal parts Petulant, Witwoud, and Horatio to both principals.

Bulwer and Macready is a play-outside-of-a-play. The materials have been assembled with scholarly care and edited with both sympathy and objectivity. The introduction and the mortar between the letters are full and gracefully written, and the subtitle is a very accurate description of the finished work. It is hoped that other scholars, equally conscientious and equally humane, may be

persuaded by Shattuck's pioneering to venture into this vast *terra incognita*.

ALAN S. DOWNER

Princeton University

Bernard Shaw and the Nineteenth-Century Tradition, by JULIAN B. KAYE; pp. xv + 222. University of Oklahoma Press: Norman, Okla., 1958, \$4.00.

IN SO FAR AS Julian Kaye's study has a theme and a method, they come to this: he accepts Edmund Wilson's judgment on Shaw as a political thinker, but takes Eric Bentley's way of explaining the provenience of Shaw's ideas. Referring to Shaw's public support of Mussolini, Stalin, and Hitler, Mr. Wilson has written, "In his political utterances since the War, it is not too much to say that Bernard Shaw has made a blatant jackass of himself." This Mr. Wilson attempted to explain by the hypothesis that Shaw could never abandon any of his three quite incompatible roles: the forthright citizen, the Fabian socialist, and the vitalist poet-philosopher. Eric Bentley in *Bernard Shaw: A Reconsideration* advanced the alternative theory that it was Shaw's education as a Victorian which so sharply limited his understanding of twentieth-century politics. Mr. Kaye, apparently once Mr. Bentley's student at Columbia, has taken the few subtle and incisive pages of his teacher on this subject and turned them into a volume that it at once solemn and muddled. In Mr. Kaye's restatement, "Shaw was unable to accclimate himself to the catastrophic atmosphere of our era; furthermore he was unable to understand that the fundamental problem of the twentieth century is the survival of Western civilization itself rather than the establishment of a more efficient and equitable economy."

Having thus disposed by *obiter dictum* of the "fundamental problem of the twentieth century," Mr. Kaye goes on to assert that Shaw was undone by the "Nineteenth-Century Tradition." And what was that tradition? To this question he gives separate and inconsistent answers. In his preface, he finds that it consisted of the belief that all the important problems of life are those of "economic and social adjustment" A new code of ethics was evolved to suit the needs of this simplified view of human life. Human actions

were considered good to the extent that they promoted economic well being. So much for Mr. Kaye's first statement. A different version is to be found in a one-sentence paragraph that epitomizes his five and a half page chapter called "The Nineteenth-Century Tradition." "Basil Willey in *Nineteenth Century Studies* states that the central problem of the nineteenth century was the 'reconciling of destruction with reconstruction, negation with affirmation, science with religion, the heart with the head, the past with the present, order with progress.'" Mr. Kaye takes this sentence to be a confirmation of his own thesis. But Professor Willey's point is that Comte's importance stemmed from his attempt to found a new religion. Thus, the great concern of the age was with faith rather than with "economic and social adjustment."

Here again Mr. Kaye has taken a dexterously phrased suggestion and turned it into a ponderous and untenable generalization. Apparently he believes that every century has a tradition and this tradition centers on but a single problem. Such a jejune conception of intellectual history needs no elaborate refutation. In the author's scheme, furthermore, Tolstoy, Bergson, Nietzsche, and William James figure as much in the "Tradition" as Blake, J. S. Mill, and Ruskin. Is it true that all of these thinkers, or for that matter, any of them believed that "economic and social adjustment" constituted the problem of human life? No less irritating than Mr. Kaye's claim to have discovered the key to the period extending from the French Revolution to the First World War is his subsequent tacit admission that his scheme will not do for all of Europe. Actually he emphasizes English thinkers, and divides up the century in terms of early Romantics, great Victorians, mid-century materialists, and late-century rebels against materialism and determinism.

Despite the pretentious title and claim of this book, it is in fact a study of thinkers who influenced Shaw. Even on this level, the author frequently makes statements which are over-simplified or inaccurate. As his bibliography indicates, what he knows well is Shaw's own works. He deals less surely with the work of the other thinkers he discusses. An example: "If with Basil Willey, we feel it is 'possible to regard Comte as the central figure of his century,' it may prove valuable

to observe the many similarities between his thought and that of Shaw, who, I believe, occupies the same position in the second half of the century that Comte does in the first." For the assertion that Shaw's position was comparable to Comte's, Mr. Kaye produces no evidence.

Nor does his discussion of Shaw's relationship to the Utilitarians and Fabians inspire any more confidence. Although Halévy's *History of the English People in the Nineteenth Century* is cited once in his Preface, Mr. Kaye does not appear to know the *Growth of Philosophic Radicalism* or Halévy's penetrating comments on Fabianism in *L'Ère des Tyrannies*. There Halévy provides an explanation of why the Webbs, as well as Shaw, became admirers of Stalin. Communist emphasis on efficiency and bureaucracy with its indifference to individual liberties constituted no obstacle to those of the Fabians who were from the beginning anti-liberal, and proudly paraded their views at the time they supported the Boer War. And this collectivism is, of course, quite consistent with one strand of Bentham's thought.

In a book devoted to Shaw's political and economic ideas, there should be more analysis of his actual work as a Fabian. As Beatrice Webb noted, Shaw, despite his flamboyance, worked for many years at the ordinary routine of Fabian propaganda and organization with as much persistence as her own husband. Thus it is puzzling that Mr. Kaye should have failed to consult Mrs. Webb's *Our Partnership*, her *Diaries 1912-1924*, and the collection of essays edited by Margaret Cole called *The Webbs and Their Work*, to which Shaw himself contributed. Surely an examination of the Webbs and their political assumptions would have cast more light on Shaw than has Mr. Kaye's creation of a factitious nineteenth-century tradition. And should Bernard Shaw be taken always and completely seriously? Almost certainly his approval of the dictators stemmed as much from his desire to *épater* as from any settled political convictions.

MELVIN RICHTER

Hunter College

Democracy in England, by DIANA SPEARMAN; pp. xviii + 238. Macmillan: New York, 1957, \$6.00; Rockliff: London, 1957, 30s.;

Smithers and Bohellie: Toronto, 1957, \$6.50.

THIS IS AN ACCOUNT of the development of the British system of government from the old balanced constitution of the age of Blackstone, with its respect for individual rights, to the modern unitary democracy with its strict party discipline and discretionary control by the executive. The theme is not exactly a new one, but it is important and Mrs. Spearman brings to it a fresh mind, considerable enterprise in what appear to have been extensive if unsystematic researches, and a robust belief in liberty. These are valuable qualities and much that she says is interesting, but if you are to make historical generalizations, such as she desires to make, you ought to bring to the task really sure knowledge of all the history you are going to generalize about, knowledge which extends more continuously over the whole subject than can be revealed by sporadic raids upon it, however deeply these have been pressed home. I am afraid there is much in Mrs. Spearman's work which suggests that her knowledge does not do this with any certainty.

For instance, some of the slips she makes do not inspire confidence. She says that Cobden became a Cabinet Minister (which of course he never did), and that Peel became Prime Minister in 1839 and was only prevented by royal disapproval from being in office in 1837 (presumably she means 1841 for the first date, and 1839 for the second: in 1837 there was a clear majority against him in the House of Commons and electorate). Anyone can make slips, but the second of these shows rather a loose grip on essential fact, and its effect is enhanced by some rather odd generalizations, as for instance that under Blackstone's constitution the law about public meetings was not important, "because political meetings for general discussion did not take place"; there were, she believes, meetings connected with elections, "but the technique of the political meeting was not developed until the Anti-Corn Law League organized them in the 'thirties." If this was so it may be wondered what men were doing on St. Peter's Field, Manchester, on 16 August 1819 or at a good many other places before the League was founded, and one would have thought that

it would be difficult to read much eighteenth-century history without hearing of meetings to promote petitions to Parliament. To this might be added her statement that the "gentry in the North, especially in Lancashire and Yorkshire were usually poor . . . nearly always Tories, often Catholics." This is to wish out of existence a large and robust body of men who were sometimes very rich, were, especially in Yorkshire, often notoriously Whig, and were in many cases self-consciously Protestant. The statement is made to explain the attitude of the country gentry to the new manufacturers, but to do this it would have been better to have considered what kind of Tories actually took part in the Ten Hours movement, which Mrs. Spearman does not mention; these men do not correspond at all to her imaginative picture.

Other evidence could be produced of her uncertain grasp of certain parts of her subject, and, as was probable, this haziness affects her view of some of the phases of the important historical processes on which her argument mainly rests. For instance, she clearly does not realise how much party organization existed, particularly among the Conservatives, before 1865. She has some excuse for this since some of the most important work on the difficult period 1852 to 1868 is yet on the way to publication. But a better account than hers can be found in Lowell's *Government of England*, published as long ago as 1908, and she might have realised from Professor Gash's work, which she does cite, how important was the development of party organization immediately after the Reform Bill. In fact it would be best to date that very unsatisfactory period, the "golden age of the private member," from the break-up of 1846, and to reflect how firmly Peel in particular treated his rank and file.

When describing the development of the modern centralized state Mrs. Spearman probably underestimates the distance we had travelled on this road before the nineteenth century closed. She says that in the 'nineties the cause of centralization "appeared to have been finally defeated," and supports this statement with a quotation from Sir John Simon. The quotation is interesting but it can not cancel the work of Simon himself; against it should be placed the remarkable series of acts on public health, for which he was re-

sponsible, which began with the Act of 1866, and by which in Simon's own words "the grammar of common legislation acquired the novel virtue of the imperative mood." The imperative was of course to be directed against the inhabitants of recalcitrant districts. And if the discretionary powers granted through delegated legislation and jurisdiction are to be considered, then account must be taken of the very considerable powers granted to factory inspectors in the first ten years (1833-44) of their existence.

Now these things matter. In any discussion of these problems it is important to establish how far what exists now was inherent in the kind of politics and the kind of society which came into existence in Great Britain about the year 1830. Mrs. Spearman sees this, but unfortunately it is clear that her general historical knowledge is not comprehensive enough and not accurate enough, to enable her to make the requisite generalizations and synthesis with any security. This does not vitiate the value of much that she says about the modern situation, but it does mean that as a history book, and most of her work is in the form of a history book, this study is not to be relied upon.

G. KRISON CLARK
Trinity College, Cambridge

The Board of Trade and the Free-Trade Movement, 1830-42, by LUCY BROWN; pp. 245. Oxford University Press: New York, 1958, \$4.80; Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1958, 30s.

AS YET THE COMPLETE HISTORY of the movement for free trade has not been published. The recodification by Huskisson and James Hume of the tariff structure during the 1820's has been studied; there have been articles on "The Last Years of the Navigation Acts," "The Repeal of the Corn Laws and the Politics of the 'Forties," and other phases of the movement; and recently Norman McCord published his book on the Anti-Corn Law League. But the real history of the campaign lies in the 'thirties. While the reforms of the 'twenties clarified the statutes and exposed the customs duties to criticism, in 1830 those duties were still levied on over a thousand articles. The mercantilist argument for protection was strong, and the parsimonious

government, which still relied on excise and customs duties for three-fourths of its revenue, made few reductions. Yet in 1842, just twelve years later, Peel was able to introduce a popular budget which tacitly recognized free trade. Protection was no longer a tenable argument and the income tax took the place of customs as the crucial source of revenue.

Many merchants, however, were still quite protectionist, and many members of Parliament still preferred to raise as much revenue as feasible by customs. Free trade did not come easily; the campaign was hard fought by many men all over the kingdom. Of these the crucial leaders were the men at the Board of Trade. Miss Brown, believing that in the 'thirties "lies a substantial chapter in the history of the free-trade movement," modestly sets out "to discuss the part played in producing this change by technical advisers, and particularly by the permanent officials of the Board of Trade."

While Miss Brown reviews the general background of the movement — the prevailing opinions, the agitation for and against freer trade, the paradoxes of Melbourne's government — she focuses on the men at the Board. She shows how Poulett Thomson, George Porter, John McGregor, and the others, all Ricardians and dedicated free traders, set about their tasks; how they thought, how they got into the government and the civil service, and how they worked. They collected statistics and widely publicized both officially and unofficially those best of all arguments for their cause. They published books and pamphlets on all phases of the question. They negotiated reciprocal trade treaties with foreign nations. They constantly prodded the Foreign Office to collect information about foreign trade and manufactures and to appeal to foreign governments for freer trade; and they argued with the Treasury that lower duties meant more trade and more revenue, not less. They prepared the way for their chief officer Thomson to carry through Parliament reductions on over 700 imported articles. Miss Brown clearly demonstrates the hereditary function of the Board as an advisory body. She selects enough of its procedure in Parliament to complete the account of its work for free trade: agitation for a committee of inquiry into the duty on this or that article or trade; the careful selec-

tion of members' who understood the problem, of the witnesses, and of the questions to be put to them; the writing of the report and its publication; and finally the drafting of the bill and its defense in Parliament. These men succeeded because they knew what they wanted and how to get it.

This book is more than a history of the core of the free-trade movement; it is a good account of the operation of government during the period. It shows how able some civil servants were before 1854 and how powerful those with a cause were in the vacuum of cabinet and Parliamentary politics. The Benthamite technique of these men often succeeded when many politicians were more concerned for civil order and party power than for social welfare, and when business interests were too divided to dictate policy. This book neatly illustrates the process of reform: the use of statistics, the carefully selected committee of inquiry, and the power of publicity and Parliamentary lobbies. Parliament may not have been noticeably reformed in 1832, but some departments of the government were: the landed interest had certainly lost out at the Board of Trade.

Miss Brown has been very industrious. The Board of Trade papers give only a small part of the story she tells. She has ranged widely for her material yet has not lost control. She gets into her subject quickly and keeps her purpose clear. She is not afraid to ask questions she cannot answer.

She might have filled out the story a bit by including a brief account of what happened before 1830 and after 1842. She tends to slight the argument for protection and might have shown more clearly the growing confidence of business in its ability to meet foreign competition. She relies on H. Llewellyn Smith's short and outdated history of the Board of Trade and so errs in saying that the Board had no responsibilities for shipping before 1850. But her errors are pleasantly few. Her bibliography curiously omits articles, which are the chief source of information on the subject. But it is a good book and an admirable account of the end of the hereditary functions of the old advisory committee of the Privy Council for Trade and Plantations.

ROGER PROUTY
Massachusetts Institute of Technology



Shelley's Later Poetry

A Study of his Prophetic Imagination

By MILTON WILSON

An analysis of the argument and material of Shelley's poetry during his Italian period with particular reference to *Prometheus Unbound*. In his Ansley Award-winning book Dr. Wilson finds in the mature artistry of these last years that Shelley's argument and the nature of his figures imply a theory of poetry and reveal the workings of his imagination.

\$6.00

The Novels of George Eliot

By JEROME THALE

This critical examination of the seven novels of George Eliot shows the growth of her power as an artist and reveals the meaningful contours and dynamics of her work as a whole. Dr. Thale emphasises the concern of the novels with character in its social embodiment and attributes the retaining power of her novels to this.

\$3.75

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS
2960 Broadway New York 27, N. Y.



VICTORIAN BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR 1958

Francis G. Townsend, editor

THIS BIBLIOGRAPHY has been prepared by a committee of the Victorian Literature Group of the Modern Language Association of America: Francis G. Townsend, chairman, Florida State University; William D. Templeman, University of Southern California; Robert C. Slack, Carnegie Institute of Technology; Oscar Maurer, University of Texas; Robert A. Donovan, Cornell University; Charles T. Dougherty, St. Louis University, and Donald J. Gray, Indiana University. It attempts to list the noteworthy publications of 1958 (including reviews of these and earlier items) that have a bearing on the Victorian period, as well as similar publications of earlier date that have been inadvertently omitted from the preceding Victorian bibliographies. Unless otherwise stated, the date of publication is 1958. Reference to a page in the bibliography for 1957, in *Victorian Studies*, June, 1958, is made by the following form: See VB 1957, 260. Some cross-references are given, though not all that are possible. For certain continuing bibliographical works the reader should consult VB 1941, the last annual bibliography in which such works are listed in full. Bibliographical entries are made to conform as closely as possible with the British National Bibliography for books first published in Great Britain, and with the Library of Congress Catalog for books first published in the United States.

Several members of the Victorian Literature Group have made special contributions to VB 1958. The editor wishes to express his gratitude for such assistance to Professors Carl J. Weber of Colby College, T. J. Truss

of the University of Mississippi, and Richard C. Tobias, of the University of Pittsburgh.

Next year's VB will be edited by Professor Robert C. Slack, of the Carnegie Institute of Technology. Communications should be addressed to him.

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

- AHR = *American Historical Review*
AL = *American Literature*
AM = *Atlantic Monthly*
APSR = *American Political Science Review*
APSS = *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*
ArQ = *Arizona Quarterly*
BA = *Books Abroad*
BB = *Bulletin of Bibliography*
BLR = *Bodleian Library Record*
BPLQ = *Boston Public Library Quarterly*
BSP = *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*
CE = *College English*
CHJ = *Historical Journal* (formerly *Cambridge Historical Journal*)
CJ = *Cambridge Journal*
CR = *Contemporary Review*
CWD = *Catholic World*
DA = *Dissertation Abstracts*
DUJ = *Durham University Journal*
EC = *Essays in Criticism*
EHR = *English Historical Review*
EJ = *English Journal*
ELH = *Journal of English Literary History*
EST = *English Studies*
Ex = *Explicator*
HJ = *Hibbert Journal*

HLB = *Harvard Library Bulletin*
HLQ = *Huntington Library Quarterly*
HTB = *New York Herald Tribune Book Review*
JAA = *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*
JEGP = *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*
JEH = *Journal of Economic History*
JHI = *Journal of the History of Ideas*
JMH = *Journal of Modern History*
JP = *Journal of Philosophy*
JPE = *Journal of Political Economy*
KR = *Kenyon Review*
LJ = *Library Journal*
LQ = *Library Quarterly*
LQHR = *London Quarterly and Holborn Review*
LR = *Library Review*
M & L = *Music and Letters*
MLJ = *Modern Language Journal*
MLN = *Modern Language Notes*
MLQ = *Modern Language Quarterly*
MLR = *Modern Language Review*
MP = *Modern Philology*
N = *Nation*
N & Q = *Notes and Queries*
NCF = *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*
NEQ = *New England Quarterly*
NER = *National and English Review*
New R = *New Republic*
NS = *New Statesman*
NYTBR = *New York Times Book Review*
PAPS = *Proceedings of the American Philological Society*
ParR = *Partisan Review*
PLC = *Princeton University Library Chronicle*
PMLA = *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*
PQ = *Philological Quarterly*
PSQ = *Political Science Quarterly*
QJS = *Quarterly Journal of Speech*
QQ = *Queen's Quarterly*
QR = *Quarterly Review*
RES = *Review of English Studies*
RoR = *Romanic Review*
S = *Spectator*
SAQ = *South Atlantic Quarterly*
SeR = *Sewanee Review*
SP = *Studies in Philology*
SR = *Saturday Review*
StI = *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*

TC = *Twentieth Century*
TLS = *Times Literary Supplement*
TQ = *University of Toronto Quarterly*
VNL = *Victorian News Letter*
VQR = *Virginia Quarterly Review*
VS = *Victorian Studies*
YR = *Yale Review*

I. BIBLIOGRAPHICAL MATERIAL

- "Annual Bibliography for 1957." *PMLA*, LXXXIII, No. 2, 173-91; *English Language and Literature*, "IX. Nineteenth Century" and "X. Twentieth Century," ed. Charles C. Mish, Seymour B. Chatman, Harrison T. Meserole, and J. Max Patrick.
- Cam, Gilbert A. "A Survey of the Literature on Investment Companies 1864-1957." *Bull. New York Pub. Libr.*, LXII, 57-74.
- Clark, Alexander P. "The Manuscript Collections of the Princeton University Library." *PLC*, XIX, 159-90.
- Mentions (pp. 164-70, 184) items by Macready, Herschel, Barrie, Hardy, Collins, Bulwer-Lytton, Mrs. Craik, William Black, Lewis Carroll, George Eliot, C. Kingsley, Hughes, Read, Stevenson, Trollope, Dickens, Meredith, Lewes, Du Maurier, P. J. Bailey, Mrs. Gaskell, "Ouida," the Brontës, Yonge, Thackeray, Madame Vestris, Coventry Patmore, Allingham, Bridges, Carlyle, Ruskin, Housman, Yeats.
- Cohen, I. Bernard, and Strelsky, Katharine (eds.). "Eighty-second Critical Bibliography of the History of Science and Its Cultural Influences (to 1 January 1957)." *Isis*, XLVIII (1957), 189-280.
- Cohen, I. Bernard, and Strelsky, Katharine (eds.). "Eighty-third Critical Bibliography of the History of Science and Its Cultural Influences (to 1 January 1958)." *Isis*, XLIX, 179-296.
- Dickson, Sarah Augusta. *The Arents Collection of Books in Parts and Associated Literature*. New York: New York Public Libr., 1957. Pp. 88.
- Rev. by Alexander Wainwright in *Book Collector*, VII, 435-36; by Theodore Bolton in *BSP*, LII, 224-26. Collection includes sporting, comic, travel books, and novels by Dickens, Thackeray, Trollope, Ainsworth, etc. as they appeared serially; MSS and letters of Dickens, Thackeray, and others; drawings by Leech, Cruikshank, and others.

- Everyman's Dictionary of Literary Biography, English and American.* Compiled after John W. Cousin by D. C. Browning. Everyman's Reference Library. London: Dent. Pp. xi + 752.
- Rev. by Earle F. Walbridge in *LJ*, LXXXIII, 1552-53; in *TLS*, 31 Jan., p. 62.
- Fawerty, Frederic E. (ed.). *The Victorian Poets: A Guide to Research.* . . . See VB 1957, 384.
- Rev. by William E. Buckler in *Comp. Lit.*, X, 159-62 (this favorable review is especially valuable for its specific indication of the research topics recommended in this important book); by J. D. Jump in *RES*, n.s. IX, 122; by William E. Buckler in *VNL*, Fall (No. 14), pp. 19-22.
- Jones, Claude E. "Modern Books Dealing with the Novel in English: A Check List." *BB*, XXII, 85-87.
- Leary, Lewis (ed.). *Contemporary Literary Scholarship.* New York: Appleton. Pp. 474.
- Macdonald, Angus, and Pettit, Henry (eds.). *Annual Bibliography of English Language and Literature.* Vol. XXVI: 1946. London: Cambridge Univ. Pr. for the Modern Humanities Research Assoc. Pp. xiv + 130.
- McLean, Ruari. *Modern Book Design from William Morris to the Present Day.* London: Faber. Pp. xii + 116. Rev. in *TLS*, 19 Dec., p. 744.
- Maurer, Oscar (ed.). "Recent Publications: A Selected List." *VNL*, No. 13 (Spring), pp. 30-32; No. 14 (Fall), pp. 29-32.
- "Notes on Sales." *TLS*, 19 Dec., p. 754.
- On the sale of the last library formed by the late Michael Sadleir.
- Nowell-Smith, Simon. "Michael Sadleir: A Handlist." *Library*, XIII, 132-38.
- A selective list containing volumes and periodical contributions of importance, many of which concern Victorian literature.
- Nurmi, Martin K. (ed.). "The Romantic Movement: A Selective and Critical Bibliography for the Year 1957." *PQ*, XXXVII, 129-244.
- "Research in Progress in the Modern Languages and Literature, 1958." *PMLA*, LXXXIII, No. 2, 63-69; English Language and Literature, "IX. Nineteenth Century" and "X. Contemporary," ed. Louise Lindemann.
- Stewart, James D., with Muriel E. Hammond and Erwin Saenger (eds.). *British Union-Catalogue of Periodicals.* . . . See VB 1957, 385. Vol. IV: S-Z. London: Butterworth. Pp. xxi + 630.
- Vol. III rev. in *TLS*, 14 Feb., p. 92; Vol. IV by R. D. Macleod in *LR*, XVI, 473-74. For Vol. I see VB 1955, 241; Vols. II and III, VB 1957, 385.
- Taylor, Robert H. "The J. Harlin O'Connell Collection." *PLC*, XIX, 150-52.
- Acquisition by Princeton of a collection of 1890-1900 material; already described in part by O'Connell in *PLC*, II (1941), 121-32, this collection includes twenty letters from Wilde, fourteen from Beardsley, seven from Beerbohm, eighteen from Dowson, eleven from G. Moore, etc., and many magazines, "even those numbers of *Kottabos* to which Wilde contributed when at Trinity College, Dublin."
- Topsfeld, L. T. (ed.). *The Year's Work in Modern Language Studies.* Vol. XVIII. London: Cambridge Univ. Pr. Pp. viii + 652.
- Rev. briefly in *TLS*, 31 Jan., p. 66.
- Townsend, Francis G. "An Introduction to the Victorian Bibliography." *VS*, I, 352-54.
- Townsend, Francis G. (ed.). "Victorian Bibliography for 1957." *VS*, I, 383-422.
- Watson, George (ed.). *The Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature.* Vol. V: Supplement. . . . See VB 1957, 385.
- Rev. by George L. McKay in *BSP*, LII, 68-70; briefly by J. N. W. in *College and Research Libr.*, XIX, 27-28; by L. W. Hanson in *Library*, XIII, 208-10; by Herbert Cahoon in *LJ*, LXXXIII, 61; by R. D. Altick in *SR*, 22 Mar., p. 46.
- [Weber, Carl J.] "A Former Colby Librarian Comments Authoritatively on Rare Books." *Colby Libr. Quart.*, IV, 252-60.
- [Weber, Carl J.] "Some Noteworthy Recent Gifts." *Colby Libr. Quart.*, IV, 279-84.
- Description of gifts to the Colby College Library, including a privately printed edition of Hardy's *An Indiscretion in the Life of an Heiress*, reprints of two Hardy poems, a letter by Ruskin, three letters of Laurence Housman, additions to the papers of Vernon Lee.
- Wing, Donald G., and Gallup, Donald. "The Blum Library: From A'Beckett to Zangwill." *Yale Univ. Libr. Gazette*, XXXIII, 41-43.
- Acquisitions, including first editions and MSS of many Victorians—Arnold (thirty-one letters, all written to James Knowles), Barrie, Borrow (MSS, supposedly unpub-

lished), Conrad, Gissing, Hardy, Meredith, Yeats, G. Moore, Wilde; letters by Lewis Carroll, Wilkie Collins; etc.

The Year's Work in English Studies, Vol. XXXVII (1956). Ed. for the English Assoc. by Beatrice White and T. S. Dorsch. London: Oxford Univ. Pr., 1958. "The Nineteenth Century," treated by G. Bullough and P. M. Yarker, pp. 202-228; "The Twentieth Century," by Marjorie Thompson, pp. 229-240.

II. ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, RELIGIOUS, AND SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

Addis, John P. *The Crawshay Dynasty: A Study in Industrial Organization and Development, 1765-1867*. Cardiff: Univ. of Wales Pr., 1957.

Rev. by Richard W. Hale, Jr. in *AHR*, LXIII, 471-72; by W. H. B. Court in *History*, XLIII, 251-52; by W. Woodruff in *JMH*, XXX, 390-91. History of a notable firm of Welsh iron and steel manufacturers.

Allchin, Arthur Macdonald. *The Silent Rebellion: Anglican Religious Communities, 1845-1900*. London: S. C. M. Pp. 256.

Almedingen, Edith Martha von. *Life of Many Colours: The Story of Grandmother Ellen*. London: Hutchinson. Pp. 256.

Rev. by Mary Ross in *HTB*, 4 May, p. 7; by Walter Allen in *NS*, 29 Mar., p. 415; by Virgil Peterson in *NYTBR*, 11 May, p. 4; by Peter Vansittart in *S*, 28 Mar., p. 406; by L. B. Johnson in *SR*, 31 May, p. 25; in *TLS*, 7 Mar., p. 124. Chronicle of author's Victorian English grandmother.

Arlott, John. "Blundering into Beauty." *Lis- tener*, 2 Oct., pp. 512-14.

On Staffordshire portrait figures in the Victorian age.

Armytage, W. H. G. "Alcott House: An Anglo-American Educational Experiment." *Educational Theory*, VIII, 129-43. Alcott House was a school founded by James Pierrepont Greaves and based on Pestalozzian principles.

Armytage, W. H. G. "The Chartist Land Colonies 1846-1848." *Agricultural History*, XXXII, 87-96.

Armytage, W. H. G. "John Minter Morgan's Schemes, 1841-1855." *International Rev. of Social History*, III, 26-42.

Morgan's neo-Owenite schemes concerned

the establishment of self-supporting villages supervised by the Established Church. Prof. Armytage also considers some other mid-century proposals for and experiments in Christian association.

Arundell, Dennis. *The Critic at the Opera*. London: Benn, 1957. Pp. xiv + 424.

Rev. by Winton Dean in *M & L*, XXXIX, 286-89. Part III contains "press notices of the first English performances of well-known operas between 1800 and 1914."

Baillie, Eileen. *The Shabby Paradise*. London: Hutchinson. Pp. 223.

Rev. in *TLS*, 22 Aug., p. 468. Family and parish life of an East End vicar at the turn of the century.

Balston, Thomas. *Staffordshire Portrait Figures of the Victorian Age*. London: Faber. Pp. 93.

Rev. in *TLS*, 7 Nov., p. 644.

Bealey, Frank; and Pelling, Henry. *Labour and Politics, 1900-1906*. London: Macmillan. Pp. xi + 314.

Rev. by Asa Briggs in *NS*, 16 Aug., pp. 197-98; in *TLS*, 15 Aug., p. 455. A history, based on unpublished records, of the Labour Representation Committee, precursor of the Labour Party.

Bell, Enid Moberly. *A History of the Church Schools Company, 1883-1958*. London: S. P. C. K. Pp. 89.

Rev. briefly in *TLS*, 16 May, p. 274.

Bernstein, Samuel. "Some Recent Historical Literature: From the Enlightenment to the Commune." *Sci. and Soc.*, XXII, 330-55.

Berthrong, Merrill Gray. "Disarmament in European Diplomacy, 1816-1870." *DA*, XIX, 783.

Blaug, Mark. "The Classical Economists and the Factory Acts—A Re-examination." *Quart. Jour. Econ.*, LXXII, 211-16.

Bloomfield, Paul. "R. S. Rintoul, 1787-1858." *S*, 18 Apr., p. 481.

On the first editor (1828-58) of the *Spectator*.

Blow, Sydney. *Through Stage Doors: Or, Memories of Two in the Theatre*. Edinburgh: Chambers. Pp. 236.

Rev. briefly by T. C. W. in *NS*, 6 Dec., p. 820. This actor's autobiography has stories about various late Victorians, including Ruskin.

Bodenheimer, F. S. "Canon Henry Baker Tristram of Durham (1822-1906)." *DUJ*, XLIX (1957), 95-97.

A biographical sketch of the Victorian

- naturalist and divine.
- Bradshaw, Percy V. "Brother Savages and Guests": A History of the Savage Club 1857-1957. London: W. H. Allen. Pp. xiv + 162.
- Rev. by "A Brother Savage" in *LR*, XVI, 488. The history of the Savage Club from founding in mid-nineteenth-century to the present.
- [Bristol University Drama Department]. "Bristol University Theatre Collection." *Theatre Notebook*, XII, 96-98.
- Playbills, programmes, prompt-books, etc., many of which are from the Victorian theatre.
- Broad, Lewis. *Advocates of the Golden Age: Their Lives and Cases*. London: Long. Pp. 288.
- Rev. in *TLS*, 17 Oct., pp. 598-99. On four famous late Victorian barristers: Marshall Hall, Edward Carson, Rufus Isaacs, and F. E. Smith.
- Brown, Ivor (ed.). *A Book of England: with 110 Photographs from "The Times."* London: Collins. Pp. 511.
- Rev. in *Booklist*, LV (1 Sept.), p. 19; by N. E. Taylor in *Christian Science Monitor*, 28 Aug., p. 7; by G. H. in *Manchester Guardian*, 27 June, p. 6; in *TLS*, 25 July, p. 424. Covers ten centuries of English history.
- Brown, Lucy. *The Board of Trade and the Free Trade Movement, 1830-42*. Oxford: Clarendon Pr. Pp. 245.
- Rev. briefly in *TLS*, 14 Nov., p. 663.
- Bruce, Maurice. *The Shaping of the Modern World, 1870-1939*. Vol. I: 1870-1914. London: Hutchinson. Pp. xiii + 970.
- Rev. by W. O. Henderson in *History*, XLIII, 252-53; by H. R. Trevor-Roper in *NYTBR*, 10 Aug., p. 6; by C. N. Parkinson in *SR*, 9 Aug., p. 28; in *TLS*, 14 Feb., p. 82.
- Buechler, John. "The Roxburghe Club." *College and Research Libr.*, XIX, 19-23.
- A brief history of the bibliophilic club from 1812 to the present.
- Burgoyne, Elizabeth. *Gertrude Bell: From Her Personal Papers, 1889-1914*. London: Ernest Benn. Pp. 320.
- Rev. by Elizabeth Monroe in *NS*, 23 Aug., p. 229; in *TLS*, 1 Aug., p. 437.
- Cairncross, A. K. "The English Capital Market before 1914." *Economica*, n.s. XXV, 142-46.
- Disputes A. R. Hall's finding that the English capital market was adequate as a source of funds for home investment before 1914. The large issues on the stock exchange were, in a great number of cases, for the purchase by large corporations of flourishing businesses which had been privately owned. Investment in new assets was relatively small.
- Cardwell, D. S. L. *The Organisation of Science in England*. . . . See *VB* 1957, 386.
- Rev. by W. H. G. Armytage in *EHR*, LXXIII, 374; by S. Lilley in *VS*, I, 290-92.
- Carter, George Stuart. *A Hundred Years of Evolution*. . . . See *VB* 1957, 387.
- Rev. by Marston Bates in *Amer. Scholar*, XXVII, 254-55; by John C. Greene in *JMH*, XXX, 282-83; by Ashley Montagu in *SR*, 4 Jan., p. 25.
- Champion, Harold. "Thomas Cook." *S*, 21 Nov., p. 671.
- On the Victorian founder of the group-tour.
- Churchill, Winston S. *A History of the English-Speaking Peoples. Vol. IV: The Great Democracies*. London: Cassell. Pp. xi + 322.
- Rev. by David Harris in *AHR*, LXIV, 71-72; by J. G. Harrison in *Christian Science Monitor*, 20 Mar., p. 15; by Paul Kiniery in *CWD*, CLXXXVII, 153; by Crane Branton in *HTB*, 16 Mar., p. 3; by J. D. Marshall in *LJ*, LXXXIII, 836; by Geoffrey Barraclough in *Manchester Guardian*, 21 Mar., p. 6; by V. S. Pritchett in *NS*, 29 Mar., p. 413; by Harold Nicholson in *NYTBR*, 16 Mar., p. 1; by D. M. Smith in *S*, 21 Mar., p. 365; by Allan Nevins in *SR*, 19 Apr., p. 25; in *TLS*, 21 Mar., p. 145.
- Clark, Ronald William. *The Royal Albert Hall*. London: H. Hamilton. Pp. xii + 263.
- Rev. by Eric Gillett in *NER*, CL, 256; favorably by Arthur Marshall in *NS*, 10 May, pp. 609-10; in *TLS*, 2 May, p. 244.
- Clarke, Arthur Charles. *Voice Across the Sea*. New York: Harper. Pp. 208.
- Rev. in *Booklist*, LV (1 Sept.), p. 12; by R. C. Cowen in *Christian Science Monitor*, 2 Sept., p. 9; by H. W. Baehr in *HTB*, 24 Aug., p. 6; by M. B. Wenger in *LJ*, LXXXIII, 2156; by J. N. Leonard in *NYTBR*, 7 Sept., p. 37. On early efforts to talk across the Atlantic.
- Coleman, Donald Cuthbert. *The British Paper Industry, 1495-1860: A Study in Industrial Growth*. Oxford: Clarendon Pr. Pp. xvi + 367.
- Conacher, J. B. "Peel and the Peelites, 1846-1850." *EHR*, LXXIV, 431-52.

Peel's position in these years, in which he occasionally supported a government to which he was in opposition, prepared the way for a coalition with the Whigs.

Cope, Sir Zachary. *Florence Nightingale and the Doctors*. London: Museum Pr. Pp. x + 163.

Rev. briefly by Henrietta B. Miller in *LR*, XVI, 361; in *TLS*, 23 May, p. 285. A study of Miss Nightingale's influence on the education and practice of army doctors.

Corry, B. A. "The Theory of the Economic Effects of Government Expenditure in English Classical Political Economy." *Economica*, n.s. XXV, 34-48.

During the Napoleonic Wars various unorthodox explanations of the price rise and general prosperity were advanced which contended that extraordinary demand was created by government expenditures. After 1815 Malthus, Blake, Tooke, and Barton argued that the collapse was due to a failure of demand. Their early Keynesian arguments failed because of the general acceptance of Smith's theory that saving is spending, because savings are automatically invested. Furthermore, of all these economists only Blake so much as mentioned the existence of resources unused because of a failure of demand.

Cowherd, Raymond G. *The Politics of English Dissent*. . . . See VB 1957, 387.

Rev. by A. Briggs in *EHR*, LXXIII, 168-69; by R. W. Greaves in *History*, XLIII, 64-65.

Craig, Edward Gordon. *Index to the Story of My Days: Some Memoirs of Edward Gordon Craig*. . . . See VB 1957, 387.

Rev. by I. K. F. in *Theatre Notebook*, XII, 74-75.

Cranston, Maurice. "Robert Owen: Socialist Visionary." *Listener*, 27 Nov., pp. 877-78.

"Critic." "London Diary." *NS*, 7 June, pp. 718-20.

An evaluation of Graham Wallas, answered by Lord Samuel, "Graham Wallas," *NS*, 14 June, p. 767.

Crowther, Sir Geoffrey. *The Wealth and Poverty of Nations*. Claremont: Claremont College, 1957. Pp. 48.

Rev. briefly in *APSR*, LII, 894. Considers nineteenth-century England, in this study of disparity of wealth in three "countries."

Cruise O'Brien, Conor. *Parnell and His Party*. . . . See VB 1957, 387.

Rev. by James B. Christoph in *APSR*, LII, 565-66; by W. L. Burn in *CHJ*, I,

83-85; by F. S. L. Lyons in *History*, XLIII, 155-56; by F. S. L. Lucas in *Irish Hist. Studies*, XI, 64-69 ("incomparably the best book we have on the subject"); by D. J. McDougall in *JMH*, XXX, 147-48.

Deghy, Guy. *Paradise in the Strand: The Story of Romano's*. London: Richards Pr. Pp. 256.

Rev. in *TLS*, 7 Mar., p. 131. Romano's was a restaurant popular with the half-world of late Victorian London.

DeTocqueville, Alexis. *Journeys to England and Ireland*. Trans. George Lawrence and K. P. Mayer; ed. J. P. Mayer. London: Faber. Pp. 243.

Rev. by A. J. P. Taylor in *NS*, 12 July, pp. 51-52. First English translation.

Dolmetsch, Mabel. *Personal Recollections of Arnold Dolmetsch*. London: Routledge & K. Paul. Pp. viii + 198.

Rev. in *TLS*, 28 Feb., p. 116. On a distinguished musician and craftsman (1858-1940) influential in the '90s and after.

Dudley, Ernest. *The Gilded Lily: The Life and Loves of the Fabulous Lily Langtry*. London: Odhams. Pp. 224.

Rev. unfavorably by Ralph Partridge in *NS*, 29 Nov., pp. 768-69.

Duff, David. *The Shy Princess: The Life of Her Royal Highness Princess Beatrice, the Youngest Daughter and Constant Companion of Queen Victoria*. London: Evans. Pp. 310.

Rev. in *TLS*, 26 Dec., p. 747.

Dunsheath, Percy, and Miller, Margaret. *Convocation in the University of London: The First Hundred Years*. London: Athlone Pr. Pp. 204.

Rev. in *TLS*, 23 May, p. 286; by R. C. Latham in *Universities Rev.*, XXXI, 25-26; by John Roach in *VS*, II, 181-82. Account of how graduates of London University acquired a voice in its affairs.

Easton, John. *The De La Rue History of British and Foreign Postage Stamps, 1855-1901*. London: Faber. Pp. xxiii + 846.

Rev. in *TLS*, 19 Sept., p. 524. A history of a firm of printers of stamps.

Edwardes, Michael. *The Necessary Hell: John and Henry Lawrence and the Indian Empire*. London: Cassell. Pp. xxi + 213.

Rev. by Peter Mayne in *NS*, 31 May, pp. 703-4; by Peter Vansittart in *S*, 30 May, p. 709; unfavorably in *TLS*, 16 May, p. 267.

- Edwards, Ralph, and Ramsey, Leonard Gerald Gwynne (eds.). *The "Connoisseur" Period Guides to the Houses, Decoration, Furnishing and Chattels of the Classic Periods. The Early Victorian Period, 1830-1860*. London: Connoisseur. Pp. xii + 180.
Rev. briefly by Paul von Khrum in *LJ*, LXXXIII, 3155.
- Edwards, Robert Dudley, and Williams, Thomas Desmond (eds.). *The Great Famine*. . . . See VB 1957, 388.
- Rev. by Helen F. Mulvey in *AHR*, LXIII, 402-4; by W. L. Burn in *EHR*, LXXXIII, 316-18; by Nicholas Mansergh in *Irish Hist. Studies*, XI, 60-64; by Charles F. Mullett in *JMH*, XXX, 257-58; by W. O. Aydelotte in VS, I, 374-76.
- Engels, Friedrich. *The Condition of the Working Class in England*. Trans. and ed. W. O. Henderson and W. H. Chaloner. Oxford: Blackwell. Pp. xxxi + 386.
Rev. by Asa Briggs in *NS*, 22 Mar., pp. 379-80 (see also George F. Peel, "The Chimney of the World," *NS*, 29 Mar., p. 408, for an answer concerning Sir Robert); by F. C. Mather in VS, II, 179-80.
- Eyre, John Vargas. *Henry Edward Armstrong, 1848-1937: The Doyen of British Chemists and Pioneer of Technical Education*. London: Butterworth. Pp. xix + 325.
Rev. in *TLS*, 3 Oct., p. 566. Biography of a Victorian chemist.
- Fay, Gerald. *The Abbey Theatre: Cradle of Genius*. London: Hollis & Carter. Pp. 190.
Rev. in *TLS*, 28 Nov., p. 684. Account concentrating on the early years.
- Ferguson, Thomas. *Scottish Social Welfare, 1864-1914*. London: Livingstone. Pp. xi + 610.
Rev. by Karl Miller in *S*, 29 Aug., p. 286; briefly in *TLS*, 22 Aug., p. 475.
- Fox, Alan. *A History of the National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives, 1874-1957*. Oxford: Blackwell. Pp. viii + 684.
- Forbes-Robertson, Beatrice. "Memories of Henry Irving and Ellen Terry." *Listener*, 23 Oct., pp. 645-46.
- Fortescue, Chichester Samuel Parkinson. ". . . and Mr. Fortescue:" A Selection from the Diaries from 1851 to 1862 of Chichester Fortescue, Lord Carlingford, K.P. Ed. Osbert Wyndham Hewett. London: Murray. Pp. xi + 209.
Rev. By Ralph Partridge in *NS*, 1 Nov., pp. 607-8; in *TLS*, 14 Nov., p. 654. Chichester Fortescue was supposedly the original of Trollope's Phineas Finn.
- Freeman, T. W. *Pre-Famine Ireland*. . . . See VB 1957, 388.
Rev. by John Vaizey in *Econ. Jour.*, LXVIII, 820-22; by René Fréchet in *Etudes anglaises*, XI, 366-67; by H. D. Jordan in *JMH*, XXX, 394-95; by W. O. Aydelotte in VS, I, 374-76.
- Fussell, G. E. "William Bland, Jun., of Hartlip, Near Sittingbourne." *N & Q*, n.s. V, 449-50.
The writer of a book on farming.
- Galbraith, John S. *The Hudson's Bay Company as an Imperial Factor, 1821-1869*. Berkeley: Univ. of California Pr., 1957. Pp. viii + 500.
Rev. by A. L. Burt in *Mississippi Valley Hist. Rev.*, XLV, 137-38; in *TLS*, 18 July, p. 406.
- Germon, Maria. *Journal of the Siege of Lucknow*. Ed. Michael Edwardes. London: Constable. Pp. xvi + 136.
Rev. favorably by Peter Mayne in *NS*, 31 May, pp. 703-4; in *TLS*, 18 Apr., p. 206.
- Gilbert, Michael. *The Claimant*. . . . See VB 1957, 388.
Rev. by A. de Montmorency in *CR*, CXCIII, 107-8; by Norman St.-John Stevas in VS, I, 284-86.
- Glaser, John F. "English Nonconformity and the Decline of Liberalism." *AHR*, LXIII, 352-63.
- Gooch, Brison D. "The Crimean War in Selected Documents and Secondary Works since 1940." VS, I, 271-79.
- Gooch, G. P. *Under Six Reigns*. London: Longmans. Pp. vii + 344.
- Gray, Malcolm. *The Highland Economy, 1750-1850*. . . . See VB 1957, 389.
Rev. by Donald G. MacRae in *Economica*, n.s. XXV, 265-66; by W. H. B. Court in *History*, XLIII, 250-51; by I. M. M. MacPhail in *Scottish Hist. Rev.*, XXVII, 67-70.
- Green, E. R. R. "The Fenians." *History Today*, VIII, 698-705.
The Fenians involved America in a struggle for freedom, thereby founding a base for later movements.
- Grenville, J. A. S. "Goluchowski, Salisbury, and the Mediterranean Agreements, 1895-1897." *Slavonic and East European Rev.*, XXXVI, 340-69.
- Gross, Felix. *Rhodes of Africa*. . . . See VB 1957, 389.

- Rev. by Arthur N. Cook in *JMH*, XXX, 171; by J. D. Fage in *VS*, II, 82-84.
- Guest, Ivor. *Adeline Genée, A Lifetime of Ballet under Six Reigns*. London: A. and C. Black. Pp. xvii + 307.
- Biography of ballerina of Edwardian Empire Theatre.
- Guest, Ivor. *Clara Webster: A Victorian Ballet Girl*. . . . See *VB* 1957, 389.
- Rev. by G. B. L. Wilson in *Theatre Note-book*, XII, 143-44; briefly in *TLS*, 21 Feb., p. 106; by G. B. L. Wilson in *VS*, I, 297-98.
- Haber, L. F. *The Chemical Industry During the Nineteenth Century: A Study of the Economic Aspects of Applied Chemistry in Europe and North America*. Oxford: Clarendon Pr. Pp. x + 292.
- Rev. favorably by Charles Wilson in *Econ. Jour.*, LXVIII, 811-13 ("indispensable for a balanced knowledge of industrial development in the nineteenth century"); by T. C. Barker in *Economica*, n.s. XXV, 358-59; in *TLS*, 21 Feb., p. 104; by D. C. Coleman in *VS*, II, 78-80.
- Hague, D. C. "Alfred Marshall and the Competitive Firm." *Econ. Jour.*, LXVIII, 673-90.
- Hall, A. R. "The English Capital Market before 1914—A Reply." *Economica*, n.s. XXV, 339-43.
- In answer to Cairncross, Hall points out that between 1949-53 capital raising by English industry through the new issue market came to only fifteen per cent of company investment in tangible assets and stocks. Even at the lowest estimate, the comparable figure before 1914 was ten per cent.
- Hall, Douglas. "Manchester in 1857." *Connoisseur*, CXL, 237-40.
- Description of an exhibition of "The Art Treasures of the United Kingdom, collected at Manchester in 1857."
- Hall, Helena (ed.). *A Dictionary of the Sussex Dialect and Collection of Provincialisms in Use in the County of Sussex*, by the Rev. W. D. Parish. Chichester: R. G. Acford. Pp. xxii + 186.
- Rev. by Philippa Revill in *N & Q*, n.s. V, 457-58. Originally printed in 1875.
- Herd, Harold. *A Press Gallery*. London: Fleet Publications. Pp. 144.
- Rev. in *TLS*, 3 Oct., p. 556. Includes sketches of William Gifford of the *Quarterly Review* and Henry Cust, editor (1893-1896) of the *Pall Mall Gazette*.
- Hewett, Osbert Wyndham. "Without the Passion of Love." *Listener*, 23 Jan., pp. 155-56.
- On Sir Walter and Lady Trevelyan of Wallington, friends of Ruskin and the Pre-Raphaelites.
- Hewitt, Margaret. *Wives and Mothers in Victorian Industry: A Study of the Effects of the Employment of Married Women in Victorian Industry*. London: Rockcliff. Pp. x + 245.
- Hill, A. G. "The Englishman's Library, 1839-1846." *N & Q*, n.s. V, 511-18.
- A publishing effort which throws light "on the aims and sympathies of the Tractarians."
- Holt, Edgar. *The Boer War*. London: Putnam. Pp. 317.
- Rev. by Eric Gillett in *NER*, CLI, 32-33; favorably by Michael Howard in *NS*, 14 June, p. 784; by Cyril Ray in *S*, 13 June, pp. 781-82; in *TLS*, 4 July, p. 371; by G. B. Pyrah in *VS*, II, 184-85.
- Holt, Edgar. "Garnet Wolseley, Soldier of Empire." *History Today*, VIII, 706-13.
- Wolseley served the Army as a reformer, and the Empire as an efficient and usually successful wager of "small" wars.
- Houghton, R. W. "A Note on the Early History of Consumer's Surplus." *Economica*, n.s. XXV, 49-57.
- Points out that Jules Dupuit's "utilité relative" was Marshall's surplus utility, and that the general belief that Dupuit's theory had no effect on economic thought ignores its influence on the Austrians, Auspitz and Lieben.
- Hughes, J. R. T., and Reiter, Stanley. "The First 1,945 British Steamships." *Jour. of Amer. Statistical Association*, LIII, 360-81.
- Analysis of data about main characteristics of British steamships between 1814 and 1860 indicates that economic expansion of the 1850's was accompanied by the rapid development of a steam merchant fleet.
- Hurst, Peter Geoffrey. *The Age of Jean de Reszke: Forty Years of Opera, 1874-1914*. London: C. Johnson. Pp. 256.
- Rev. by Grace Banyard in *CR*, CXCIV, 303-4.
- Imlah, Albert Henry. *Economic Elements in the Pax Britannica: Studies in British Foreign Trade in the Nineteenth Century*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Pr. Pp. xiv + 224.
- Inglis, K. S. "The Labour Church Movement." *International Rev. of Social History*, III, 445-60.

- Traces the decline of the Labour Church Movement—organized by John Trevor in 1891—to the secularization and confusion resulting from different attempts to use it for political ends.
- Jackman, Sydney W. *Galloping Head: The Life of the Right Honourable Sir Francis Bond Head, Bart., P. C., 1793-1875, Late Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada*. London: Phoenix House. Pp. 191. Rev. in *TLS*, 27 June, p. 358.
- James, Henry. *The Art of Travel: Scenes and Journeys in America, England, France and Italy from the Travel Writings of Henry James*. Ed. Morton Dauwen Zabel. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday. Pp. iv + 567. Rev. by Herbert Barrows in *Antioch Rev.*, XVIII, 515; by Edward Wagenknecht in *Chicago Sunday Tribune*; 22 June, p. 2; by Carlyle Morgan in *Christian Science Monitor*, 19 June, p. 7; by E. F. Walbridge in *LJ*, LXXXIII, 1926; by Granville Hicks in *SR*, 19 July, p. 22.
- James, Robert Rhodes. "Lord Randolph [Churchill] Resigns, December 1886." *History Today*, VIII, 762-69, 864-70.
- Jenkins, Roy. *Sir Charles Dilke: A Victorian Tragedy*. London: Collins. Pp. 447. Rev. by Angus Macintyre in *NER*, CLI, 248-50; favorably by John Strachey in *NS*, 1 Nov., pp. 596-97 (and see Leslie Plummer, 8 Nov., p. 637); by Christopher Hollis in *S*, 24 Oct., p. 540; in *TLS*, 31 Oct., p. 619 (and see Ivor Bulmer-Thomas, 7 Nov., p. 631). Biography of the brilliant Liberal whose career was cut short by the Crawford scandal.
- Jewkes, John, Sawers, David, and Stillerman, Richard. *The Sources of Invention*. London: Macmillan. Pp. xii + 428. Rev. by J. C. Allen in *Econ. Jour.*, LXVIII, 554-56 (according to the reviewer, this brilliant series of studies of inventors and inventions destroys the popular idea that the individual genius invented in the last century, whereas in this century invention depends on organized research); by Asa Briggs in *NS*, 1 Mar., pp. 276-77; in *TLS*, 21 Feb., p. 104.
- Johnson, L. G. *General T. Perronet Thompson, 1783-1869*. . . . See *VB* 1957, 390. Rev. by John Roach in *History*, XLIII, 63-64.
- Jones, A. G. E. "The Banks of Bath." *N & Q*, n.s. V, 277-83. Banking houses in Bath from the eighteenth to the twentieth century.
- Jones, Wilbur Devereux. *Lord Derby and Victorian Conservatism*. . . . See *VB* 1957, 390. Rev. by George Curry in *AHR*, LXIII, 665-66.
- Kamm, Josephine. *How Different from Us: A Biography of Miss Buss & Miss Beale*. London: J. Lane. Pp. 272. Rev. favorably by Mary Scrutton in *NS*, 20 Sept., pp. 386-87; by Stevie Smith in *S*, 17 Oct., p. 528; in *TLS*, 26 Sept., p. 540. Biographies of Dorothea Beale and Frances Mary Buss, pioneering headmistresses of Victorian girls' public schools.
- Kegel, Charles H. "William Cobbett and Malthusianism." *JHI*, XIX, 348-62. Includes reference to the influence of Cobbett on Carlyle, Morris, and Ruskin—cf. Kegel's unpublished dissertation (Michigan State Univ., 1955).
- Keller, Paul. *Dogmengeschichte des Wohlstandspolitischen Interventionismus*. Winterthur: P. G. Keller, 1955. Pp. x + 367. Rev. favorably by Lucien Foldes in *Economica*, n.s. XXV, 175-76. Among other things, examines the development of interventionist doctrines in the English classical school—Malthus, McCulloch, Sidgwick, and J. S. Mill.
- Kelly, Edith, and Kelly, Thomas (eds.). *A Schoolmaster's Notebook, Being an Account of a Nineteenth-Century Experiment in Social Welfare, by David Winstanley of Manchester, Schoolmaster*. Remains, historical and literary, connected with the Palatine counties of Lancaster and Chester. 3rd ser., Vol. VIII. Manchester: Chetham Society, 1957. Pp. 128. Rev. by W. H. G. Armytage in *EHR*, LXXIII, 733. Notes on Miles Platting in Manchester, in which Sir Benjamin Heywood established schools, friendly societies, a Mechanics' Institute, public baths, etc. for hand-loom weavers.
- King, A. Hyatt. "The Royal Music Library." *Book Collector*, VII, 241-52. Includes discussion of Albert's part in enlarging the library.
- Kirk, George. "Lord Cromer of Egypt—A Retrospect." *HLB*, XII, 392-409.
- Kirk-Smith, Harold. *William Thompson, Archbishop of York: His Life and Times, 1819-90*. London: S. P. C. K. Pp. 190. Rev. in *TLS*, 19 Sept., p. 533.
- Kovalev, Y. V. (ed.). *An Anthology of Chartist Literature*. London: Central Books, 1957. Pp. 413. Rev. by F. C. Mather in *VS*, II, 178-80.

- Kovalev, Y. V. "The Literature of Chartism." VS, II, 117-38.
 Translation, by J. C. Dumbreck and Michael Beresford, with a brief introduction by W. H. Chaloner, of an introduction to the anthology mentioned above, which is used in Russian schools.
- Lack, David. *Evolutionary Theory and Christian Belief*. . . . See VB 1957, 390.
 Rev. by C. C. Gillispie in VS, II, 166-69.
- Large, David. "The Third Marquess of Londonderry and the End of the Regulation 1844-45." DUJ, LI, 1-9.
 Londonderry was the "proximate cause" of the breakdown of the monopoly in the northeastern coal trade.
- Le Hardy, William (ed.). *Calendar to the Sessions Books, Sessions Minute Books and Other Sessions Records, with Appendixes*. Vol. X: 1833 to 1843. Hertfordshire County Records Series. Hertford: Clerk of the Peace. Pp. xxxii + 650.
 Rev. in N & Q, n.s. V, 455-56.
- Leonard, A. G. K. "St. Lubbock's Day." CR, CXCIV, 87-90.
 On Sir John Lubbock and the Bank Holiday Act of 1871.
- Lorwin, Val F. "Working-Class Politics and Economic Development in Western Europe." AHR, LXIII, 338-51.
 A general article with some reference to Victorian England.
- McCord, Norman. *The Anti-Corn Law League, 1838-1846*. London: Allen & Unwin. Pp. 227.
 Rev. by E. J. Hobsbawm in NS, 26 July, p. 121; in TLS, 1 Aug., p. 436; by N. H. Gibbs in VS, II, 180-81.
- MacDonagh, Oliver. "Delegated Legislation and Administrative Discretions in the 1850's: A Particular Study." VS, II, 29-44.
 The particular study of how delegated legislation compromised mid-century laissez-faire concerns the authority given to officers who inspected and approved the storage of cargo in iron ships.
- Macfie, A. L. "On Psychological Treatment for the Classics." Econ. Jour., LXVIII, 25-33.
 A review-article based on W. A. Weisskopf's *The Psychology of Economics*.
- Mack, Mary Peter. "The Political Odyssey of Jeremy Bentham." DA, XIX, 833-34.
- Mackerness, E. D. "Frances Parthenope, Lady Verney (1819-1890)." JMH, XXX, 131-36.
 The accomplishments of the sister of Florence Nightingale.
- Maclean, Sir Fitzroy. *A Person From England and Other Travellers*. London: Cape. Pp. 384.
 Rev. by Eric Shipton in NS, 1 Nov., pp. 604-5; in TLS, 12 Dec., p. 715. Stories of British travellers and agents in nineteenth-century Turkestan.
- Macqueen-Pope, Walter. *Give Me Yesterday: A Backward Glance down the Years*. London: Hutchinson, 1957. Pp. 308.
 Rev. in TLS, 10 Jan., p. 15. Memoirs of the late Victorian, Edwardian period.
- Macqueen-Pope, Walter. *St. James's: Theatre of Distinction*. London: W. H. Allen. Pp. 256.
 Rev. briefly in TLS, 28 Mar., p. 175.
- Magnus, Sir Philip. *Kitchener: Portrait of an Imperialist*. London: J. Murray. Pp. xiii + 410.
 Rev. favorably by Paul Johnson in NS, 25 Oct., pp. 564-66 ("the cumulative effect is all the more appalling in that Sir Philip virtually refrains from comment and allows the deadly facts to speak for themselves"); see also W. Lyon Bleasie, "Kitchener as Commander," NS, 1 Nov., p. 594; in TLS, 31 Oct., pp. 617-18.
- Majumdar, Ramesh Chandra. *The Sepoy Mutiny and the Revolt of 1857*. Calcutta: K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1957. Pp. 289.
 Rev. by S. A. Shah in Sci. and Soc., XXII, 375-77.
- Majumdar, Tapas. *The Measurement of Utility*. London: Macmillan. Pp. xiv + 149.
 Rev. by W. E. Armstrong in *Economica*, n.s. XXV, 351-52. Extensive treatment of Marshall.
- Mander, Raymond, and Mitchenson, Joe. *The British Theatre*. Picture Histories Series. London: Hutton Pr., 1957. Pp. 160.
 Rev. by George Freedley in LJ, LXXXIII, 95; in N & Q, n. s. V, 129-30; by Mordecai Gorelik in *Theatre Arts*, XLII (April), p. 89; by Phyllis Hartnoll in *Theatre Notebook*, XII, 75-76.
- Marsh, David Charles. *The Changing Social Structure of England and Wales, 1871-1951*. International Library of Sociology and Social Reconstruction. London: Routledge & K. Paul. Pp. xiv + 266.
 Rev. by Peter Townsend in S, 26 Dec., p. 924.
- Marshall, Herbert, and Stock, Mildred. *Ira Aldridge: The Negro Tragedian*. London: Rockliff. Pp. viii + 355.

- Rev. in *TLS*, 5 Dec., p. 702. Biography of the American negro who achieved a considerable reputation in mid-nineteenth-century England.
- Masterman, Neville. *J. Viriamu Jones 1856-1901, Pioneer of the Modern University*. Llanybybie: Christopher Davies, 1957. Pp. 32.
- Appreciation of the first Principal of University College at Cardiff.
- Maxwell, James A. "Some Marshallian Concepts, Especially the Representative Firm." *Econ. Jour.*, LXVIII, 691-98.
- Maynard, Douglas H. "The Forbes-Aspinwall Mission." *Mississippi Valley Hist. Rev.*, XLV, 67-89.
- Concerning the Union mission to buy vessels in Britain during the Civil War.
- Medlicott, W. N. *Bismarck, Gladstone, and the Concert of Europe*. . . . See VB 1957, 391.
- Rev. by Erich Eyck in *History*, XLIII, 258-59; by Charles Webster in *Slavonic and East European Rev.*, XXXVI, 256-57.
- Meier, Hugo A. "American Technology and the Nineteenth-Century World." *Amer. Quart.*, X, 116-30.
- The development of American independence of the technology of England and the Continent.
- Mitchell, Rosamund Joscelyne, and Leys, Mary Dorothy Rose. *A History of London Life*. London: Longmans. Pp. xii + 302.
- Rev. by Raymond Postgate in *NS*, 31 May, p. 704; by Peter Quennell in *NYTBR*, 10 Aug., p. 6; by Cyril Ray in *S*, 16 May, p. 631; in *TLS*, 30 May, p. 295. Includes chapters on London of Edwin Chadwick, of Albert, and of Dickens.
- Mongan, Agnes. "The Fogg Art Museum's Collection of Drawings." *HLB*, XII, 196-209.
- Includes mention of many Pre-Raphaelite drawings, and many by Ruskin and Turner.
- Moody, T. W. "The Irish University Question in the Nineteenth Century." *History*, XLIII, 90-109.
- Political and religious controversies on higher education in Ireland, 1793-1908.
- Morris, John Henry, and Williams, Lawrence John. *The South Wales Coal Industry, 1841-1875*. Cardiff: Univ. of Wales Pr. Pp. xii + 289.
- Mortimer, Roger. *The Jockey Club*. London: Cassell. Pp. 184.
- Rev. by Ralph Partridge in *NS*, 11 Oct., pp. 500-501; in *TLS*, 12 Sept., p. 516. A history of this influential and aristocratic group, with emphasis on the activities of Lord George Bentinck and other Victorians.
- Myint, H. "The 'Classical Theory' of International Trade and the Underdeveloped Countries." *Econ. Jour.*, LXVIII, 317-37. Finds Adam Smith's "vent for surplus" theory of trade relevant to world conditions today, in spite of the criticisms of J. S. Mill and later writers.
- Nadel, George. *Australia's Colonial Culture: Ideas, Men and Institutions in Mid-Nineteenth Century Eastern Australia*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Pr. Pp. xiii + 304.
- Rev. briefly in *TLS*, 4 July, p. 383; by Michael Roe in *VS*, II, 175-76.
- O'Brien, Brian [pseud.] *She Had a Magic: The Story of Mary Slessor*. London: Cape. Pp. 256.
- Biography of Scottish missionary to Africa.
- Oliver, Roland. *Sir Harry Johnston and the Scramble for Africa*. . . . See VB 1957, 392.
- Rev. by D. J. McDougall in *Canadian Hist. Rev.*, XXXIX, 318-19; by A. Sillery in *CR*, CXCIII, 163-64; by George Shepperson in *EHR*, LXXIII, 319-21; by J. D. Hargreaves in *History*, XLII, 263-64; by J. D. Hargreaves in *History Today*, VIII, 61-63; by J. D. Fage in *VS*, II, 82-84.
- Oliver, W. H. "Robert Owen and the English Working-Class Movements." *History Today*, VIII, 787-96.
- Owen's ideas had their effect on cooperative retail societies, labour exchanges, and other socialistic and industrial experiments.
- Pannell, Charles. "Disorder in the House." *NS*, 15 Feb., pp. 192-94.
- An M. P. recalls the rowdy days when only "gentlemen" sat in Parliament, and the great unwashed were excluded.
- Paul, Rodman W. "The Wheat Trade between California and the United Kingdom." *Mississippi Valley Hist. Rev.*, XLV, 391-412.
- Concerned chiefly with the last half of the nineteenth century.
- Pemberton, W. Baring. "Orsini's Bomb." *Blackwood's*, CCLXXXIII, 17-26.
- The crisis in Anglo-French relations brought about by the attempt on the Emperor Napoleon III in 1858.
- Perham, Margery. *Lugard*. . . . See VB 1957, 392.
- Rev. by D. J. McDougall in *Canadian Hist. Rev.*, XXXIX, 318-19; by George Shepper-

- son in *EHR*, LXXXIII, 116-20.
- Perkins, Centenary, "London: 100 Years of Synthetic Dyestuffs." London: Pergamon Pr. Pp. xii + 136.
- Phillips, A. W. "The Relation between Unemployment and the Rate of Change of Money Wage Rates in the United Kingdom, 1861-1957." *Economica*, n.s. XXV, 283-99.
- Poirier, Philip Patrick. *The Advent of the British Labour Party*. London: Allen and Unwin. Pp. 288.
Rev. by Asa Briggs in *NS*, 16 Aug., pp. 197-98; by D. W. Brogan in *S*, 13 June, p. 777; in *TLS*, 15 Aug., p. 455.
- Ponsonby, Doris Almon. *The Lost Duchess: The Story of the Prince Consort's Mother*. London: Chapman and Hall. Pp. 172.
Rev. in *TLS*, 17 Oct., p. 590. On Princess Louise, mother of the Prince Consort.
- Poolman, Kenneth. *The "Alabama" Incident*. London: Kimber. Pp. 203.
Rev. unfavorably in *TLS*, 26 Dec., p. 754. A crucial case in Anglo-American diplomatic relations in the sixties and seventies.
- Price, R. G. G. *A History of Punch*. . . . See VB 1957, 393.
Rev. by Oscar Maurer in *VS*, I, 301.
- Prouty, Roger. *The Transformation of the Board of Trade*. . . . See VB 1957, 393.
Rev. by H. D. Jordan in *AHR*, LXIII, 472; briefly and unfavorably in *Economica*, n.s. XXV, 88; by Lucy Brown in *EHR*, LXXXIII, 733-34; by A. R. Schøyen in *JEH*, XVIII, 223-24; by H. W. Parrish in *JMH*, XXX, 66-67.
- Purdom, Charles Benjamin. *Harley Granville Barker*. . . . See VB 1957, 383.
Rev. by A. J. Farmer in *Études anglaises*, X (1957), 304-9.
- "Queen Victoria Came to Stoneleigh." *Connoisseur*, CXLI (June), 47-49.
- R., S. "An Earl's Court Exhibition." *N & Q*, n.s. V, 303-4.
A guide to the exhibition of 1893.
- Rae, Isobel. *The Strange Story of Dr. James Barry, Army Surgeon, Inspector-General of Hospitals, Discovered on Death to Be a Woman*. London: Longmans. Pp. ix + 124.
- Rasmussen, P. Nørregaard. "A Note on the History of the Balanced Budget Multiplier." *Econ. Jour.*, LXVIII, 154-56.
The theory first appeared in Ricardo's *Principles*.
- Read, Donald. *Peterloo: The "Massacre" and Its Background*. Manchester: Manchester Univ. Pr. Pp. ix + 235.
Rev. by Raymond Postgate in *NS*, 12 Apr., pp. 480-81.
- Reckitt, Maurice B. "When Did 'Victorianism' End?" *VS*, I, 268-71.
According to Reckitt, in 1887.
- Redford, Arthur. *Manchester Merchants and Foreign Trade*. . . . See VB 1957, 393.
Rev. by Robert B. Eckles in *AHR*, LXIII, 474.
- Reynolds, E. E. *Baden-Powell*. . . . See VB 1957, 393.
Rev. by Kenneth Kirkwood in *VS*, I, 298-300.
- Richmond, Arthur. "On Meeting Some Famous Victorians." *Listener*, 31 July, pp. 159-60.
Anecdotes of Pater, Morris, Stevenson and others by the son of W. B. Richmond.
- Ridley, Viscountess (ed.). *Cecilia: The Life and Letters of Cecilia Ridley, 1819-1845*. London: Hart-Davis. Pp. 215.
Rev. by Ralph Partridge in *NS*, 1 Nov., pp. 607-8; in *TLS*, 10 Oct., p. 572.
- Roberts, Benjamin Charles. *The Trades Union Congress, 1868-1921*. London: Allen & Unwin. Pp. 408.
Rev. by H. R. G. Greaves in *NS*, 5 July, p. 24.
- Roberts, David. "Tory Paternalism and Social Reform in Early Victorian England." *AHR*, LXIII, 323-37.
". . . recent historians and new conservatives alike have romanticized nineteenth-century conservatism. It was not as benevolent, as generous, nor as heroic as they imagine.
- Roberts, R. O. "Bank of England Branch Discounting, 1826-59." *Economica*, n.s. XXV, 230-45.
Traces the operations of the Branch Bank at Swansea, and the reasons for its failure to yield profits.
- Rodkey, F. S. "Ottoman Concern about Western Economic Penetration in the Levant, 1849-1856." *JMH*, XXX, 348-53.
- Rodrigo, Robert. *The "Racing Game": A History of Flat Racing*. London: Phoenix House. Pp. 224.
Rev. in *TLS*, 7 Nov., p. 644.
- Rolt, Lionel Thomas Caswall. *Isambard Kingdom Brunel*. . . . See VB 1957, 393.
Rev. by R. J. Forbes in *VS*, I, 381-82.
- Rolt, Lionel Thomas Caswall. *Thomas Tel-*

- ford*. London: Longmans. Pp. xv + 211.
 Rev. by E. W. Martin in *History Today*, VIII, 508-9; by Eric Gillett in *NER*, CLI, 33; by W. John Morgan in *NS*, 16 Aug., p. 202; by Peter Vansittart in *S*, 30 May, p. 709; in *TLS*, 16 May, p. 264.
- Rosenthal, Harold. *Two Centuries of Opera at Covent Garden*. London: Putnam. Pp. xv + 849.
 Rev. by Eric Blom in *M & L*, XXXIX, 408-9; by Desmond Shawe-Taylor in *NS*, 5 July, pp. 22-23; by Bernard Levin in *S*, 11 July, pp. 67-68; by Walter White in *Theatre Notebook*, XIII, 33-35; in *TLS*, 27 June, p. 364. A valuable chronicle, with chapters on Italian opera in London in the 'thirties and 'forties and a survey of the great opera productions from the days of Malibran to the present.—O. M.
- Rothenstein, Sir John. *The Tate Gallery*. London: Thames & Hudson. Pp. 196.
 Rev. by Bryan Robertson in *Listener*, 4 Dec., p. 939; in *TLS*, 19 Dec., p. 732.
- Rowse, Alfred Leslie. *The Later Churchills*. London: Macmillan. Pp. xv + 528.
 Rev. by C. V. Wedgwood in *HTB*, 27 Apr., p. 1; by J. D. Marshall in *LJ*, LXXXIII, 1545; by Raymond Postgate in *N*, 26 Apr., p. 357; by Eric Gillett in *NER*, CLI, 72-73; by John Raymond in *NS*, 28 June, pp. 838-39; by Geoffrey Bruun in *NYTBR*, 27 Apr., p. 7; by L. B. Wright in *SR*, 3 May, p. 16.
- Saville, John. *Rural Depopulation in England and Wales*. . . . See VB 1957, 393.
 Rev. by W. Ashworth in *Economica*, n.s. XXV, 80-81.
- Savory, Douglas. "Eighty Years Ago." *CR*, CXCIV, 126-30.
 Parish life in Suffolk in the 'seventies and 'eighties.
- Sayers, Richard Sidney. *Central Banking after Bagehot*. Oxford: Clarendon Pr., 1957. Pp. 149.
 Rev. by R. F. Henderson in *Econ. Jour.*, LXVIII, 114-16; by J. R. T. Hughes in *JEH*, XVIII, 220-21.
- Sayers, Richard Sidney. *Lloyds Bank in the History of English Banking*. London: Oxford Univ. Pr., 1957. Pp. xiv + 381.
 Rev. by Ralph Hawtrey in *Econ. Jour.*, LXVIII, 357-59; by Nicholas Lane in *History Today*, VIII, 363; in *TLS*, 31 Jan., p. 64.
- Schoyen, Albert Robert. *The Chartist Challenge: A Portrait of George Julian Harney*. London: Heinemann. Pp. viii + 300.
 Rev. by W. H. Chaloner in *History Today*, VIII, 511-12; favorably by Asa Briggs in *NS*, 26 Apr., pp. 542-43; by Geoffrey Barraclough in *S*, 25 Apr., p. 531; by Henry Pelling in *VS*, II, 89.
- Schrier, Arnold. *Ireland and the American Emigration, 1850-1900*. Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Pr. Pp. x + 210.
 Rev. briefly by J. F. Moran in *LJ*, LXXXIII, 2174; briefly in *Mississippi Valley Hist. Rev.*, XLV, 532-33.
- Schwarz, Heinrich. "An Exhibition of Victorian Calotypes." *VS*, I, 354-56.
- Sen, S. N. *Eighteen-Fifty-Seven*. . . . See VB 1957, 393.
 Rev. by Daniel Thorner in *VS*, I, 364-67.
- Shepperson, Wilbur Stanley. *British Emigration to North America*. . . . See VB 1957, 394.
 Rev. by Fred London in *Canadian Hist. Rev.*, XXXIX, 158-59; by D. C. Harvey in *Dalhousie Rev.*, XXXVIII, 129; by W. P. Morrell in *EHR*, LXXIII, 735-36; by A. L. Burt in *JEH*, XVIII, 122-23.
- Singer, Charles, et al. (eds.). *The History of Technology*; Vol. IV: *The Industrial Revolution, c. 1750 to c. 1850*; Vol. V: *The Late Nineteenth Century, c. 1850 to c. 1900*. Oxford: Clarendon Pr. Pp. xxiii + 728; xxviii + 888.
 Vol. IV rev. by Asa Briggs in *NS*, 20 Dec., pp. 885-86; in *TLS*, 25 July, p. 426.
- Sitwell, Dame Edith. *English Eccentrics*. New York: Vanguard Pr., 1957. Pp. 376.
 Rev. by R. F. Dean in *Commonweal*, 28 Feb., p. 573; by DeLancey Ferguson in *HTB*, 29 Dec., 1957, p. 4; by K. T. Willis in *LJ*, LXXXIII, 3206; by Leo Lerman in *NYTBR*, 29 Dec., 1957, p. 5. This new and enlarged edition of a book published in 1950 contains material on the Carlyles and Herbert Spencer.
- Smith, Colin Leonard. *The Embassy of Sir William White*. . . . See VB 1957, 394.
 Rev. by Arthur Leon Horniker in *AHR*, LXIV, 154; at length by F. H. Hinsley in *CHJ*, I, 76-81; by Patrick Ground in *History Today*, VIII, 139-40; by John B. Wolf in *JMH*, XXX, 280.
- Smith, J. Maynard. *The Theory of Evolution*. Pelican Biology Series. London: Penguin Books. Pp. 320.
 Rev. in *TLS*, 12 Sept., p. 515. Darwinism up to date.
- Speaight, George. "Illustrations of Minor Theatres." *Theatre Notebook*, XII, 94-96. Water-color drawings of London theatres in the early 1830's.
- Spearmann, Diana. *Democracy in England*. . . . See VB 1957, 394.

- Rev. by William S. Livingston in *APSR*, LII, 566-67; unfavorably by H. R. Winkler in *APSS*, CCCXVII, 174.
- Stephenson, Jim Bob. "Percy Fitzgerald, Critic and Prophet, 1834-1925." *DA*, XVIII, 1903.
- His analysis of English theatre, 1868 to 1910, in periodicals and other published works; taken together these writings are of wide scope and "encompass the whole range of English theatre history."
- Stewart, Cecil. *The Stones of Manchester*. . . . See VB 1957, 394.
- Rev. by T. S. R. Boase in *VS*, I, 295-96.
- Taine, Hippolyte Adolphe. *Notes on England*. Trans. Edward Hyams. London: Thames & Hudson, 1957. Pp. xxxi + 296.
- Rev. by George Curry in *JMH*, XXX, 396; by Mina Curtiss in *N*, 19 Apr., p. 348; by J. Newman in *New R*, 31 Mar., p. 21; by V. S. Pritchett in *NS*, 20 July, 1957, p. 86; by Peter Quennell in *S*, 26 July, 1957, p. 138; in *TLS*, 15 Nov., 1957, p. 692.
- Taylor, A. J. P. *Englishmen and Others*. . . . See VB 1957, 394.
- Rev. by E. Malcolm Carroll in *AHR*, LXIII, 722.
- Taylor, A. J. P. *The Trouble Makers: Dissent Over Foreign Policy*. . . . See VB 1957, 394.
- Rev. by William L. Neumann in *AHR*, XLIII, 723; by Eugene E. Pfaff in *Amer. Scholar*, XXVIII, 110-12; by W. L. Burns in *History*, XLIII, 61-63.
- Taylor, Frank Sherwood. *A History of Industrial Chemistry*. London: Heinemann, 1957. Pp. xvi + 467.
- Rev. by Aaron Ihde in *Isis*, XLIX, 352.
- Taylor, Gordon Rattray. *The Angel Makers: A Study in the Psychological Origins of Historical Change*. London: Heinemann. Pp. xviii + 388.
- Rev. in *TLS*, 11 July, p. 390 (an "infuriating" but also a "stimulating and courageous" book). An analysis of the psychological basis of society in the period 1650-1850.
- Tholfsen, Trygve R. "The Chartist Crisis in Birmingham." *International Rev. of Social History*, III, 461-80.
- Considers causes (O'Conorite violence and official panic) of the single disruption of the usually harmonious class relationships in nineteenth-century Birmingham.
- Thompson, D. "John Tyndall and the Royal Institution." *Ann. of Sci.*, XIII (1957), 9-21.
- A biographical sketch of "one of the great popularizers of scientific knowledge."
- Thompson, Ruth D'Arcy. *D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson: The Scholar-Naturalist*, 1860-1948. London: Oxford Univ. Pr. Pp. xi + 244.
- Rev. in *TLS*, 4 July, p. 380 ("recalls to memory not a man alone but a whole era when scientists were scholars and scholars gentlemen").
- Thomson, A. A. *Odd Men In: A Gallery of Cricket Eccentrics*. London: Museum Pr. Pp. 184.
- Stories of great men of nineteenth-century cricket.
- Thomson, David. *Europe Since Napoleon*. London: Longmans, 1957. Pp. xviii + 909.
- Rev. by W. O. Henderson in *History*, XLIII, 252-53; by Harold T. Parker in *SAQ*, LVII, 149-50.
- Turberville, Arthur Stanley. *The House of Lords in the Age of Reform, 1784-1837: With an Epilogue on Aristocracy and the Advent of Democracy, 1837-1867*. London: Faber. Pp. 519.
- Rev. by Asa Briggs in *History Today*, VIII, 728-29; in *TLS*, 15 Aug., p. 461.
- Turner, E. S. *Call the Doctor: A Social History of Medical Men*. London: Joseph. Pp. 320.
- Rev. favorably by D. A. P. in *NS*, 22 Nov., p. 738. A social history of doctors since the Medical Registration Act.
- Vane-Tempest-Stewart, Edith, Marchioness of Londonderry. *Frances Anne: The Life and Times of Frances Anne, Marchioness of Londonderry, and Her Husband, Charles, Third Marquess of Londonderry*. London: Macmillan. Pp. xiii + 316.
- Rev. by Jane Hodge in *History Today*, VIII, 509; by Eric Gillett in *NER*, CLI, 33; in *TLS*, 6 June, p. 312.
- Vernon, Anne. *A Quaker Business Man: The Life of Joseph Rowntree, 1836-1925*. London: Allen & Unwin. Pp. 208.
- Ward, John M. *Earl Grey and the Australian Colonies, 1846-1857: A Study of Self-Government and Self-Interest*. London: Cambridge Univ. Pr. Pp. xiii + 496.
- Waterhouse, Ellis. "The Art of David Wilkie." *Listener*, 13 Nov., p. 788.
- Watkin, Edward Ingram. *Roman Catholicism in England From the Reformation to 1950*. Home Univ. Library of Modern Knowledge. London: Oxford Univ. Pr., 1957. Pp. xi + 244.

- Rev. by Gervase Mathew in *Blackfriars*, XXXIX, 143-44; by William Kilbourne in *JMH*, XXX, 393-94; in *StI*, XLVII, 340.
- Whitridge, Arnold. "The American Slave-Trade." *History Today*, VIII, 462-72.
- Anglo-American friction in decades when England sought right of search on the high seas in order to suppress slave-trade, then conducted almost entirely by ships registered under the American flag.
- Whyte, John Henry. *The Independent Irish Party, 1850-9*. Oxford Historical Series, British Series. London: Oxford Univ. Pr. Pp. xiii + 201.
- Rev. by F. S. L. Lyons in *VS*, II, 177-78.
- Wilde, Richard H. *Joseph Chamberlain and the South African Republic, 1895-1899: A Study in the Formulation of Imperial Policy*. Pretoria, Union of South Africa: Reprinted by Cape Times, Ltd. from the Archives Year Book for South African History, 1957. Pp. 154.
- Rev. by John S. Galbraith in *JMH*, XXX, 164-65.
- Wilson, Charles, and Reader, William. *Men and Machines: A History of D. Napier & Son, Engineers, Ltd., 1808-1958*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, Pp. 187.
- Wilson, Mardis Glen, Jr. "Charles Kean: A Study in Nineteenth Century Production of Shakespearean Tragedy (Volumes I and II)." *DA*, XVIII, 1535.
- Woodruff, Douglas. *The Tichborne Claimant*. . . . See VB 1957, 395.
- Rev. by A. de Montmorency in *CR*, CXCIII, 107-8; by P. G. Walsh in *StI*, XLVII, 214-15; by Norman St.-John Stevas in *VS*, I, 284-86.
- Woodruff, William. *The Rise of the British Rubber Industry during the Nineteenth Century*. Liverpool: Liverpool Univ. Pr. Pp. xvii + 246.
- Wrench, Sir John Evelyn. *Alfred Lord Milner: The Man of No Illusions, 1854-1925*. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode. Pp. 398.
- Rev. by Edgar Holt in *History Today*, VIII, 726-27; by Lord Altringham in *NER*, CLI, 109-10; by R. H. S. Crossman in *NS*, 23 Aug., pp. 226-27; in *TLS*, 19 Sept., pp. 521-22 ("in no sense an adequate, let alone a worthy, biography").
- Würgler, Hans. *Malthus als Kritiker der Klassik*. Winterthur: P. G. Keller, 1957. Pp. xxiv + 200.
- Rev. by T. W. Hutchinson in *Economica*, n.s. XXV, 263.
- Yearley, Clifton K., Jr. *Britons in American Labor: A History of the Influence of the United Kingdom Immigrant on American Labor, 1820-1914*. The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LXXV, Number 1. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Pr., 1957. Pp. 332.
- Rev. by Rowland Berthoff in *AHR*, LXIII, 750; by Frank Thistlethwaite in *Amer. Quart.*, X, 495-96; by J. P. Windmuller in *APSS*, CCCXVIII, 195; by John P. Mackintosh in *EHR*, LXXIII, 731; by D. K. Oko in *LJ*, LXXXIII, 1097; by George B. Engberg in *Mississippi Valley Hist. Rev.*, XLV, 138-39.
- Young, G. M., and Handcock, W. D. (eds.). *English Historical Documents*. . . . See VB 1957, 396.
- Rev. by Asa Briggs in *EHR*, LXXIII, 734-35; by A. J. Taylor in *History*, XLIII, 63.
- ### III. MOVEMENTS OF IDEAS AND LITERARY FORMS
- Abrams, M. H. "Belief and Disbelief." *TQ*, XXVII, 117-36.
- Adam and Charles Black, 1807-1957*. . . . See VB 1957, 385.
- Rev. by Royal A. Gettman in *VS*, II, 172-73.
- Altick, Richard D. *The English Common Reader*. . . . See VB 1957, 396.
- Rev. by L. B. Wright in *AHR*, LXIII, 401-2; by Rutherford D. Rogers in *College and Research Libr.*, XIX, 86-89; by Charles S. Blinderman in *JEGP*, LVII, 560-61; by Norbert J. Gossman in *JMH*, XXX, 67-68; by Cyprian Blagden in *Library*, XIII, 74-75; by Fred B. Millett in *LQ*, XXVIII, 80-82; by J. H. Buckley in *MLN*, LXXIII, 132-33; by R. A. Colby in *MP*, LV, 213-15; in *N & Q*, n.s. V, 272; by B. R. McElderry, Jr., in *Personalist*, XXXIX, 312-13; by M. S. Wilkins in *PSQ*, LXXIII, 633-35; in *TLS*, 14 Feb., p. 88; favorably by George H. Ford in *VNL*, No. 13 (Spring), pp. 11-12; by R. K. Webb in *VS*, I, 286-88.
- Altick, Richard D. "From Aldine to Everyman: Cheap Reprint Series of the English Classics 1830-1906." *Studies in Bibliography: Papers of the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia*, XI, 3-24.
- Altick, Richard D. "The Vision behind the Metaphor." *VNL*, No. 13 (Spring), pp. 9-10.

In this review article 'based on Leon Edel's *Literary Biography*, Altick surveys briefly the present state of Victorian biography and makes suggestions for future studies.

Alvarez, Alfred. *The Shaping Spirit: Studies in Modern English and American Poets*. London: Chatto & Windus. Pp. 191.

Rev. briefly by Paul C. Wermuth in *LJ*, LXXXIII, 3420. American title, *Stewards of Excellence*; includes treatment of Yeats.

Armstrong, A. MacC. "Samuel Wilberforce v. T. H. Huxley: A Retrospect." *QR*, CCXCVI, 426-37.

Ashby, Sir Eric. *Technology and the Academics: An Essay on Universities and the Scientific Revolution*. London: Macmillan. Pp. vii + 118.

Rev. in *TLS*, 17 Oct., p. 593. Includes study of the effect on traditional education of demands for technical education in the nineteenth century.

Best, G. F. A. "The Cambridge University 19th-Century Group." *VS*, I, 267-68.

Description of informal group of scholars in different disciplines who meet to discuss aspects of Victorian life and thought.

Betjeman, John (ed.). *Collins Guide to English Parish Churches, Including the Isle of Man*. Pride of Britain Series. London: Collins. Pp. 24.

Rev. by Andrew Wordsworth in *NS*, 6 Dec., pp. 818-19.

Bøe, Alf. *From Gothic Revival to Functional Form*. . . . See *VB* 1957, 396.

Rev. by Ellis Waterhouse in *EHR*, LXXXIII, 372-73; in *TLS*, 4 July, p. 372.

Bogan, Louise. *Selected Criticism*. London: Owen. Pp. 404.

Rev. by Richard Mayne in *NS*, 22 Mar., pp. 383-84. Originally published, New York: Noonday Pr., 1955. Essays on Yeats and Hopkins.

Brocklehurst, J. Brian. "The Studies of J. B. Cramer and His Predecessors." *M & L*, XXXIX, 256-61.

Study of the *Eighty-four Studies* of this nineteenth-century musician.

Buckler, William Earl (ed.). *Prose of the Victorian Period*. Riverside Editions. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin. Pp. xxxi + 570.

Introductory essay discusses the esthetics of Victorian prose.

Cary, Joyce. *Art and Reality*. The Clark Lectures, 1956. London: Cambridge Univ. Pr. Pp. 182.

Rev. briefly by Paul C. Wermuth in *LJ*, LXXXIII, 2420; by G. S. Fraser in *NS*, 16 Aug., p. 201. Includes Cary's estimate of Dickens.

Cazannian, Madeleine L. *Le Roman et les Idées en Angleterre*. . . . See *VB* 1956, 244. Rev. by Irène Simon in *Études anglaises*, XI, 72-74.

Clapham, John. "Dvořák and the Philharmonic Society." *M & L*, XXXIX, 122-134. Letters from the musician to the London society, 1883-1899.

Clarke, I. F. "The Nineteenth-Century Utopia." *QR*, CCXCVI, 80-91.

Clive, John. "More or Less Eminent Victorians: Some Trends in Recent Victorian Biography." *VS*, II, 5-28.

Includes consideration of recent biographies of Manning, Thomas Arnold, Florence Nightingale, Monckton Milnes, Jowett, Mill, Leslie Stephen, and Dickens.

Cohen, Herman. "Hugh Blair's Theory of Taste." *QJS*, XLIV, 265-74.

Cotgrove, Stephen Frederick. *Technical Education and Social Change*. London: Allen & Unwin. Pp. x + 221.

Rev. briefly in *TLS*, 1 Aug., p. 439. Study of technical education, its motives and influences, from the Mechanics' Institute to the present.

Coveney, Peter. *Poor Monkey: The Child in Literature*. . . . See *VB* 1957, 397.

Rev. by Charles Tomlinson in *SeR*, LXVI, 490-94; briefly in *TLS*, 10 Jan., p. 24; by Barbara Garlitz in *VS*, II, 89-90.

Curran, Eileen Mary. "The *Foreign Quarterly Review* (1827-1846): A British Interpretation of Modern European Literature." *DA*, XIX, 137-38.

The *Foreign Quarterly* was the first successful English review to consider foreign literature. This study traces its history and its criticism of continental literature. An appendix identifies the anonymous reviewers; another gives sketches of obscure reviewers.

Dalziel, Margaret. *Popular Fiction 100 Years Ago*. . . . See *VB* 1957, 397.

Rev. by Sylvière Monod in *Études anglaises*, XI, 364; by Robert S. Walker in *LR*, XVI, 401-2; by Miriam Allott in *MLR*, LIII, 577-78; by Ruari McLean in *TC*, CLXIII, 392-94; by Arnold Kettle in *Universities Quart.*, XII, 336-40; by W. L. G. James in *VS*, II, 182-83.

Davis, Frank. "The Age of Victoria." *Illustrated London News*, CCXXXII (March 15), 444.

- On Victorian painting.
- Dunsany, Lord. "Four Poets: AE, Kipling, Yeats, Stephens." *AM*, CCI, 77-80.
- Eliot, T. S. *On Poetry and Poets*. . . . See VB 1957, 397.
- Rev. favorably by Kathleen Nott in *ParR*, XXV, 139-44; by Hugh Kenner in *Poetry*, XCII, 121-26; by J. V. Cunningham in *VQR*, XXXIV, 126-29.
- Ellegård, Alvar. "Public Opinion and the Press: Reactions to Darwinism." *JHI*, XIX, 379-87.
- Ellegård, Alvar. "The Readership of the Periodical Press in Mid-Victorian Britain." *Göteborgs Universitets Årsskrift*, LXIII (1957), 3-41.
- Rev. by Cyprian Blagden in *Library*, XIII, 308-9. A valuable statistical survey, indicating size and character of the various publics and special interest groups appealed to by over one hundred periodicals (especially 1860-1870).—O. M.
- English Libraries, 1800-1850: Three Lectures Delivered at University College, London*. London: H. K. Lewis. Pp. 78.
- Rev. briefly in *TLS*, 1 Aug., p. 439. Contains essays by Simon Nowell-Smith on Carlyle and London Library, by W. A. Mumford on George Birkbeck and Mechanics' Institute, by C. B. Oldman on Sir Anthony Panizzi and the British Museum.
- Enright, Elizabeth. "The Hero's Changing Face." *Bull. New York Pub. Libr.*, LXII, 241-48.
- Discusses changing fashions in the heroes and heroines of children's fiction from the time of the brothers Grimm to the present.
- Fairchild, Hoxie Neale. *Religious Trends in English Poetry*. Vol. IV. . . . See VB 1957, 397.
- Rev. briefly by Harry W. Rudman in *BA*, XXXII, 80-81; by A. Dwight Culler in *JEGP*, LVII, 830-32.
- Farr, Dennis Larry Ashwell. *William Etty*. London: Routledge & K. Paul. Pp. xiii + 217.
- Rev. by Lawrence Gowing in *NS*, 28 June, p. 843.
- Flanagan, Thomas J. B. "The Irish Novelists: 1800-1850." *DA*, XIX, 326.
- Includes treatment of Lady Morgan, John Banister, Crofton Croker, Eyre, Evans Crowe, Gerald Griffin, William Carleton.
- Foakes, Reginald Anthony. *The Romantic Assertion: A Study in the Language of Nineteenth Century Poetry*. New Haven: Yale Univ. Pr. Pp. 186.
- Rev. by Ralph Lawrence in *English*, XII, 106-7; by Jacques Veltette in *Mercure de France*, CCCXXIV, 543; in *TLS*, 8 Aug., p. 448. On the course of romanticism in English poetry through the nineteenth century; a study of imagery. Includes discussions of Tennyson, Browning, Arnold, Thomson, and Hardy.
- Ford, Boris (ed.). *From Dickens to Hardy*. Pelican Guide to English Literature, Vol. VI. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books. Pp. 512.
- Rev. briefly in *LJ*, LXXXIII, 2405; by David Craig in *S*, 21 Nov., p. 726; in *TLS* ("Victorians under fire"), 31 Oct., p. 626.
- Friedman, Norman. "Criticism and the Novel." *Antiqch Rev.*, XVIII, 343-70.
- Stresses importance of plot-action in analyzing a novel; includes analyses of novels by Hardy and Conrad.
- Groom, Bernard. *The Diction of Poetry*. . . . See VB 1957, 398.
- Rev. by L. B. in *Etudes anglaises*, XI, 266; by A. N. Jeffares in *MLR*, LIII, 100-101; by Edwin Morgan in *RES*, n.s. IX, 346-47.
- Groshong, James Willard. "G. B. S. and Germany: The Major Aspects." *DA*, XVIII, 588.
- Haines, George, IV. *German Influence on English Education*. . . . See VB 1957, 398.
- Rev. by Herman Ausubel in *AHR*, LXIII, 473-74; by W. H. G. Armytage in *EHR*, LXXIII, 365-66.
- Haines, George, IV. "German Influence upon Scientific Instruction in England, 1867-1887." *VS*, I, 215-44.
- From mid-century on, scientists, educators, and a few businessmen aware that Germany's system of technical and scientific education was creating a formidable trade rival, fought for and eventually effected reforms in the universities, the introduction of laboratory instruction, and the extension of technical education. A thoroughly documented study, acutely relevant to the present status of Western science and education.
- Hanbury, Harold Greville. *The Vinerian Chair and Legal Education*. Oxford: Blackwell. Pp. 256.
- Rev. briefly in *TLS*, 5 Sept., p. 503. History of the Vinerian professorship of law at Oxford, the chair occupied by, among others, Albert Venn Dicey.
- Hitchcock, Henry Russell. *Architecture: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*. Pelican History of Art Series, No. Z15. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books. Pp. xxix + 498.

- Rev. as a masterpiece by John Summerson in *NS*, 13 Dec., p. 856; in *TLS*, 26 Dec., p. 748 ("a wonderful array of knowledge").
- Houghton, Walter E. *The Victorian Frame of Mind*. . . . See VB 1957, 398.
- Rev. briefly by Melvin W. Askew in *BA*, XXXII, 446; by David Owen in *Canadian Historical Rev.*, XXXIX, 327-30; by John Roach in *History*, XLIII, 154-55; by Alice Kogan Chandler in *History of Ideas Newsletter*, III (1957), 84-86.
- Howarth, Herbert. *The Irish Writers, 1880-1940: Literature under Parnell's Star*. London: Rockliff. Pp. x + 318.
- Study of George Moore, Lady Gregory, A. E. Synge, and Joyce,
- Howells, W. D. "Novel-Writing and Novel-Reading: An Impersonal Explanation," ed. William M. Gibson. *Bull. New York Pub. Libr.*, LXII, 15-34.
- The first publication of an important lecture by Howells which contains critical statements on most of the major Victorian novelists.
- Howes, Alan B. *Yorick and the Critics: Sterne's Reputation in England, 1760-1868*. Yale Studies in English, Vol. CXXXIX. New Haven: Yale Univ. Pr. Pp. x + 186.
- Irwin, Raymond. *The Origins of the English Library*. London: Allen & Unwin. Pp. 256.
- Rev. by A. N. L. Munby in *NS*, 16 Aug., p. 202.
- Johnson, John Curtis. "The Academy, 1869-1896: Center of Informed Critical Opinion." *DA*, XIX, 1982-83.
- Kelly, Thomas. *George Birkbeck*. . . . See VB 1957, 399.
- Rev. by W. H. G. Armytage in *VS*, I, 294.
- Kenner, Hugh. *Gnomon: Essays on Contemporary Literature*. New York: McDowell, Obolensky. Pp. 300.
- Rev. unfavorably by Steven Marcus in *ParR*, XXV, 591-94. Contains an essay on Yeats.
- Kermode, Frank. *Romantic Image*. . . . See VB 1957, 399.
- Rev. by Thomas Parkinson in *SeR*, LXVI, 678-85; by A. Alvarez in *Universities Quart.*, XII, 206-16; by Robert Louis Peters in *VNL*, No. 14 (Fall), pp. 18-19; by M. H. Abrams in *VS*, II, 75-77.
- Kogan, Herman. *The Great EB: The Story of the Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Pr. Pp. 338.
- Rev. by Eugene P. Sheehy in *College and Research Libr.*, XIX, 513; by David M. Glixen in *SR*, 31 May, p. 11.
- Krocker, A. L. "Parts of Speech in Periods of Poetry." *PMLA*, LXXIII, 309-14.
- Victorian poets are included in this study.
- Langbaum, Robert. *The Poetry of Experience*. . . . See VB 1957, 399.
- Rev. by Graham Hough in *VS*, I, 77-78.
- Lawrence, Elwood P. *Henry George in the British Isles*. . . . See VB 1957, 399.
- Rev. by Joseph Schiffman in *AL*, XXX, 385-86; by Leon D. Epstein in *APSR*, LII, 903-4; by Alfred F. Havighurst in *APSS*, CCCXVII, 174-75; by David Roberts in *JMH*, XXX, 258-59; by Daniel Aaron in *VS*, I, 377-78.
- Lindley, Dwight Newton. "The Saint-Simonians, Carlyle, and Mill: A Study in the History of Ideas." *DA*, XIX, 320.
- Lochhead, Marion. "Some Aspects of Victorian Boyhood." *QR*, CCXCVI, 319-30.
- Life in the great public schools.
- MacDonagh, Oliver. "The Nineteenth-Century Revolution in Government: A Re-appraisal." *CIIJ*, I, 52-67.
- The "revolution" consisted, generally speaking, of "the substitution of a dynamic for a static concept of administration." An important article.—R. A. D.
- McGhee, Judson Dodds. "The Nature Essay as a Literary Genre: An Intrinsic Study of the Works of Six English and American Nature Writers." *DA*, XIX, 1388-89.
- Includes treatment of W. H. Hudson.
- Mack, Maynard, et al. "A Mirror for the Lamp." *PMLA*, LXXIII, 45-71.
- Nominations by members of the MLA for outstanding and influential articles published 1885-1958; the nominations for "English-Victorian" are commented on pp. 64-65.
- Maison, Margaret M. "Tom Brown and Company: Scholastic Novels of the 1850's." *English*, XII, 100-3.
- Melchiori, Giorgio. *The Tightrope Walkers: Studies of Mannerism in Modern English Literature*. New York: Macmillan, 1956. Pp. 277.
- Rev. by H. E. Briggs in *Personalist*, XXXIX, 314-15 (includes discussion of C. M. Hopkins).
- Miles, Josephine. *Eras and Modes in English Poetry*. . . . See VB 1957, 400.
- Rev. by Hugh Kenner in *Poetry*, XCII, 121-26; in *TLS*, 12 Sept., p. 512.
- Miner, Earl Roy. *The Japanese Tradition in*

- British and American Literature.* Princeton: Princeton Univ. Pr. Pp. 312.
Includes chapters on Victorian image of and influences from Japan.
- Morland, M. A. "Nietzsche and the Nineties." *CR*, CXCIII, 209-12.
Nietzsche's influence on John Davidson, Havelock Ellis, and others.
- Newman, Charles. *The Evolution of Medical Education.* . . . See VB 1957, 400.
Rev. by George A. Foote in *AHR*, LXIII, 1044; by Douglas Guthrie in *EHR*, LXXIII, 371; by James E. O'Neill in *JMH*, XXX, 395-96; by Richard H. Shryock in *VS*, I, 293-94.
- Nowell-Smith, Simon. *The House of Cassell, 1848-1958.* London: Cassell. Pp. x + 299.
Rev. by Grace Banyard in *CR*, CXCIII, 167-68; by Eric Gillett in *NER*, CL, 82; by Walter Allen in *NS*, 8 Mar., p. 311; by Ruari McLean in *TC*, CLXIII, 392-94; in *TLS*, 31 Jan., p. 62; by Royal A. Gettman in *VS*, II, 172-73.
- Pankhurst, Richard. *The Saint Simonians, Mill, and Carlyle.* . . . See VB 1957, 400.
Rev. by G. D. H. Cole in *EHR*, LXXIII, 368-69; by John Roach in *History*, XLIII, 154-55.
- Partridge, Monica. "Alexander Herzen and the English Press." *Slavonic and East European Rev.*, XXXVI, 453-70.
- Pennington, D. H. "Cromwell and the Historians." *History Today*, VIII, 598-605.
Includes discussion of Carlyle, Dickens, Gardiner, and other Victorian chroniclers of Cromwell's career.
- Pfeifer, Edward Justin. "The Reception of Darwinism in the United States, 1859-1880." *DA*, XVIII, 1024-25.
- Phelps, Gilbert. "The Early Phases of British Interest in Russian Literature." *Slavonic and East European Rev.*, XXXVI, 418-33.
Surveys publications and translations 1557-1912.
- Phelps, Gilbert. *The Russian Novel in English Fiction.* . . . See VB 1957, 400.
Rev. by Richard Hare in *Slavonic and East European Rev.*, XXXVI, 572-73.
- Pinto, Vivian de Sola, and Rodway, Allan Edwin (eds.). *The Common Muse: An Anthology of Popular British Ballad Poetry, XVth-XXth Century.* London: Chatto & Windus, 1957. Pp. xii + 470.
Rev. briefly by Mary E. Knapp in *BA*, XXXII, 194-95; by Tristram P. Coffin in *Jour. Amer. Folklore*, LXXI, 593-94.
- Praz, Mario. *The Hero in Eclipse in Victorian Fiction.* . . . See VB 1957, 400.
Rev. by W. D. Templeman in *Personalist*, XXXIX, 314-15; by Kathleen Tillotson in *RES*, n.s. IX, 103-4.
- Pucelle, Jean. *L'Idéalisme en Angleterre, de Coleridge à Bradley: Etre et Penser.* Neuchâtel: La Baconnière, 1955. Pp. 295.
Rev. by Albert Laffay in *Études anglaises*, XI, 176-77.
- Pursell, G. "Unity in the Thought of Alfred Marshall." *Quart. Jour. Econ.*, LXXII, 588-600.
- Quinton, Anthony. "The Neglect of Victorian Philosophy." *VS*, I, 245-54.
Mill is berated by contemporary analytic philosophers, while other Victorian philosophers are ignored by contemporary idealists. Mr. Quinton also suggests why the Scottish common-sense school (on which Mill drew) and the English Machians warrant rescue from neglect.
- Race, Sydney. "J. O. Halliwell and Simon Forman." *N & Q*, n.s. V, 315-20.
- Raleigh, John Henry. "Victorian Morals and the Modern Novel." *ParR*, XXV, 241-64.
As Mayhew's work showed, the lower classes of London never accepted middle-class prudery. Butler and Hardy mark the resurgence of lower class, "natural" morality in literature, Butler leading forward to the kinetic fiction of Forster and Lawrence, Hardy to the static fiction of Woolf and Joyce. This is an important article.—F. G. T.
- Reeves, James (ed.). *The Idiom of the People: English Traditional Verse.* London: Heinemann. Pp. xi + 244.
Rev. favorably by Christopher Logue in *NS*, 10 May, pp. 608-9. A collection of one hundred fifteen rural songs taken from Cecil Sharp's MSS. This late Victorian collector had fourteen handwritten volumes of English song, in all 2,356 pages, expurgated but not eviscerated.
- Rendall, Vernon. "'Athenaeum' and Other Memories." *LR*, XVI, 302-5.
Personal reminiscences of some Victorian literary figures.
- Richards, James Maude. *The Functional Tradition in Early Industrial Buildings.* London: Architectural Pr. Pp. 200.
Rev. by Reyner Banham in *NS*, 27 Dec., pp. 913-14.
- Roll-Hansen, Diderik. *The Academy, 1869-1879.* . . . See VB 1957, 401.
Rev. by A. Dwight Culler in *JEGP*, LVII, 153-55; by J. D. Jump in *RES*, n.s. IX, 336-38.

- Roppen, Georg. *Evolution and Poetic Belief*. . . . See VB 1957, 401.
- Rev. by R. L. Brett in *RES*, n.s. IX, 347.
- Rowell, George. *The Victorian Theatre: A Survey*. . . . See VB 1957, 401.
- Rev. favorably by A. J. Farmer in *Études anglaises*, XI, 167-68.
- Ryals, Clyde de L. "Towards a Definition of *Decadent* as Applied to British Literature of the Nineteenth Century." *JAA*, XVII, 85-92.
- Concludes that "decadence" (grotesqueness, lack of moral restraint) is a condition inherent in romanticism, and comes to the fore when the romantic impulse is not held in check.
- Seat, William Robert, III. "Harriet Martineau in America." *DA*, XVIII, 224.
- Includes study of contemporary periodicals, biographies, journals, memoirs, and unpublished letters consulted in twenty-five American libraries.
- Shattuck, Charles H. (ed.). *Bulwer and Macready: A Chronicle of the Early Victorian Theatre*. Urbana, Ill.: Univ. of Illinois Pr. Pp. 278.
- Rev. by Frank W. Wadsworth in *NCF*, XIII, 173-74; in *TLS*, 14 Nov., p. 652.
- Shkdar, Judith N. *After Utopia: The Decline of Political Faith*. Princeton: Princeton Univ. Pr., 1957. Pp. 309.
- Rev. by W. M. Simon in *AHR*, LXIII, 639; by W. H. Chapman in *Amer. Scholar*, XXVII, 242; by W. S. Fiscer in *Ethics*, LXVIII, 217; by Raymond English in *YR*, n.s. XLVII, 273. "Traces the decline of political philosophy from the hope and enthusiasm of the Enlightenment to the fatalism of the present."
- Sims, L. G. A. "The History of the Determination of the Ohm." *Ann. Sci. (Bull. of the British Soc. for the History of Science)*, Vol. II) XIII (1957), 57-61.
- The development of the theoretical concept on which the international unit of resistance is based.
- Smith, John Warren. "Emerson's *English Traits*: A Critical and Annotated Study." *DA*, XVIII, 584.
- Includes a statement "which orients the book to the large body of travel literature of the early nineteenth century." Considers Basil Hall's *Travels in North America* (1829), Frances Trollope's *Manners of the Americans* (1832), Harriet Martineau's *Society in America* (1839), and Dickens' *American Notes* (1842) as representatives of the English side of the Eng-
- lish-American culture controversy.
- Stang, Richard. "The Theory of the Novel in England, 1850-1870." *DA*, XIX, 330.
- Treats critical comments by numerous novelists and critics, among them Bulwer-Lytton, Thackeray, C. Brontë, Dickens, Reade, Trollope, G. Eliot, Meredith, W. C. Roscoe, R. H. Hutton, Bagehot, Lewes, L. Stephen, G. Brimley, etc.
- Steegman, John. "Aaron Penley: A Forgotten Water-Colourist." *Apollo*, LXVII, 14-17.
- Sutherland, James. *English Satire*. London: Cambridge Univ. Pr. Pp. 174.
- Rev. briefly in *NCF*, XIII, 78. Includes discussion of Dickens, Butler, Thackeray, and other novelists.
- Sutherland, James R. *On English Prose*. The Alexander Lectures, 1956-57. Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Pr., 1957. Pp. 123.
- Rev. by L. A. Duchemin in *Dalhousie Rev.*, XXXVIII, 377-79; includes treatment of Carlyle, Arnold, Macaulay, etc.
- Swarthout, Glendon F. "The Creative Crisis." *DA*, XIX, 816.
- Includes treatment of Conrad and Samuel Butler.
- Taylor, Robert H. *Authors at Work: An Address Delivered by Robert H. Taylor at the Opening of an Exhibition of Literary Manuscripts at the Grolier Club: Together with a Catalogue of the Exhibition by Herman W. Liebert, and Facsimiles of Many of the Exhibits*. New York: Grolier Club, 1957. Pp. 52.
- Rev. by John T. Winterich in *BSP*, LII, 67-68; by E. M. Forster in *Library*, XIII, 142-43. Contains anecdotes pertaining to Carlyle, Mill, and others.
- Thearle, Beatrice June. "Malory in the Nineteenth Century." *DA*, XIX, 133.
- Rediscovery of Malory early in the nineteenth century led to an Arthurian revival that has been not merely a resurrection of the old stories.
- Thomson, Patricia. *The Victorian Heroine*. . . . See VB 1957, 401.
- Rev. by Edgar F. Shannon, Jr., in *MLN*, LXXII, 371-72; by Joseph H. Dugas in *VNL*, No. 13 (Spring), pp. 17-18.
- Tillyard, E. M. W. *The Epic Strain in the English Novel*. London: Chatto & Windus. Pp. 208.
- Rev. by John Bayley in *NER*, CL, 252-53; in *TLS*, 2 May, p. 242 (see also 9 May, p. 255).
- Tillyard, E. M. W. *The Muse Unchained*:

- An Intimate Account of the Revolution in English Studies at Cambridge.* London: Bowes & Bowes. Pp. 142.
Rev. by Raymond Williams in *NS*, 1 Nov., p. 604.
- Torchiana, Donald T. "Victorian and Modern Fiction: A Rejoinder." *CE*, XX, 140-43.
Rejoinder to Wayne Burns, "The Genuine and Counterfeit: A Study in Victorian and Modern Fiction" (see *VB* 1956, 244).
- Trifilo, Samuel Santo. "Argentina as Seen by British Travelers: 1810-1860." *DA*, XVIII, 1440-41.
- Tylecote, Mabel. *The Mechanics' Institutes of Lancashire and Yorkshire*. . . . See *VB* 1957, 401.
Rev. briefly in *TLS*, 24 Jan., p. 50; by J. F. C. Harrison in *VS*, I, 372-74.
- Vandekieft, Ruth Marguerite. "The Nineteenth Century Reputation of Sir Thomas Browne." *DA*, XVIII, 2151.
Browne's reputation in England and America; includes mention of Bulwer-Lytton, Leslie Stephen, Walter Pater, John Addington Symonds.
- Warburg, Jeremy (ed.). *The Industrial Muse: The Industrial Revolution in English Poetry*. London: Oxford Univ. Pr. Pp. xxv + 174.
Rev. by Norman Nicholson in *NS*, 4 Oct., pp. 458-60; in *TLS*, 26 Sept., p. 547.
- Warburg, Jeremy. "Poetry and Industrialism: Some Refractory Material in Nineteenth-Century and Later English Verse." *MLR*, LIII, 161-70.
Images of steam-power as developed from 1830 to the present.
- Warren, Robert Penn. *Selected Essays*. New York: Random House. Pp. 305.
Rev. by Sam Hynes in *Commonweal*, 3 Oct., p. 27; in *HTB*, 31 Aug., p. 10; briefly by P. C. Wermuth in *LJ*, LXXXIII, 2318; by B. R. Redman in *SR*, 19 July, p. 28.
- West, Anthony. *Principles and Persuasions*. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode. Pp. viii + 214.
Rev. by Richard Mayne in *NS*, 22 Feb., pp. 243-44. Contains essays on Dickens and Eliot.
- West, Paul. "A Note on the 1890's." *English*, XII, 54-57.
On the separation of the artist from the public as a phenomenon of the 1890's.
- West, Rebecca. *The Court and the Castle*. . . . See *VB* 1957, 402.
Rev. by Jacob Korg in *N*, 4 Jan., p. 15; briefly in *NCF*, XII, 332-33; by Eric Gil-
- lett in *NER*, CLI, 119-20; by John Ray mond in *NS*, 26 July, pp. 117-18 ("a dazzling and provocative succession of opinions").
- White, Alan. *G. E. Moore: A Critical Exposition*. Oxford: Blackwell. Pp. 226.
Rev. in *TLS*, 31 Oct., p. 629.
- Willey, Basil. *More Nineteenth-Century Studies*. . . . See *VB* 1957, 402.
Rev. briefly by John Edwards in *BA*, XXXII, 193; by David Owen in *Canadian Historical Rev.*, XXXIX, 327-30; by Carl R. Woodring in *MLN*, LXXIII, 223-25.
- Williams, Raymond. *Culture and Society, 1780-1950*. London: Chatto & Windus. Pp. xx + 363.
Rev. by John Jones in *NS*, 27 Sept., pp. 422-23; by D. W. Harding in *S*, 10 Oct., p. 495; in *TLS*, 26 Sept., p. 548. Evaluations of the social commentary of many Victorians, among them Dickens, Eliot, Kingsley, Mrs. Gaskell, Disraeli, Carlyle and Arnold.
- Wimsatt, William K., and Brooks, Cleanth. *Literary Criticism: A Short History*. . . . See *VB* 1957, 402.
- Rev. by William Bysshe Stein in *CE*, XIX, 236; by Kenneth Burke in *Poetry*, XCI, 320-28; in *TLS*, 11 Apr., p. 194.
- Winters, Yvor. *The Function of Criticism: Problems and Exercises*. Denver: Alan Swallow, 1957. Pp. 200.
Rev. by Don Stanford in *Poetry*, XCI, 393-95. Contains criticism of Hopkins.
- Wood, Margaret. "Lord Macaulay, Parliamentary Speaker: His Leading Ideas." *The British Orators*, V. *QJS*, XLIV, 375-84.
- Wright, Herbert G. *Boccaccio in England*. . . . See *VB* 1957, 402.
Rev. by V. De S. Pinto in *N & Q*, n.s. V, 275-76; by Joseph A. Mazzeo in *RoR*, XLIX, 209-10.
- Zabel, Morton D. *Craft and Character in Modern Fiction*. . . . See *VB* 1957, 402.
Rev. by Jacques Vallette in *Mercure de France*, CCCXXXIII, 134-35.

IV. INDIVIDUAL AUTHORS

- Allingham, Freeman, Ronald Edward. "William Allingham: The Irish Years, 1824-1863." *DA*, XVIII, 587.
Based on hundreds of unpublished letters, some of them Allingham's own, but most of them letters written to him.
- Arnold, *Matthew (see also I, Wing; III,

- Buckler, Foakes, Ford, Sutherland, Williams).
Allott, Kenneth. "A Birthday Exercise by Matthew Arnold." *N & Q*, n.s. V, 225.
A Latin verse written at the age of twelve for his sister Frances.
Allott, Kenneth. "Matthew Arnold's Original Version of 'The River'." *TLS*, 28 Mar., p. 172.
Six quatrains, hitherto unpublished, in the first poem of the "Faded Leaves" sequence.
Allott, Kenneth. "Matthew Arnold's 'Stagirius' and Saint-Marc Girardin." *RES*, n.s. IX, 286-90.
Arnold's debt to a secondary source.
Baum, Paull Franklin. *Ten Studies in the Poetry of Matthew Arnold*. Durham, N. C.: Duke Univ. Pr. Pp. 139.
Rev. by Ralph Lawrence in *English*, XII, 106-7; in *TLS*, 22 Aug., p. 472; by Frederic E. Faverty in *VNL*, No. 14 (Fall), pp. 11-14; by William A. Madden in *VS*, II, 173-75.
Brooks, Roger L. "Matthew Arnold's Testimonial Letters for Candidates for the Greek Chair of the University of Edinburgh." *N & Q*, n.s. V, 161-63.
Buckler, William E. "Matthew Arnold in America: The 'Reason'." *AL*, XXIX, 464-70.
Arnold undertook his American lecture tour to pay "a debt, not of money, but of spirit—a debt to Emerson."
Buckler, William E. *Matthew Arnold's Books: Toward a Publishing Diary*. Genève: Librairie E. Droz. Pp. 182.
Rev. in *TLS*, 22 Aug., p. 472; by Frederic E. Faverty in *VNL*, No. 14 (Fall), pp. 11-14; by William A. Madden in *VS*, II, 173-74. Arranges chronologically by title "passages from Arnold's letters and (where available) from the letters of his correspondents which pertain to specific Arnold publications."
Buckler, William E. "Studies in Three Arnold Problems." *PMLA*, LXXIII, 260-69.
On *Culture and Anarchy*, "A Guide to Greek Poetry," and *Essays in Criticism*.
Butts, Denis. "Newman's Influence on Matthew Arnold's Theory of Poetry." *N & Q*, n.s. V, 254-55.
Carnall, Geoffrey. "Matthew Arnold's 'Great Critical Effort'." *EC*, VIII, 256-58.
Gérard, Albert. "L'Exemple de Matthew Arnold." *Révue Nouvelle*, XXIII (1956), 360-70.
Considers *Empedocles on Etna* and Arnold's subsequent practice as a critic as reflecting his attempt to define his role as a man of his time.
Gollin, Richard M. "Gladstone's Mistaken Praise of Matthew Arnold: An Old Irony and a New Letter." *Western Humanities Rev.*, XII, 277-80.
"Gladstone, reading carelessly, took Arnold's masterfully ironic criticism of Butler for genuine praise. . . ."
Greenwood, E. B. "Matthew Arnold: Thoughts on a Centenary." *TC*, CLXII (1957), 469-79.
An appraisal of Arnold's achievement in criticism.
Hoctor, Sister Thomas Marion. "Matthew Arnold's *Essays in Criticism*: A Critical Edition." *DA*, XIX, 1382.
This dissertation attempts to establish the text of the first series of *Essays in Criticism*, and to present a correct version of that text, which in subsequent editions has become surprisingly corrupt; shows that the Miles and Smith ed. (1918) does not warrant reprinting as a standard edition; makes use of E. K. Brown's chapter in his *Studies in the Text of Matthew Arnold's Prose Works* as an outline, but corrects and completes Brown's assertion; gives explanatory notes that explore the background of the essays; and, finally, gives a brief bibliographical list of items specifically concerned with *Essays in Criticism*, first series. This is unusually noteworthy for the study of Arnold.—W. D. T.
Houghton, Walter E. "Arnold's 'Empedocles on Etna'." *VS*, I, 311-36.
Jamison, William Alexander. *Arnold and the Romantics*. Anglistica, Vol. X. Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger. Pp. 167.
Rev. in *TLS*, 21 Mar., p. 154; by Frederic E. Faverty in *VNL*, No. 14 (Fall), pp. 11-14; by William A. Madden in *VS*, II, 173-74.
Madden, William A. "The Divided Tradition of English Criticism." *PMLA*, LXXIII, 69-80.
The critical inheritance from Arnold, as seen in Pater, Yeats, Hulme, I. A. Richards, Herbert Read, and T. S. Eliot.
Raleigh, John Henry. *Matthew Arnold and American Culture*. . . . See VB 1957, 403.
Rev. by William E. Buckler in *AL*, XXX, 253-55; by Kenneth Allott in *MLR*, LIII, 575-77; by Frederic E. Faverty in *VNL*, No. 14 (Fall), pp. 11-14; by Robert A. Donovan in *VNL*, No. 13 (Spring), pp. 14-15.

- Seturanam, V. S. "The Scholar Gipsy and Oriental Wisdom." *RES*, n.s. IX, 411-13.
- Amplifying and correcting Dyson's "The Last Enchantments" (see VB 1957, 402), Seturanam concludes that *The Scholar Gipsy* is neither an escapist poem nor a stalemate, but an "integrated vision."
- Tobias, Richard Clark. "Matthew Arnold and Edmund Burke." *DA*, XVIII, 1041-42.
- Aytoun. Schweik, Robert C. "Selected Reviews of William Edmondstoune Aytoun." *DA*, XIX, 532-33.
- The bibliography includes a list of all of Aytoun's unsigned contributions to Blackwood, including some poems not printed in the Page edition of his poetry.
- Bagehot (see also Mill; Greenberg).
- Halsted, John B. "Walter Bagehot on Toleration." *JHI*, XIX, 119-28.
- Barham. Lane, William G. "The Primitive Muse of Thomas Ingoldsby." *HLB*, XII, 47-83, 220-41.
- Lane's work is of first-rank importance for its biographical, critical, and bibliographical contributions, and its treatment of the history of the reputation of Barham's work; includes use of unpublished letters, etc.—W. D. T.
- Baring-Gould. Purcell, William. *Onward Christian Soldier*. . . . See VB 1957, 403.
- Rev. by William D. Templeman, VS, I, 300-301.
- Barrie (see also Pinero; Pearson). Brockett, Lenyth and O. G. "J. M. Barrie and the Journalist at His Elbow." *QJS*, XLIV, 413. The lasting influence of Barrie's journalistic experience.
- Beardsley. "Additions to the Beardsley Collection." *PLC*, XIX, 104-5.
- Beerbohm. *Mainly on the Air*. . . . See VB 1957, 403.
- Rev. by Edward Weeks in *AM*, CCI, 82; by Carlyle Morgan in *Christian Science Monitor*, 10 July, p. 7; by George Freedley in *LJ*, LXXXIII, 1458; by Cecil Sprigge in *Manchester Guardian*, 7 Jan., p. 4; by Frank Swinnerton in *SR*, 2 Aug., p. 13.
- Selected Essays*. Ed. N. L. Clay. London: Heinemann. Pp. xviii + 141.
- Max's Nineties: Drawings, 1892-1899. Ed. Osbert Lancaster. London: Hart-Davis. Pp. 10.
- Rev. by Cyril Ray in *S*, 21 Nov., p. 710; in *TLS*, 21 Nov., p. 668. Caricatures, several hitherto unpublished, including the remarkable series on Mr. Gladstone in Heaven.
- Bentham. Cranston, Maurice. "On Writing a 'Life' of Jeremy Bentham." *Listener*, 2 Oct., pp. 503-5.
- Blunt. Going, William T. "Oscar Wilde and Wilfrid Blunt: Ironic Notes on Prison, Prose, and Poetry." *VNL*, No. 13 (Spring), pp. 27-28.
- Borrow (see also I, Wing).
- Fréchet, René. *George Borrow*. . . . See VB 1956, 250.
- Rev. favorably by Herbert G. Wright in *Études anglaises*, XI, 63-65; by Henry Gifford in *RES*, n.s. IX, 104-5; in *TLS*, 19 Sept., p. 530.
- Lightbown, R. W. "Transylvanian Gypsies, as Seen by a Victorian Traveller (With an Anecdote about Borrow)." *Jour. of the Gypsy Lore Society*, 3rd ser. XXXVII, 121-26.
- Appreciation of Charles Boner's *Transylvania* (1865).
- Bosanquet (see III, Pucelle).
- Bowles. Woolf, Cecil. "Some Uncollected Authors: William Lisle Bowles, 1762-1850." *Book Collector*, VII, 286-94, 407-16.
- Bradley, F. H. (see III, Pucelle).
- Brontës (See also I, Clark; II, Ford, Stang).
- Adams, Ruth M. "Wuthering Heights: the Land East of Eden." *NCF*, XIII, 58-62. Like Cain's land of retreat, Wuthering Heights is a place where conventional morality does not prevail.
- Allott, Miriam. "Wuthering Heights: The Rejection of Heathcliff?" *EC*, VIII, 27-47.
- Blondel, Jacques. "Emily Brontë: Récentes Explorations." *Études anglaises*, XI, 323-30.
- Brontë Society, *Transactions and Other Publications of*.
- Vol. XIII, No. 3 (Part 68) has items: Briggs, Asa, "Private and Social Themes in *Shirley*" (pp. 203-19); Arnold, Helen H., "The Reminiscences of Emma Huidekoper Cortazzo: a Friend of Ellen Nussey" (pp. 220-31); Nixon, Ingeborg, "The Brontë Portraits: Some Old Problems and a New Discovery" (pp. 232-38); Brooke, Susan, "Anne Brontë at Blake Hall" [account of difficulties encountered by Anne in her first position as governess] (pp. 239-50); Holgate, Ivy, "The Key to Caroline: Branwell Brontë and the Hollins" [the "Caroline" of Branwell's poems is Caroline Anne Dearden] (pp. 251-59); "The 64th Annual Meeting" (pp. 278-87); "The Brontë Parsonage Museum" [report

- for 1957; lists additions to museum and library] (pp. 288-89).
- Christian," Mildred G. "The Brontës." *VNL*, No. 13 (Spring), p. 19.
- échet, René. "Emily Brontë et son élan mystique." *Foi Education*, XXVII (1957), 95-103.
- Discussion of Jacques Blondel's *Emily Brontë: Expérience spirituelle et création poétique* (1956).
- lfey, James. "The Villain in *Wuthering Heights*." *NCF*, XIII, 199-215.
- Nelly Dean is seen as the villain.
- irkins, Annette Brown. *The Father of the Brontës*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Pr. Pp. xi + 179.
- Rev. by Phyllis Bentley in *Listener*, 4 Dec., pp. 952-53.
- den, William Doremus. *An Investigation of Gondal*. New York: Bookman Associates. Pp. 85.
- sick, Mary. *The Genesis of "Wuthering Heights"*. Introd. Edmund Blunden. Hong Kong: Hong Kong Univ. Pr. Pp. xiii + 88.
- Rev. by Phyllis Bentley in *Brontë Society Transactions*, XIII, 266-68; in *TLS*, 5 Sept., p. 498.
- orth, George J. "Emily Brontë's Mr. Lockwood." *NCF*, XII, 315-20.
- ougham, Hawes, Frances. *Henry Brougham*. . . . See *VB* 1957, 404.
- Rev. by E. G. Collie in *EHR*, LXXIII, 370-71; by Raymond Carr in *NER*, CXLIX (1957), 83-84.
- own, Mizer, Raymond Everett. "A Critical Survey of the Poetry of Thomas Edward Brown (1830-1897)." *DA*, XVIII, 1435-38.
- ownings (see also III, Foakes, Ford, Puccelle; Rossetti; Adrian). Landis, Paul, and Freeman, Ronald E. (eds.). *Letters of the Brownings to George Barrett*. Urbana, Ill.: Univ. of Illinois Pr. Pp. 392.
- Rev. by Fraser Neiman in *Amer. Scholar*, XXVIII, 116; by S. C. Chew in *HTB*, 6 July, p. 5; by E. F. Walbridge in *LJ*, LXXXIII, 1530; by Sheila M. Smith in *N & Q*, n.s. V, 497-98; by Frances Winwar in *NYTBR*, 6 July, p. 4; in *TLS*, 16 May, p. 270; by William Irvine in *VS*, II, 85-87.
- aker, Joseph E. "Religious Implications in Browning's Poetry." *PQ*, XXXVI (1957), 436-52.
- A valuable synthesis of Browning criticism on the poet's religious position: his "unorthodox views and attitudes" were expressed in a "theological vocabulary that is inappropriate for his meanings."—O. M. Corrigan, Beatrice (trans. and ed.). *Curious Annals*. . . . See *VB* 1957, 404.
- Rev. by James K. Robinson in *Italica*, XXXIV (1957), 188-91.
- Cutts, John P. "Browning's 'Soliloquy of the Spanish Cloister'." *N & Q*, n.s. V, 17-18.
- A different source for Browning's "great text in Galatians."
- DeVane, William C. "Robert Browning." *VNL*, No. 13 (Spring), p. 22.
- Erdman, David V. "Browning's Industrial Nightmare." *PQ*, XXXVI (1957), 417-35. "Childe Roland" as a symbolic protest against the dehumanizing tendencies of the age.
- Goldstein, Melvin. "Elizabeth Barrett Browning's Sonnets from the Portuguese in the Light of the Petrarchan Tradition." *DA*, XIX, 1371.
- Herring, Jack W. "Critical Attitudes toward Browning since His Death." *DA*, XIX, 798.
- Johnson, Agnes Boswell. "The Faust Motif in Browning's *Paracelsus*." *DA*, XIX, 319.
- King, Roma A., Jr. *The Bow and the Lyre*. . . . See *VB* 1957, 405.
- Rev. by Patrick J. McCarthy, *ArQ*, XIV, 72-73; briefly by Stewart C. Wilcox in *BA*, XXXII, 189-90; by Thomas P. Harrison in *CE*, XX, 59; by Robert Langbaum in *VNL*, No. 13 (Spring), pp. 12-13; by G. Robert Stange in *VS*, I, 289-90.
- Litzinger, Boyd A. "Browning on Immortality." *N & Q*, n.s. V, 446-47.
- A conversation reported by Henry Adams.
- McCrory, Thomas E. "Browning and Dante." *DA*, XIX, 813.
- Marks, Emerson R. "Browning's 'Abt Vogler', 43-56." *Ex*, XVI, Item 29.
- Morse, J. Mitchell. "Browning's Grammarian, Warts and All." *CEA Critic*, XX, No. 1, 1, 5.
- Page, David. "Split in Wain." *EC*, VIII, 447-50.
- Page defends Browning against Wain's treatment of him in *Preliminary Essays* (see *VB* 1957, 401).
- Patterson, Rebecca. "Elizabeth Browning and Emily Dickinson." *Educational Leader* (Kansas State Teachers College), XX (1956), 21-48.
- Contends not only for the influence of Mrs. Browning, but also that Emily's appropriation of her was "subtle and complicated."

- Porter, Katherine H. *Through a Glass Darkly: Spiritualism in the Browning Circle*. Lawrence, Kans.: Univ. of Kansas Pr. Pp. 160. Rev. by A. L. Bader in *VS*, II, 183-84.
- Tanzy, C. E. "Browning, Emerson, and Bishop Blougram." *VS*, I, 255-66. Discusses significant and illuminating parallels between "Bishop Blougram" and Emerson's "Montaigne."
- Taplin, Gardner B. "Elizabeth Barrett Browning." *VNL*, No. 13 (Spring), pp. 20-21.
- Watkins, Charlotte Crawford. "Browning's 'Fame Within These Four Years'." *MLR*, LIII, 492-500. On the "revaluation" of Browning's work by reviewers in the sixties: a valuable chapter in the history of Browning's literary career and fame.
- Watkins, Charlotte Crawford. "Browning's *Men and Women* and the Spasmodic School." *JEGP*, LVII, 57-59. The reviewers' ascription of "spasmodic" characteristics played a significant part in the unfavorable reception of the book.
- Zamwalt, Eugene E. "Christian Symbolism in 'My Last Duchess'." *N & Q*, n.s. V, 446.
- Buckle, St. Aubyn, Giles. *A Victorian Eminent: The Life and Works of Henry Thomas Buckle*. London: Barrie. Pp. ix + 229. Rev. briefly by John Pick in *BA*, XXXII, 326; by Kenneth Rose in *NER*, CL, 117-18; favorably by Raymond Postgate in *NS*, 1 Mar., p. 279 ("a well-written, scholarly and valuable book"); by Geoffrey Barraclough in *S*, 14 Mar., p. 338; in *TLS*, 28 Feb., p. 111; by George Nadel in *VS*, II, 84-85.
- Bulwer-Lytton (see also III, Shattuck, Stang, Vandekieft).
- Liljegren, S. B. *Bulwer-Lytton's Novels and "Isis Unveiled"*. . . . See *VB* 1957, 405. Rev. by A. L. Bader in *VS*, II, 183-84.
- Butler (see also III, Raleigh, Sutherland, Swarthout).
- Silver, Arnold Jacques. "The Way of Samuel Butler: The Early Phase." *DA*, XIX, 320-21.
- Carlyle (see also I, Clark; II, Kegel; III, Buckler, *English Libraries*, Ford, Lindley, Pankhurst, Pennington, Pucelle, Sutherland, Taylor, Williams; Trollope; Gragg).
- Fraser, Russell A. "Shooting Niagara in the Novels of Thackeray and Trollope." *MLQ*, XIX, 141-46. Carlyle's scepticism about democracy as a clue to the decline of the hero in fiction.
- Rollins, Hyder E. "Charles Eliot Norton and Froude." *JEGP*, LVII, 651-64. Norton vs. Froude and Ruskin in the controversy over Froude's editorial and biographical work on Carlyle. Based in part on unpublished letters.
- Sanders, Charles Richard. "Carlyle's Letters to Ruskin: A Finding List with Some Unpublished Letters and Comments." *Bull. John Rylands Libr.*, XLI, 208-38. Examines Carlyle's letters to Ruskin, and looks at Ruskin as if by Carlyle's eyes; deals with thirty-six letters, nineteen of which are published for the first time (eighteen of these written by Carlyle, one by his wife). This is fascinating material, and the article is of first-rate importance. —W. D. T.
- Shine, Hill. "Thomas Carlyle." *VNL*, No. 13 (Spring), p. 22.
- Slater, Joseph. "Goethe, Carlyle and the Open Secret." *Anglia*, LXXVI, 422-26.
- Welsh, Alexander. "A Melville Debt to Carlyle." *MLN*, LXXXII, 489-91. An image in "The Funeral" (*Moby Dick*, chap. 69) traced to Carlyle's essay on Boswell's *Johnson*.
- Carpenter, Vanson, Frederick. "Edward Carpenter: The English Whitman." *CR*, XCIII, 314-16.
- Carroll (see also I, Clark, Wing).
- Godman, Stanley. "Lewis Carroll's Sister: Henrietta Dodgson." *N & Q*, n.s. V, 38-39. Henrietta's refutations of two stories about Lewis.
- Thody, Philip. "Lewis Carroll and the Surrealists." *TC*, CLXIII, 427-34. Louis Aragon's attempt, in *Le Surréalisme au service de la révolution*, to read Carroll as a surrealist and a revolutionary.
- Church, Smith, Basil Alec. *Dean Church: The Anglican Response to Newman*. London: Oxford Univ. Pr. Pp. xiii + 334. Rev. by Alec Vidler in *S*, 30 May, p. 706; in *TLS*, 4 July, p. 379; by R. W. Greaves in *VS*, II, 165-66. A biography of R. W. Church, an early disciple of Newman, historian of the Oxford Movement, and Dean of St. Paul's from 1871 to 1890.
- Clarke, Elliott, Brian. *Marcus Clarke*. Oxford: Clarendon Pr. Pp. xvi + 281. Rev. in *TLS*, 7 Mar., p. 129. Biography of major nineteenth-century Australian novelist.
- Clough, Mulhauser, Frederick L. (ed.). *The Correspondence of Arthur Hugh Clough*. . . . See *VB* 1957, 406.

Rev. with detailed care and general appreciation and approval (somewhat qualified) by Kenneth Allott in *EC*, VIII, 438-46; by Michael Timko in *JEGP*, LVII, 825-29; by A. O. J. Cockshut in *Manchester Guardian*, 10 Dec., 1957, p. 4; by S. K. Winther in *MLQ*, XIX, 271-72; by Lawrence Thompson in *NYTBR*, 26 Jan., p. 4; by Thomas Parkinson in *VS*, I, 367-69.

llin, Richard M. "Sandford's Bid for the Edinburgh Professorship and Arthur Hugh Clough's Expectations." *N & Q*, n.s. V, 470-72.

yriras, Paul. "Un Regain d'Interêt pour Arthur Hugh Clough." *Études anglaises*, XI, 226-28.

A summary of recent Clough studies.

llins (see I, Clark, Wing).

nrad (see also I, Wing; III, Swarthout, Warren).

tters to William Blackwood and David S. Meldrum. Ed. William Blackburn. Durham, N. C.: Duke Univ. Pr. Pp. 209.

Rev. briefly by Charles W. Mann, Jr. in *LJ*, LXXXIII, 3138; by Harry T. Moore in *NYTBR*, 30 Nov., p. 62. Letters concerning Conrad's relationship with *Blackwood's Magazine*.

len, Jerry. *The Thunder and the Sunshine: A Biography of Joseph Conrad*. New York: Putnam. Pp. 256.

Rev. by Phoebe Adams in *AM*, CCI, 86; by Edward Wagenknecht in *Chicago Sunday Tribune*, 18 May, p. 4; by Morton Zabel in *HTB*, 17 Aug., pp. 1, 9; briefly by Charles Mann in *LJ*, LXXXIII, 2163-64; by Ian Watt in *NCF*, XIII, 258-59; by DeLancey Ferguson in *NYTBR*, 4 May, p. 5; by Ben Ray Redman in *SR*, 16 Aug., pp. 31-32; by Marvin Mudrick in *VQR*, XXXIV, 630-33.

ntock, G. H. "Conrad and Politics." *ELH*, XXV, 122-36. On *Nostromo*, *The Secret Agent*, and *Under Western Eyes*.

ayley, John. "White Man's Freedom." *NER*, CL, 72-73.

Ostensibly a review of books by Thomas Moser (see VB 1957, 407) and Richard Curle (see below), this article is really concerned with setting Conrad and Kipling against James and Forester.

radbrook, Frank W. "Samuel Richardson and Joseph Conrad." *N & Q*, n.s. V, 119.

Reminiscences of Richardson in *Victory*.

ook, Albert. "Conrad's Void." *NCF*, XII, 326-30.

At the heart of almost all of Conrad's plots the protagonist is faced with the recognition of a void.

Curle, Richard. *Joseph Conrad and His Characters*. . . . See VB 1957, 407.

Rev. by Phoebe Adams in *AM*, CCI, 86; by Edward Wagenknecht in *Chicago Sunday Tribune*, 18 May, p. 4; by Morton Zabel in *HTB*, 17 Aug., pp. 1, 9; briefly by Charles Mann in *LJ*, LXXXIII, 2163-64; briefly in *NCF*, XIII, 79; by John Bayley in *NER*, CL, 72-73; by David Daiches in *NYTBR*, 17 Aug., p. 4; by Ben Ray Redman in *SR*, 16 Aug., pp. 31-32; by Marvin Mudrick in *VQR*, XXXIV, 630-33; by Dorothy Van Ghent in *YR*, 153-56.

Davis, Harold E. "Conrad's Revisions of *The Secret Agent*: A Study in Literary Impressionism." *MLQ*, XIX, 244-54.

Comparison of serial and book reveals important stylistic changes.

Gleckner, Robert F. "Conrad's 'The Lagoon.'" *Ex*, XVI, Item 33.

Guerard, Albert Joseph. *Conrad the Novelist*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Pr. Pp. xiv + 322.

Rev. by Leo Gurko in *Amer. Scholar*, XXVIII, 120; in *Booklist*, LV, 1 Sept., p. 16; by Edward Wagenknecht in *Chicago Sunday Tribune*, 31 Aug., p. 2; by R. C. Blackman in *Christian Science Monitor*, 11 Sept., p. 7; by DeLancey Ferguson in *HTB*, 17 Aug., pp. 1, 8; briefly by Charles Mann in *LJ*, LXXXIII, 2163-64; by David Daiches in *NYTBR*, 17 Aug., p. 4; by Marvin Mudrick in *VQR*, XXXIV, 630-33; by Dorothy Van Ghent in *YR*, XLVIII, 153-56.

Gurko, Leo. "Joseph Conrad at the Cross-roads." *Univ. of Kansas City Rev.*, XXV, 97-100.

Haugh, Robert F. *Joseph Conrad: Discovery in Design*. . . . See VB 1957, 407.

Rev. briefly by Melvin J. Friedman in *BA*, XXXII, 189; briefly in *NCF*, XII, 335.

Jean-Aubry, Gérard. *The Sea Dreamer*. . . . See VB 1957, 407.

Rev. by Joseph L. Blotner in *CE*, XX, 54-55; by Bruce Harkness in *JEGP*, LVII, 157-58; by Hans J. Gottlieb in *VNL*, No. 13 (Spring), pp. 75-77.

Kimpel, Ben, and Eaves, T. C. Duncan. "The Geography and History in *Nostromo*." *MP*, LVI, 45-54.

Knopf, Alfred A. "Joseph Conrad: A Footnote to Publishing History." *AM*, CCI, 63-67.

Includes unpublished letters from Conrad.

- Leavis, F. R. "Joseph Conrad." *SeR*, LXVI, 179-200.
Includes a provocative analysis of *The Shadow-Line*.
- Levin, Gerald H. "An Allusion to Tasso in Conrad's *Chance*." *NCF*, XIII, 145-51.
- Lohf, Kenneth A., and Sheehy, Eugene Paul (eds.). *Joseph Conrad at Mid-Century*. . . . See VB 1957, 407.
Rev. by William White in *BB*, XXII, 78; briefly by Joseph L. Blotner in *CE*, XX, 54-55; by L. B. in *Études anglaises*, XI, 355-56; by Bruce Harkness in *JEGP*, LVII, 567-68; by J. Hillis Miller in *MLN*, LXXIII, 131-32.
- Macshane, Frank. "Conrad on Melville." *AL*, XXIX, 463-64.
Conrad refused to write a preface to *Moby Dick*.
- Moser, Thomas. *Joseph Conrad: Achievement and Decline*. . . . See VB 1957, 407.
Rev. by Richard M. Ludwig in *CE*, XIX, 281; by Bruce Harkness in *JEGP*, LVII, 538-64; by John Bayley in *NER*, CL, 72-73; by W. M. Blackburn in *SAQ*, LVII, 141-42; by Vernon Young in *Southwest Rev.*, XLIII, 80-81.
- Owen, Guy, Jr. "Crane's 'The Open Boat' and Conrad's 'Youth'." *MLN*, LXXIII, 100-2.
- Owen, R. J. "Joseph Conrad: Two Books." *N & Q*, n.s. V, 260.
An incident which may have suggested *Heart of Darkness*.
- Poznar, Walter P. "The Two Worlds of Joseph Conrad." *DA*, XIX, 532.
- Spector, Robert D. "Irony as Theme: Conrad's 'Secret Agent'." *NCF*, XIII, 69-71.
- Stevens, Arthur Wilber. "George Orwell and Contemporary British Fiction of Burma: The Problem of 'Place'." *DA*, XVIII, 1799-1800.
Makes considerable use of Conrad.
- Van Baaren, Betty Bishop. "Character and Background in Conrad." *DA*, XIX, 1392.
- Van Slooten, Henry. "The Reception of the Writings of Joseph Conrad in England and the United States from 1895 through 1915." *Univ. of Southern Calif. Abstracts of Diss.* . . . 1957, pp. 103-5.
- Watt, Ian. "Conrad Criticism and *The Nigger of the 'Narcissus'*." *NCF*, XII, 257-83.
- Zellar, Leonard Eugene. "Conrad's Use of Extra-Narrative Devices to Extend Theme." *DA*, XIX, 1075.
- Darwin (see also III, Ellegård).
- Barlow, Nora (ed.). *The Autobiography of Charles Darwin, 1809-1882, with Original Omissions Restored*. London: Collins. Pp. 253.
- Rev. by J. Z. Young in *NS*, 15 Mar., pp. 337-38; by Magnus Pyke in *S*, 11 Apr., p. 463; in *TLS*, 4 Apr., p. 179; by C. C. Gillispie in *VS*, II, 166-69. Contains about 6,000 words, some concerning Darwin's religious beliefs, omitted from previous editions.
- Barnett, Samuel Anthony (ed.). *A Century of Darwin*. London: Heinemann. Pp. xvi + 376.
- Rev. by Stephen Toulmin in *Manchester Guardian*, 22 July, p. 4; by N. W. Pirie in *NS*, 28 June, pp. 842-43; in *TLS*, 18 July, p. 403; by Cyril Bibby in *Universities Quart.*, XIII, 83-86. Essays by fifteen biologists and naturalists on Darwin's central ideas and their present validity.
- De Beer, Sir Gavin. *Charles Darwin: Lecture on a Master Mind*. Master Mind Lectures, Henrietta Hertz Trust Series—1958. London: Oxford Univ. Pr. Pp. 23.
Rev. in *TLS*, 18 July, p. 403.
- Eiseley, Loren. *Darwin's Century: Evolution and the Men who Discovered It*. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday. Pp. 378.
- Rev. by Paul B. Sears in *Amer. Scholar*, XXVIII, 108; by David Owen in *Canadian Historical Rev.*, XXXIX, 327-30; by R. C. Cowen in *Christian Science Monitor*, 10 July, p. 7; by Paul Pickrel in *Harper's*, CCXV (July), 90-91; by Gerald Wendt in *HTB*, 29 June, p. 4; briefly by A. F. Fessler in *LJ*, LXXXIII, 1918; by William Irvine in *NYTBR*, 29 June, p. 4.
- Huxley, Julian S., et al. *A Book That Shook the World: Anniversary Essays on Charles Darwin's Origin of Species*. Pittsburgh: Univ. of Pittsburgh Pr. Pp. vii + 60.
- Huxley, Julian, and Fisher, James (eds.). *The Living Thoughts of Darwin*. New rev. ed. London: Cassell. Pp. viii + 156.
Rev. in *TLS*, 18 July, p. 403. Previous edition published 1939.
- Mandelbaum, Maurice. "Darwin's Religious Views." *JHI*, XIX, 363-78.
- Dickens (see also I, Clark, Dickson; II, Mitchell; III, Cary, Clive, Ford, Pennington, Smith, Stang, Sutherland, Williams).
"Charles Dickens Looks at the News Trade." *LJ*, LXXXIII, 1151-52.
Reprinted with permission from *National News Agent, Bookseller, Stationer* (London), 14 Dec., 1957.
- Adrian, Arthur A. *Georgina Hogarth and the Dickens Circle*. . . . See VB 1957, 408.

Rev. favorably by R. D. McMaster in *Dalhousie Rev.*, XXXVIII, 95-96; favorably by Sylvère Monod in *Études anglaises*, XI, 259; by K. J. Fielding in *VS*, I, 379; by Joan Bennett in *YR*, XLVII, 448.

Bredsdorff, Elias. *Hans Andersen and Charles Dickens*. . . . See *VB* 1957, 408.

Rev. by John Butt in *RES*, n.s. IX, 331-32; by Karl Litzenberg in *VS*, I, 302.

Cederick, James H., and Grant, John E. "The Identity of Esther Summerson." *MP*, LV, 252-58.

The structure of *Bleak House* defined in terms of Esther's successful quest for a place in the society depicted by the novel.

ett, John, and Tillotson, Kathleen. *Dickens at Work*. . . . See *VB* 1957, 408.

Rev. by Henry Gifford in *DUJ*, L, 85-88; by Sylvère Monod in *Études anglaises*, XI, 166-67; briefly by Earle F. Walbridge in *LJ*, LXXXIII, 1078-79; by Geoffrey Carnall in *MLR*, LIII, 574-75; by DeLancey Ferguson in *NYTBR*, 27 Apr., p. 14; by Edgar Johnson in *SR*, 29 Mar., p. 19; by Monroe Engel in *VS*, I, 288-89.

ix, C. B. "In Defence of Dickens." *Essays and Studies*, 1958, n.s. XI (for the English Assoc.), 86-100.

ompton, Louis. "Satire and Symbolism in *Bleak House*." *NCF*, XII, 284-303.

ckensian (quarterly), Vol. LIII (1957) (Nos. 321-23). . . . See *VB* 1932, 422.

Items as follows: Addison, W., and Kirk-Smith, H., "Two Conference Tributes: A Toast and a Sermon" (pp. 163-69); Anderson, R. G., "Mrs. Goodman's and 'The Red Lion' at Highgate" (pp. 16-19); Auberon, F., "Dickens versus Gissing: In re Varden: Mr. Justice Stareleigh's Summing-up" (pp. 82-84); Carlton, W. J., "Captain Morgan - Alias Jorgan" (pp. 75-82); Carlton, W. J., "Fanny Dickens, Pianist and Vocalist" (pp. 133-43); Carlton, W. J., "John Dickens, Journalist" (pp. 5-11); Dickins, L. G., "The Friendship of Dickens and Carlyle" (pp. 98-106); Fielding, K. J., "Dickens at Work [rev. of book by J. Butt and K. Tillotson]" (pp. 160-62); Finlay, I. F., "Dickens's Influence on Dutch Literature" (pp. 40-42); Gibson, F. A., "Dogs in Dickens" (pp. 145-52); Gibson, F. A., "A 17th Century Kit Nubbles" (pp. 12-15); Greaves, J., "Alphington" (pp. 170-71); Hill, T. W., "Notes on *Barnaby Rudge* [concluded]" (pp. 52-57); Hill, T. W., "Notes to *Great Expectations*" (pp. 119-26; 184-86); Hunter, R. A., and Macalpine, I., "A Note on Dickens's Psychiatric Reading" (pp. 49-51); Johnson, E., "Immortal Memory [A Toast at the Dinner in Celebration of the 145th Anniver-

sary of the Birth of Charles Dickens]" (pp. 70-74); Jones-Evans, E., "Playing Dickens in Schools" (pp. 107-09); Mason, L., "Dickens and Dostoevsky [rev. of article by M. H. Futrell]" (pp. 114-16); Morley, M., "Stage Solutions to the Mystery [of Edwin Drood]" (pp. 46-48; 93-97; 180-84); Peyrouton, N. C. (ed.), "Dickens Breakfasts with Longfellow [Vignette by H. W. L. Dana]" (pp. 85-92); Peyrouton, N. C., "Dickens, Dolby and Dolliver: An American Note" (pp. 153-59); Piper, W. J., "New Light on the Old Tipper: A Beverage Report" (p. 39); Rigby, S., "Olfactory Cleanings" (pp. 36-38); Shusterman, D., "Peter Cunningham, Friend of Dickens" (pp. 20-35); Staples, L. C., "Belzoni [rev. of W. Dischler, *Pharaoh's Fool*]" (p. 118); Staples, L. C., "Hans Christian Andersen [rev. of E. Bredsdorff, *Hans Andersen and Charles Dickens*]" (pp. 117-18); Staples, L. C., "The Honeymoon Cottage of Chalk" (pp. 110-11); Staples, L. C., "The Mrs. Gamp Reading [rev. of facsimile reprint of the author's prompt copy]" (p. 117); Staples, L. C., "Phiz [rev. of A. Johannsen, *Phiz: Illustrations from the Novels of Charles Dickens*]" (p. 116); Stone, H., "Dickens and Wilkie Collins [rev. of N. P. Davis, *The Life of Wilkie Collins*]" (pp. 112-14); Stone, H., "Dickens's Knowledge of Thackeray's Writings" (pp. 42-45).

Dickensian (quarterly), Vol. LIV (1958) (Nos. 324-26). . . . See *VB* 1932, 422.

Items as follows: Bomans, G., "The Immortal Memory of Charles Dickens" (pp. 173-78); Bowkett, Rev. C. E. V., "Dickens Commemoration Sermon" (pp. 182-84); Bowkett, Rev. C. E. V., "Sermon at the Dickens Commemoration Service" (pp. 44-46); Carlton, W. J., "Captain Morgan Again" (pp. 88-93); Carlton, W. J., "Dickens's 'Old Stage-Coaching House'" (pp. 13-20); Carlton, W. J., "Who Wrote 'Mr. Robert Bolton'?" (pp. 178-81); Colburn, W. E., "Dickens and the 'Life-Illusion'" (pp. 110-18); "Dinner with Dickens [a menu written by Georgina Hogarth]" (p. 94); "Dummy Books at Gad's Hill Place" (pp. 46-47); Fielding, K. J., "The Monthly Serialisation of Dickens's Novels" (pp. 4-11); Fielding, K. J., "The Weekly Serialisation of Dickens's Novels" (pp. 134-41); Finlay, I. F., "Dickens in the Cinema" (pp. 106-09); G., J., "A Victorian Canvas [rev. of N. Wallis (ed.), *The Memoirs of W. P. Frith, R.A.*]" (p. 53); Gibson, F. A., "The Love Interest in *Barnaby Rudge*" (pp. 21-23); Goodheart, E., "Dickens Method of Characterisation" (pp. 35-37); Greaves, J., "Report of Council, 1957-1958" (pp. 166-72); Lane, M., "The Immortal Memory of Charles Dickens" (pp. 69-73); Morley, M., "The Theatrical Ternans" (pp. 38-43; 95-106;

- 155-64); Murdock, M., "Jip" (p. 37); Ollé, J. G., "Dickens and Dolby" (pp. 27-35); "Operas from Dickens" (p. 43); Pakenham, P., "Dickens's 'Old Stage-Coaching House'" (pp. 121-22), answered by W. J. Carlton (p. 122); Pakenham, P., "Georgina Hogarth [rev. of A. A. Adrian, *Georgina Hogarth and the Dickens Circle*]" (pp. 23-26); Parker, C., "Success to Dickens on the Screen" (pp. 73-76); Peyrouton, N. C., "The Gurney Photographs" (pp. 145-55); Postlethwaite, A., "Poor Sir John!" (pp. 83-87); Seawin, G., "A Newly Discovered Dickens Fragment" (pp. 48-49); Seyler, A., "Athene Seyler Replies" (pp. 76-78); Staples, L. C., "Farewell to Devonshire Terrace" (pp. 79-80); Staples, L. C., "The New Film Version of *A Tale of Two Cities*" (pp. 119-20); Staples, L. C., "St James's, Theatre of Distinction" (p. 109); Stevenson, Lionel, "Thackeray [rev. of G. N. Ray, *Thackeray: The Age of Wisdom*]" (pp. 143-44); Stone, H., "Dickens and Melville Go to Chapel" (pp. 50-52); Tilotson, Kathleen, "Seymour Illustrating Dickens in 1834" (pp. 11-12); Ziegler, A. U., "A *Barnaby Rudge* Source" (pp. 80-82).
- Edminson, Mary. "The Date of the Action in *Great Expectations*." *NCF*, XIII, 22-35. Interior evidence sets the action of the novel within 1807-10 to 1823-26.
- Fielding, Kenneth Joshua. *Charles Dickens: A Critical Introduction*. London: Longmans. Pp. v + 218.
- Rev. by Hesketh Pearson in *Listener*, 18 Dec., pp. 1045-46; in *TLS*, 7 Nov., p. 642.
- Fielding, K. J. "Charles Dickens." *VNL*, No. 14 (Fall), pp. 22-23.
- Gimbel, Richard. "The Earliest State of the First Edition of Charles Dickens' *A Christmas Carol*." *PLC*, XIX, 82-86.
- Gordan, John Dozier. *Reading for Profit: The Other Career of Charles Dickens*. New York: New York Public Library. Pp. 28. Reprinted from *Bull. New York Pub. Libr.*, LXII, 425-42, 515-22. Description of an exhibition from the Berg Collection.
- Gottshall, James K. "Dickens' Rhythmic Imagery: Its Development from *Sketches by Boz* through *Bleak House*." *DA*, XIX, 797-98.
- "Rhythmic imagery" refers to those metaphors and details of action and description which by their repetition within the novel become either atmospheric or symbolic.
- Graham, W. H. "Notes on *Barnaby Rudge*." *CR*, CXCV, 90-92.
- On the Gordon Riots and the historical background of the novel.
- Humphrey, Harold Edward. "The Background of *Hard Times*." *DA*, XIX, 318.
- Lane, Lauriat, Jr. "Dickens' Archetypal Jew." *PMLA*, LXXXIII, 94-100.
- Dickens's portraits of the Jew in his fiction.
- McMaster, R. D. "Dickens and the Horrific." *Dalhousie Rev.*, XXXVIII, 18-28.
- Speaks of three of the primary elements of Dickens's work as a whole: horror, the child's viewpoint, and fairy tale.
- Miller, Joseph Hillis. *Charles Dickens: The World of His Novels*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Pr. Pp. 346.
- Rev. briefly by Earle F. Walbridge in *LJ*, LXXXIII, 2170; by David Daiches in *NYTBR*, 28 Sept., p. 49; by Edgar Johnson in *SR*, 30 Aug., pp. 17-18; by Julian L. Moynahan in *VS*, II, 170-72.
- Monod, Sylvère. "Une Amitié Française de Charles Dickens: Lettres Inédites à Philocèle Régnier." Part I: *Études anglaises*, XI, 119-35; Part II: *Études anglaises*, XI, 210-25.
- Monod has edited twenty-two letters from Dickens to the noted French actor, Philocèle Régnier. The originals are in the library of the Comédie-Française. Of these letters, fifteen are hitherto unpublished, and the published versions of the other seven are mutilated.
- Raleigh, John Henry. "Dickens and the Sense of Time." *NCF*, XIII, 127-37.
- Dickens's statements about time in his fiction and his use of time in his plots and in the rhythm of remembrance of his narrators.
- Reinhold, Heinz. "Kritik an den Religiösen und Moralischen Anschaungen in Dickens' Werken im 19. Jahrhundert." *Anglia*, LXXVI, 145-76.
- Sharples, Sister Marian. "Dickens' Use of Imagery: A Study of Narrative Technique in Four Novels." *Univ. of Southern Calif. Abstr. of Diss.* . . . 1957, pp. 100-2.
- Evaluates the figurative language in *Martin Chuzzlewit*, *David Copperfield*, *Bleak House*, and *Great Expectations*; finds great improvement in Dickens's handling of imagery from 1844 to 1860.
- Steadman, John M. "Dickens' Typography, and the Dragon's Teeth." *N & Q*, n.s. V, 256-57.
- The origin of a Dickens metaphor.
- Stone, Harry. "Dickens's Tragic Universe: 'George Silverman's Explanation'." *SP*, LV, 86-97.
- A study of the artistry and compression

- of Dickens's last completed serious story. In the tragic life of George Silverman, good is invariably translated into evil by the selfishness and hypocrisy of the world.
- eintraub, Stanley. "Ibsen's 'Doll's House' Metaphor Foreshadowed in Victorian Fiction." *NCF*, XIII, 67-69.
- Both Dickens, in *Our Mutual Friend*, and Shaw, in *The Irrational Knot*, had used the metaphor in a context similar to Ibsen's.
- oodall, Robert. "The Dickens Readings." *CR*, CXCIV, 248-51.
- gby, Hill, A. G. "A Medieval Victorian." *TLS*, 5 Sept., p. 504.
- On the life and work of Kenelm Henry Digby, 1796-1880: mislevealist, Roman Catholic convert, and author of *The Broad Stone of Honour*.
- ike, Garrett, William. "Charles Wentworth Dilke as a 'Literary Critic.'" *DA*, XIX, 1078.
- israeli (see also III, Williams).
- hl, Curtis. "Baroni in Disraeli's *Tancred*." *N & Q*, n.s. V, 152.
- Originals of Disraeli characters.
- oyles.
- yley, Joseph O. "A Letter from Conan Doyle on the 'Novelist-Journalist'." *NCF*, XII, 321-23.
- A letter to W. T. Stead concerning a new type of serialized novel.
- arrison, Michael. *In the Footsteps of Sherlock Holmes*. London: Cassell. Pp. xii + 292.
- Rev. briefly in *TLS*, 21 Nov., p. 679. Side-lights on the late Victorian and Edwardian world.
- gerton, White, Terence de Vere (ed.). *A Leaf from the "Yellow Book": The Correspondence of George Egerton*. London: Richards Pr. Pp. 184.
- Rev. by Brian Inglis in *S*, 14 Nov., p. 660; in *TLS*, 31 Oct., p. 626. Diaries and correspondence of and to (including letters from Wilde, Shaw, and John Lane) Chavelita Dunne.
- liot (see also I, Clark; III, Ford, Raleigh, Stang, Williams).
- teaty, Jerome. "The Forgotten Past of Will Ladislaw." *NCF*, XIII, 159-63.
- Suggests that George Eliot may have intended to show her interest in the Jewish people before *Daniel Deronda*.
- Currey, R. N. "Joseph Liggins: A Slight Case of Literary Identity." *TLS*, 26 Dec., p. 753.
- On the "passive impostor" who let people suppose he had written *Scenes from Clerical Life* and *Adam Bede*.
- Haight, Gordon S. "George Eliot." *VNL*, No. 13 (Spring), p. 23.
- Harvey, W. J. "George Eliot and the Omniscient Author Convention." *NCF*, XIII, 81-108.
- A defense of George Eliot's use of author intrusions.
- Harvey, W. J. "The Treatment of Time in *Adam Bede*." *Anglia*, LXXV (1957), 429-40.
- Huzzard, John A. "The Treatment of Florence and Florentine Characters in George Eliot's *Romola*." *Italica*, XXXIV, 158-65.
- Owens, R. J. "The Effect of George Eliot's Linguistic Interests on Her Art." *N & Q*, n.s. V, 311-13.
- Thale, Jerome. "George Eliot's Fable for Her Times." *CE*, XIX, 141-46.
- In *Silas Marner*, two visions of the world, that of aspiration and that of realism, are given side by side in one artistic piece.
- Walters, Gerald. "A Memory of George Eliot." *Listener*, 2 Jan., p. 20.
- George Eliot's use of Spring Farm and Kirk Hallam in her early fiction.
- FitzGerald, Weber, Carl J. (ed.). *FitzGerald's Rubáiyát. Centennial Edition*. Waterville, Me.: Colby College Pr., 1959. Pp. 158.
- This attractive and scholarly work is far more than just another edition of the *Rubáiyát*. Carl J. Weber has given us the original text of the poem as first printed in London in 1859 and a record of all the many changes of that text made by Fitz-Gerald as well as a gathering of pertinent critical comment on the poem. The Introduction tells the fascinating and little-known true story of the poem's discovery and propagation. A census is given of the eighteen copies of the 1859 edition now in American libraries, and a useful checklist of the 215 editions of the *Rubáiyát* in the Colby College Library collection, compiled by James Humphry III. A real boon to scholars and admirers of Fitz-Gerald.—R. C. S.
- Ford, Ford Madox. Meixner, John Albert. "The Novels of Ford Madox Ford: A Critical Study." *DA*, XVIII, 1047-48.
- Ford, Richard. Hoskins, W. G. "The Finest Travel-Book in English." *Listener*, 4 Sept., pp. 337-39.
- On Richard Ford, contributor to the

- Quarterly Review* and author of *Hand-book for Travellers in Spain*, 1845.
- Gaskell, Mrs. (see I., Clark; III., Williams).
- Gilbert, Hall, Robert A., Jr. "The Satire of *The Yeomen of the Guard*." *MLN*, LXXIII, 492-97.
- A valuable analysis, showing that in this libretto Gilbert is satirizing his own form of "topsy-turvy" humor.—O. M.
- Pearson, Hesketh. *Gilbert: His Life and Strife*. . . . See VB 1957, 410.
- Rev. by Melville Cane in *Amer. Scholar*, XXVII, 398; by DeLancey Ferguson in *HTB*, 9 Feb., p. 3; briefly by George Freedley in *LJ*, LXXXIII, 599; by George Dangerfield in *N*, 26 Apr., p. 359; by J. W. Krutch in *NYTBR*, 9 Feb., p. 16; by Gerald Fay in *S*, 3 Jan., p. 24; by W. W. Appleton in *SR*, 8 Mar., p. 20; by Reginald Allen in *Theatre Notebook*, XIII, 31-32; by Elizabeth Sewell in *VS*, II, 87-88.
- Gissing (See also I., Wing).
- Amis, Kingsley. "The Hateful Profession." *S*, 4 July, p. 19.
- On Gissing, and Morley Roberts's portrait of him as Henry Maitland.
- Maurois, André. "George Gissing." *Rev. de Paris*, LXV (February), 3-13.
- Roberts, Morley. *The Private Life of Henry Maitland: A Portrait of George Gissing*. Ed. Morchard Bishop. London: Richards Pr. Pp. 256.
- Rev. by V. S. Pritchett in *NS*, 14 June, pp. 781-82; in *TLS*, 5 Sept., p. 491. New edition of fictionalized life identifies each character, corrects dates, etc.
- Young, Arthur C. "George Gissing's Friendship with Eduard Bertz." *NCF*, XIII, 227-37.
- An account of Gissing's enduring relationship with the German friend who encouraged him to complete *Workers in the Dawn*.
- Young, Arthur C. "A Note on George Gissing." *Jour. Rutgers Univ. Libr.*, XXII, 23-24.
- Gladstone (see also Arnold: Gollin). Austen, Albert A. "Gladstone's Characteristics as a Speaker. The British Orators, IV." *QJS*, XLIV, 244-54.
- Conacher, J. B. (ed.). "A Visit to the Gladstones in 1894." *VS*, II, 155-60.
- Memorandum by Ishbel Majoribanks of a visit to Gladstone shortly after his retirement.
- Gosse (see Moore: Burkhart). Matthiesen, Paul F. "An Account of Queen Victoria." *Jour. Rutgers Univ. Libr.*, XXI (December, 1957), 7-32.
- Prints previously unpublished letters from Lady Ponsonby to Gosse, showing her to be a collaborator in an article in the *Quarterly Rev.* for April, 1901, that put a halt to "the spirit of uncritical adulation" of the Queen.
- Young, Arthur C. "Edmund Gosse Visits Robert Louis Stevenson." *Jour. Rutgers Univ. Libr.*, XX (June, 1957), 8-32.
- Green, Richter, Melvin. "T. H. Green and His Audience: Liberalism as a Surrogate Faith." *Rev. of Politics*, XVIII (1956), 444-72.
- Haggard, Cohen, Morton N. "H. Rider Haggard — His Life and Works." *DA*, XIX, 324-25.
- States that with the aid of new material we can trace Haggard's friendships with Andrew Lang, W. E. Henley, Kipling, Gosse, and others. Material not before published indicates, furthermore, the extent to which Haggard helped Lang and Kipling; and to which he relied on acquaintances for assistance and advice.
- Hardy (see also I., Clark, Weber, Wing; III., Cary, Ford, Raleigh).
- Bailey, James Osler. *Thomas Hardy and the Cosmic Mind*. . . . See VB 1957, 411.
- Rev. by S. Sebaoun in *Études anglaises*, XI, 169-70; by Philip Larkin in *MLR*, LIII, 116; by G. W. Sherman in *Sci. & Soc.*, XXII, 77-80.
- Church, Richard. "Thomas Hardy as Revealed in *The Dynasts*." *Essays by Divers Hands: Being the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, n.s. XXIX, 1-17.
- Rev. in *TLS*, 10 Oct., p. 578.
- Hardy, Evelyn. "Thomas Hardy: Plots for Five Unpublished Stories." *London Mag.*, V, 33-45.
- Hyde, William J. "Hardy's View of Realism: A Key to the Rustic Characters." *VS*, II, 45-59.
- O'Connor, William Van. "Cosmic Irony in Hardy's 'The Three Strangers'." *EJ*, XLVII, 248-54.
- Rouse, Blair (ed.). *Letters of Ellen Glasgow*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co. Pp. 384. Ellen Glasgow describes two visits to Hardy, in 1914 and 1927.
- Shirreff, A. G. "The 'Eve of St. Agnes' & A Pair of Blue Eyes." *N & Q*, n.s. V, 252.
- Hardy, Scott, Keats, and Goethe on light through stained glass windows.

- ort, Clarice. "In Defense of *Ethelberta*." NCF, XIII, 48-57.
- edmond, J. M. "Hardy's *Dynasts* and the 'Mythical Method'." English, XII, 1-4.
- Hardy's myth contrasted (by implication) with the Aeschylean.
- eber, Carl J. "An Important Hardy Manuscript." *Colby Libr. Quart.*, IV, 303-4.
- The original autograph of "The Two Tall Men"—the poem later expanded to become "The Three Tall Men" as printed in the London *Daily Telegraph*, August 9, 1928.
- eber, Carl J. "Honeysuckles at Princeton: A Sororcidal Investigation." PLC, XIX, 69-81.
- On a supposedly "unique" copy of a first edition of *Tess*.
- obson, Cole, G. D. H. "J. A. Hobson." NS, 5 July, p. 12.
- Cole commemorates the centenary of Hobson's birth by recalling the debt economics owes to Ruskin's disciple, who anticipated so much of Keynes and current orthodoxy.
- emmers, Erwin Esser. *Hobson and Under-consumption*. Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Co., 1956. Pp. xii + 152.
- Rev. by T. W. Hutchison in *Economica*, n.s. XXV, 76-77.
- opkins (see also III, Bogan, Melchiori, Winters).
- eliquiae par* G. M. Hopkins. Trans. Pierre Leyris. Paris: Editions du Seuil. Pp. 173.
- Rev. by Jacques Vallette in *Mercure de France*, CCCXXXI, 696 ("Ses équivalences sont à peine plus étrangères au français que le langage de Hopkins à l'anglais... première fidélité"); by Henri Thomas in *Nouvelle revue française*, n.s. VI, 122-25; in TLS, 4 Apr., p. 184.
- bbott, Claude Collier (ed.). *Further Letters of Gerard Manley Hopkins*. . . . See VB 1957, 411.
- Rev. by Louis Allen in *DUJ*, XLIX (1957), 136-37; by Rosalie Moore in *Poetry*, XCII, 113-15; by John A. M. Rilie in *RES*, n.s. IX, 334-36.
- ischoff, A. "Gerard Manley Hopkins." VNL, No. 13 (Spring), pp. 23-24.
- ritton, John. "Pied Beauty and the Glory of God." *Renascence*, XI, 72-75.
- ibson, Walker. "Sound and Sense in G. M. Hopkins." MLN, LXXIII, 95-100.
- leuser, Alan. *The Shaping Vision of Gerard Manley Hopkins*. London: Oxford Univ. Pr. Pp. viii + 128.
- Rev in *TLS*, 17 Oct., p. 594.
- Kelly, John C. "Gerard Manley Hopkins: Piety versus Poetry." *StI*, XLVII, 421-30.
- Kissane, James. "Classical Echoes in Hopkins' 'Heaven-Haven'." *MLN*, LXXIII, 491-92.
- Homer's description of the Elysian Fields (*Odyssey*, Book IV) as source of imagery.
- Schneider, Elizabeth. "Hopkins' 'The Wreck of the Deutschland', Stanza 33." Ex, XVI, Item 46.
- Story, Graham. "The Notebooks and Papers of Gerard Manley Hopkins: A New Edition." *Month*, CCVI, 273-81.
- Two new volumes of Hopkins announced for January, 1959 (Oxford Univ. Pr.): *Journals and Papers*, ed. by Humphry House and completed by Graham Story; and *Sermons and Devotional Writings*, ed. by Christopher Devlin, S.J.
- Housman, Fletcher, G. B. A. "On Housman Lucretiana." *Class. Jour.*, LIV, 171.
- Haber, Tom Burns. "A. E. Housman's Poetry in Book-Titles, II." *BSP*, LII, 62-64.
- Eleven more book titles chosen from Housman's poems; additions to an earlier list published in *BSP*, XLIX.
- Hawkins, Maude M. A. E. Housman: *Man behind a Mask*. Chicago: H. Regnery Co. Pp. 292.
- Rev. by Horace Gregory in *NYTBR*, 4 May, p. 5; see letter by William White in *TLS*, 1 Aug., p. 435.
- "Housman's 'The Deserter'." *N & Q*, n.s. V, 258-60.
- Influence of two ballads on Housman's poem.
- Marlow, Norman. A. E. Housman: *Scholar and Poet*. Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Pr. Pp. 192.
- Rev. briefly by Burton A. Robie in *LJ*, LXXXIII, 2306-7; by Andrew Wordsworth in *NS*, 26 Apr., p. 540; unfavorably by Anthony Thwaite in *S*, 25 Apr., p. 537; in *TLS*, 21 Mar., p. 150.
- Marshall, George O. "A Miltonic Echo in Housman." *N & Q*, n.s. V, 258.
- Stevenson, John W. "The Martyr as Innocent: Housman's Lonely Lad." *SAQ*, LVII, 69-85.
- An examination of Housman's poetic persona.
- Watson, George L. A. E. Housman: *A Divided Life*. . . . See VB 1957, 412.
- Rev. by William White in *MLN*, LXXIII, 225-27.

- White, William. "Housman's Sydney Address." *BSP*, LII, 138-39.
- An address in Latin for the jubilee celebration of the University of Sydney in 1902, believed to have been written by Housman.
- White, William. "Misprints in Housman." *BB*, XXII, 82.
- Seven errors in the Penguin Edition, *Collected Poems*.
- White, William. "A Note on Scholarship: Willa Cather on A. E. Housman." *VNL*, No. 13 (Spring), pp. 26-27.
- Biographers of Willa Cather insist on quoting her article in the *Nebraska State Journal*, in which she wrote: "I went to Shrewsbury chiefly to get information about Housman, and saw the old files of the little country paper where many of his lyrics first appeared as free contributions and signed 'A Shropshire Lad'." Housman did not publish any of his poems in such a newspaper in such a fashion; the fact has been pointed out in *N & Q*, yet the story persists.
- White, William. "Published Letters of A. E. Housman: A Survey." *BB*, XXII, 80-82.
- Hudson (see III, McGehee).
- Hunt, Green, David Bonnell. "Some New Leigh Hunt Letters." *N & Q*, n.s. V, 355-58.
- Six hitherto unpublished letters to Roden, Talfourd, Moxon, and Ollier.
- Huxley (see also III, Armstrong, Buckler).
- Bibby, Cyril. "Thomas Henry Huxley and University Development." *VS*, II, 97-116. Argues that Huxley, working largely through various commissions and committees, exercised a major influence on university education.
- Jowett, Faber, Sir Geoffrey. *Jowett: A Portrait with Background*. . . . See VB 1957, 413.
- Rev. by Rhys Carpenter in *AHR*, LXIV, 153-54; by B. C. Plowright in *CR*, CXIII, 220; by John F. Glaser in *JMH*, XXX, 290-91; by Cecil Woodham-Smith in *NYTBR*, 12 Jan., p. 6; by Paul F. Baum in *SAQ*, LVII, 392-94; by W. H. G. Armytage in *Universities Rev.*, XXX, 66-68; by James E. Suiter in *VNL*, No. 14 (Fall), pp. 16-18; by Noel Annan in *VS*, I, 282-84.
- Kingsley (see also I, Clark; III, Williams). *American Notes: Letters from a Lecture Tour, 1874*. Ed. Robert Bernard Martin. Princeton: Princeton Univ. Libr. Pp. 62. Twenty-four letters presented here com-
- plete for the first time including the unflattering remarks on America withheld by his wife from publication; noticed in *PLC*, XX, 40-41.
- Kipling (see also Conrad; Bayley).
- Fussell, Paul, Jr. "Irony, Freemasonry, and Humane Ethics in Kipling's 'The Man Who Would Be King'." *ELH*, XXV, 216-33.
- Kipling Journal*.
- March issue has items: Kipling, "The Battle of Rupert Square," pp. 5-7; Elwell, T. E., "Sorting the Night Mail," pp. 7-8; Carrington, Charles, "Some Conjectures about 'The Light That Failed,'" pp. 9-14; The Earl of Scarborough, "The Unfading Genius of Rudyard Kipling," pp. 14-15. June issue has item: Kipling, "Proofs of Holy Writ," pp. 5-13.
- September issue has items: Kipling, "Shakespeare and *The Tempest*, a letter to the 'Spectator,'" pp. 5-7; Lewis, C. S., "Kipling's World," pp. 8-16; Purefoy, A. E. Bagwell, "All in a Garden Fair," pp. 17-19; Stanford, J. D., "Dark Bungalows," pp. 20-21.
- Millet, Stanton. "Rudyard Kipling: A Study of His Thought and Social Criticism." *DA*, XIX, 524-25.
- Analysis of Kipling's thought and social criticism leads to redefinition of "Tory" and "imperialism" with reference to his writings. His imperialism was not exploitation but the establishment of "the Law," the order necessary for true progress.
- Landor, Elwin, Malcolm. *Landor: A Re-plevin*. London: Macdonald. Pp. xii + 502.
- Rev. by Eric Gillett in *NER*, CLI, 73; by Betty Miller in *NS*, 12 July, pp. 53-54; by Anthony Thwaite in *S*, 11 July, p. 65; in *TLS*, 25 July, p. 422.
- Lecky, Auchmuty, J. J. "The Lecky-Lea Correspondence in the Henry Charles Lea Library of the University of Pennsylvania." *Hermathena*, XCII, 45-61.
- Mulvey, Helen. "The Historian Lecky: Opponent of Irish Home Rule." *VS*, I, 337-51.
- Le Fanu, Pritchett, V. S. "Aristophanes and Le Fanu." *NS*, 4 Jan., p. 12.
- Account of a performance of *Green Tea*.
- Lewes, Brett, R. L. "George Henry Lewes: Dramatist, Novelist and Critic." *Essays and Studies*, 1958, n.s. XI (for the English Assoc.), 101-20.
- Livingstone, Farwell, Byron. *The Man Who Presumed*. . . . See VB 1957, 413.

- Rev. by Paul Johnson in *NS*, 26 July, p. 122; in *TLS*, 27 June, p. 354.
- Helfand, Michael. *Livingstone the Doctor*. . . . See VB 1957, 413.
- Rev. briefly in *TLS*, 14 Mar., p. 143; by L. Gray Cowan in *VS*, II, 80-82.
- Maurice, Albert (ed.). *H. M. Stanley: Unpublished Letters*. . . . See VB 1957, 413.
- Rev. by H. S. Wilson in *JMH*, XXX, 281-82.
- eaver, George. *David Livingstone*. . . . See VB 1957, 413.
- Rev. by P. J. Searles in *HTB*, 5 Jan., p. 6; by Geoffrey Bruun in *SR*, 15 Feb., pp. 43-44; by L. Gray Cowan in *VS*, II, 80-82.
- Macaulay (see also III, Buckler, Sutherland).
- Morgan, H. A. "Boswell to Macaulay." *CR*, CXCIII, 27-29.
- Maitland, Cam. Helen M. (ed.). *Selected Historical Essays*. . . . See VB 1957, 413.
- Rev. by F. M. Powicke in *Jour. of Ecclesiastical History*, IX, 246.
- Malthus (see II, Corry, Keller, Würgler).
- Mansel, Matthews, Walter Robert. *The Religious Philosophy of Dean Mansel*. London: Oxford Univ. Pr., 1956. Pp. 23.
- Rev. by Thomas MacPherson in *Philosophy*, XXXIII, 375. A lecture on Mansel's *Limits of Religious Thought*, 1858.
- Marshall (see II, Hague, Macfie, Majumdar, T.).
- Martineau (see also III, Seat, Smith).
- Wheatley, Vera. *The Life and Work of Harriet Martineau*. . . . See VB 1957, 414.
- Rev. by Wendell Calkins in *JMH*, XXX, 256-57; briefly in *NCF*, XII, 331-32; by Joan Bennett in *YR*, XLVII, 445-49.
- Maurice (see also III, Williams). *The Kingdom of Christ: Or, Hints to a Quaker Respecting the Principles, Constitution and Ordinances of the Catholic Church*. Ed. Alec R. Vidler. 2 vols. London: S. C. M. Pr. Pp. 288, 371.
- Rev. in *TLS*, 21 Nov., p. 678. This is a new edition of a book long out of print. The text is based on the 2nd edition of 1842.
- Meredith (see also I, Clark, Wing; III, Friedman, Stang, Sutherland).
- Bartlett, Phyllis. "George Meredith's Lost 'Cleopatra'." *Yale Univ. Libr. Gazette*, XXXIII, 57-62.
- Introductory account of the poem, and transcript of the MS, now at Yale.
- Coburn, Alvin Langdon. "Photographing George Meredith." *Listener*, 1 May, pp. 731-32.
- Haight, Gordon S. "George Meredith and the *Westminster Review*." *MLR*, LIII, 1-16. A notable article identifying Meredith's contributions to the "Belles Lettres" section of the *Westminster*, 1857-58: articles on Kingsley, Ruskin, Trollope, Reade, Flaubert, and on his own *Farina*.
- Ketcham, Carl H. "Meredith's 'Modern Love,' XXXI, 7-11." *Ex*, XVII, Item 7.
- Stevenson, Lionel. "George Meredith." *VNL*, No. 13 (Spring), p. 24.
- Stevenson, Lionel. "Meredith and the Problem of Style in the Novel." *Zeitschrift für Anglistik und Amerikanistik*, VI, 181-89.
- Wright, Elizabeth Cox. "The Significance of the Image Patterns in Meredith's *Modern Love*." *VNL*, No. 13 (Spring), pp. 1-9.
- Merrick, Holcombe, Warne Conwell. "The Novels of Leonard Merrick." *DA*, XIX, 531.
- Merriman, Cox, Homer T. "Henry Seton Merriman: A Critical Survey." *DA*, XIX, 808. On the life and work of the Victorian novelist Hugh Stowell Scott (1862-1903), who wrote under the pseudonym of Henry Seton Merriman. He was a pioneer in the use of the sympathetically portrayed secret agent as a focal point in novels interpreting international politics.
- Mill (see also II, Corry, Keller, Myint; III, Buckler, Clive, Lindley, Pankhurst, Quinton, Taylor, Williams).
- Cranston, Maurice. *John Stuart Mill*. ("British Book News: Bibliographical Ser. of Supplements," No. 99.) London: Longmans. Pp. 34.
- Rev. briefly in *TLS*, 12 Sept., p. 519.
- Cranston, Maurice. "J. S. Mill as a Political Philosopher." *History Today*, VIII, 38-46.
- Mill was ideally a socialist and a democrat, but his immediate political program was capitalistic and reflected a distrust of the uneducated masses. See comments by J. H. Burn (*History Today*, VIII, 283-84) and J. T. Mattison (*History Today*, VIII, 431).
- Greenberg, R. A. "Mill on Bagehot and Reform." *N & Q*, n.s. V, 83-84. Suggests a possible source for a proposal Mill condemns in *Representative Government*.
- Rudman, Harry. "Mill on Perpetual Endowments." *History of Ideas News Letter*, III (1957), 70-72.

- Scanlan, James P. "J. S. Mill and the Definition of Freedom." *Ethics*, LXVIII, 194-206.
- Monckton Milnes (see III, Clive).
- Moore (see also I, Taylor, Wing; III, Friedman, Howarth).
- Burkhart, Charles Joseph. "The Letters of George Moore to Edmund Gosse, W. B. Yeats, R. I. Best, Miss Nancy Cunard, and Mrs. Mary Hutchinson." *DA*, XIX, 131.
- Collet, Georges-Paul. *George Moore et la France*. Thèse présentées à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Genève. Genève: Librairie E. Droz, 1957. Pp. 231. Rev. briefly by George A. Cevasco in *BA*, XXXII, 139-40; favorably by A. J. Farmer in *Études anglaises*, XI, 355; by Henri Peyre in *MLR*, LIII, 572-74; by Ruth Z. Temple in *RoR*, XLIX, 226-28.
- Noël, Jean. "George Moore et Mallarmé." *Rev. de litt. comp.*, XXXII, 363-76.
- Small, Ray. "A Critical Edition of *Diarmuid and Grania*, by William Butler Yeats and George Moore." *DA*, XIX, 1073-74.
- Morley, Moore, Dwain E. "John Morley: Critic of Public Address." *QJS*, XLIV, 161-65.
- Stelzner, Hermann Georg. "Ethical Qualities in John Morley's Speaking on Irish Home Rule, 1885-1921." *DA*, XVIII, 699.
- Morris (see also II, Kegel; III, Williams). *Catalogue of the Morris Collection*. Walthamstow: William Morris Gallery. Pp. viii + 53. Descriptive catalog of collection of designs for stained glass, textiles, wallpapers; also of manuscripts, books and pictures in Water House at Walthamstow.
- Kegel, Charles H. "William Morris and the Religion of Fellowship." *Western Humanities Rev.*, XII, 233-40.
- Patrick, John M. "Morris and Froissart: 'Geffray Teste Noire' and 'The Haystack in the Floods.'" *N & Q*, n.s. V, 425-27.
- Victoria and Albert Museum. *William Morris*. Small Picture Books, No. 43. London: H. M. S. O. Pp. 5. Contains twenty-seven plates.
- The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer: A Facsimile of the William Morris Kelmscott Chaucer, with the original 87 illustrations by Edward Burne-Jones*. Ed. John T. Winterich. Cleveland: World Publishing Co. Pp. xix + 554.
- Nesbit, Streatfeild, Noel. *Magic and the Magician: E. Nesbit and her Children's Books*. London: Benn. Pp. 160. Rev. by Naomi Lewis in *Listener*, 11 Dec., p. 1003; by Jean Howard in *S*, 28 Nov., p. 770; in *TLS*, 24 Oct., p. 603.
- Newman (see also III, Buckler; Arnold; Butts, Church; Smith). *Autobiographical Writings*. . . . See *VB* 1957, 415.
- Rev. by R. W. Greaves in *EHR*, LXXIII, 169-70.
- Spark, Muriel, and Stanford, Derek (eds.). *The Letters of John Henry Newman*. . . . See *VB* 1957, 415.
- Rev. by H. Francis Davis in *Blackfriars*, XXXIX, 39-43.
- Bouyer, Louis. *Newman: His Life and Spirituality*. Trans. J. Lewis May. London: Burns & Oates. Pp. xvi + 391. Rev. by Luke A. Carroll in *CWD*, CLXXXVII, 395-96; by Eric Gillett in *NER*, CL, 81; by Rose Macaulay in *S*, 31 Jan., p. 137; in *StL*, XLVII, 98; in *TLS*, 23 May, supp. pp. i-ii; by Martin J. Svaglic in *VS*, II, 162-65.
- Cardinal Newman Studien*. Ed. Heinrich Fries and Werner Becker. Vol. I. Nürnberg: Glock and Lutz, 1948. Pp. 348. (Two subsequent volumes have been published.)
- Vol. I has items: Simon, Paul, "Newman und der englische Katholizismus" (pp. 13-28); Fries, Heinrich, "Newman und Döllinger" (pp. 29-76); Przywara, Erich, "Kierkegaard-Newman" (pp. 77-101); Dennerlein, Hans, "Newman als Dichter" [includes twelve of Newman's poems, translated] (pp. 105-38); Reade, Francis Vincent, "Der Mythos von 'sentimentalen' Newman" (pp. 139-56); Breucha, Hermann, "Newman als Prediger" (pp. 157-77); Fries, Heinrich, "Newmans Bedeutung für die Theologie" (pp. 181-98); Laros, Matthias, "Das Wagnis des Glaubens bei Newman" (pp. 199-235); Becker, Werner, "Newman und die Kirche" (pp. 236-47); Becker, Werner, "Der Überschritt von Kierkegaard zu Newman in der Lebensentscheidung Theodors Kaeckers" (pp. 251-70); Karrer, Otto, "Die geistige Krise des Abendlandes nach Newman" (pp. 271-84); Läpple, Alfred, "Chronologie der Schriften Newmans" (pp. 287-94); Becker, Werner, "Chronologie von Übersetzungen der Werke Newmans" (pp. 295-300); Becker, Werner, and Fries, Heinrich, "Werke über Newman" (pp. 301-17); Becker, Werner, and Fries, Heinrich, "Zeitschriftenaufsätze" (pp. 318-26).

- Chadwick, Owen. *From Bossuet to Newman*. . . See VB 1957, 415.
- Rev. by Stephen J. Tonsor in *AHR*, LXIII, 1043; by J. Morris le Bourhis in *Études anglaises*, XI, 353; by Maurice Nedoncelle in *Jour. of Ecclesiastical History*, IX, 116-18; in *N & Q*, n.s. V, 128-29; by Vincent T. O'Keefe, S.J. in *Thought*, XXXIII, 313-15; by Martin J. Svaglic in *VS*, II, 162-65.
- Culler, A. Dwight. *The Imperial Intellect*. . . See VB 1957, 415.
- Rev. by John Holloway in *RES*, n.s. IX, 225-27; by Barry Ulanov in *Rev. of Religion*, XXII, 89-91.
- Davis, H. Francis. "Is Newman's Theory of Development Catholic?" *Blackfriars*, XXXIX, 310-21.
- Greaves, R. W. "Golightly and Newman, 1824-45." *Jour. of Ecclesiastical History*, IX, 209-28.
- The relationship between Golightly and Newman, which came to its climax when Golightly tried to obtain the suppression of Tract 90, is regarded in this intelligent and informed account as an example of "a tragically comic misunderstanding . . . by good men, of a man pre-eminently good."—D. J. G.
- Hawkins, D. J. B. "Newman the Man: An Approach to Fère Bouyer's Study." *Dublin Rev.*, CCXXXII, 81-88.
- Kenney, Terence. *The Political Thought of John Henry Newman*. . . . See VB 1957, 415.
- Rev. favorably by Thomas M. Parker, *Jour. of Ecclesiastical History*, IX, 118-19.
- Reynolds, Ernest Edwin. *Three Cardinals: Newman-Wiseman-Manning*. London: Burns & Oates. Pp. ix + 278.
- Rev. briefly by Rev. W. Charles Heiser in *LJ*, LXXXIII, 2311; in *TLS*, 28 Nov., p. 693.
- Robinson, Jonathan. "Did Newman 'Fit In?'" *Dublin Rev.*, CCXXXII, 245-59.
- Walgrave, J. H. *Newman: Le Développement du Dogme*. Tournai: Casterman, 1957. Pp. 398.
- Rev. by Vincent T. O'Keefe, S.J. in *Thought*, XXXIII, 312-13.
- O'Grady, McKenna, John R. "The Standish O'Grady Collection at Colby College: A Check List." *Colby Libr. Quart.*, IV, 291-303.
- Mercier, Vivian. "Standish James O'Grady." *Colby Libr. Quart.*, IV, 285-90.
- Irish historian, story-teller, politician, and journalist.
- Oliphant, Moore, Katherine. "A Valiant Victorian." *Blackwood's*, CCLXXXIII, 231-43. Biographical sketch of Margaret Oliphant.
- Ollier, Green, David Bonnell. "Charles Ollier: An Early English Admirer of Walt Whitman." *Walt Whitman Newsletter*, IV, 106-8.
- Leigh Hunt's friend, Charles Ollier, was one of the first English critics to see the value of *Leaves of Grass*.
- Ouida, Stirling, Monica. *The Fine and the Wicked*. . . . See VB 1957, 416.
- Rev. in *AM*, CCI, pp. 95-96; by Edward Wagenknecht in *Chicago Sunday Tribune*, 16 Feb., p. 2; by DeLancey Ferguson in *HTB*, 16 Feb., pp. 1, 12; briefly by K. T. Willis in *LJ*, LXXXIII, 601; by Eric Gillett in *NER*, CL, 30-31; by Leo Lerman in *NYTBR*, 16 Feb., p. 3; by H. B. Woodward in *SR*, 8 Mar., p. 20.
- Pater (see also III, Buckler, Vandekieft; Arnold: Madden).
- Brzenk, Eugene J. "The 'Epicureans' of Pater and Moore." *VNL*, No. 14 (Fall), pp. 24-27.
- A comparison between Pater's *Marius the Epicurean* and Thomas Moore's *The Epicurean*.
- Brzenk, Eugene J. "Pater and Apuleius." *Comp. Lit.*, X, 55-60.
- Pater's version in *Marius the Epicurean* of the Cupid and Psyche story has qualities distinct from those of the Latin original and the Adlington translation; an instance of what Pater called "inspired translation."
- Brzenk, Eugene J. "The Unique Fictional World of Walter Pater." *NCF*, XIII, 217-26.
- Chandler, Edmund. *Pater on Style: An Examination of the Essay on "Style" and the Textual History of "Marius the Epicurean"*. *Anglistica*, Vol. XI. Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger. Pp. 100.
- Rev. briefly in *NCF*, XIII, 271.
- Miller, Betty. "Proust and Pater." *TLS*, 25 Apr., p. 225.
- A letter suggesting affinities between Proust's method and style and those of Pater, especially in "The Child in the House." See comments by Mario Praz (6 June, p. 313) and J. P. Hulin (18 July, p. 409).
- West, Paul. "Pater and the Tribulations of Taste." *TQ*, XXVII, 424-33.
- Patmore, Green, David Bonnell. "A New Let-

- ter of Robert Bridges to Coventry Patmore." *MP*, LV, 198-99.
- Oliver, Edward James. *Coventry Patmore*. . . . See VB 1957, 416.
- Rev. briefly by Fred Beharriell in *BA*, XXXII, 191; by Pierre Danchin in *Etudes anglaises*, XI, 168.
- Reid, John Cowie. *The Mind and Art of Coventry Patmore*. . . . See VB 1957, 416.
- Rev. by Valerie Pitt in *EC*, VIII, 103-6; by Kenneth Allott in *RES*, n.s. IX, 332-34.
- Pattison, Green, Vivian Hubert Howard. *Oxford Common Room*. . . . See VB 1957, 416.
- Rev. by E. F. Walbridge in *LJ*, LXXXIII, 838; by Roger Fulford in *Manchester Guardian*, 24 Dec., 1957, p. 2; by Eric Gillett in *NER*, CL, 31-32; by John Raymond in *NS*, 18 Jan., pp. 74-75; by Robert Blake in *S*, 7 Feb., pp. 167-68; by Max Beloff in *TC*, CLXIII, 282-84; by W. H. G. Armytage in *Universities Rev.*, XXX, 65-66; by H. W. Garrod in *VS*, I, 382.
- Payne, Ryan, Mariana. "John Payne et Malarmé: Une Longue Amitié." *Rev. de litt. comp.*, XXXII, 377-89.
- Pinero, Pearson, Hesketh. "Pinero and Barrie." *Theatre Arts*, XLII (July), 56-59.
- Reade (see also Meredith: Haight).
- Burns, Wayne. "Hard Cash: 'Uncomparably My Best Production'." *Literature and Psychology*, VIII, 34-43.
- Martin, Robert B. "Manuscripts and Correspondence of Charles Reade." *PLC*, XIX, 102-4.
- Acquisition of some five hundred items.
- Smith, Sheila M. "Realism in the Drama of Charles Reade." *English*, XII, 94-100.
- On Reade's stage versions of *It Is Never Too Late to Mend* (1865), *Foul Play* (1868), and *Free Labour* (1870).
- Ricardo (see also II, Corry, Macfie, Rasmussen).
- Blaug, Mark. *Ricardian Economics: A Historical Study*. Yale Studies in Economics, No. 8. New Haven: Yale Univ. Pr. Pp. x + 269.
- Rev. briefly by Harold C. Whitford in *LJ*, LXXXIII, 1774; by George Hilton in *VS*, II, 70-72.
- Rolfe. *Nicholas Crabbe: Or, the One and the Many*. Ed. Cecil Woolf. London: Chatto & Windus. Pp. vii + 246.
- First publication of one of Rolfe's autobiographical novels.
- Rossetti, Adrian, Arthur A. "The Browning-Rossetti Friendship: Some Unpublished Letters." *PMLA*, LXXIII, 538-44.
- A group of Rossetti letters in the Huntington Library.
- Packer, Lona Mosk. "Symbol and Reality in Christina Rossetti's *Goblin Market*." *PMLA*, LXXIII, 375-85.
- Concludes that this poem "has both chronological significance and emotional relevance in the order of her creative productions."
- Paden, W. D. "La Pia de' Tolomei by Dante Gabriel Rossetti." *The Register of the Museum of Art, The University of Kansas*, II, 1-48.
- Paden's fine study occupies the entire number, which was apparently issued in connection with a loan exhibition of paintings, drawings, and decorative objects by the Pre-Raphaelites, held at the University of Kansas, Nov. 4 to Dec. 15, 1958. *La Pia de' Tolomei* has recently been acquired by the Museum of Art, the University of Kansas.
- "Rossetti and a Poe Image." *N & Q*, n.s. V, 257-58.
- Poe's 1831 "To Helen" may have influenced a poem of Rossetti's.
- Ruskin (see also I, Clark, Weber; II, Blow, Kegel, Mongan; III, Ford, Williams; Carlyle, Rollins, Sanders; Hobson; Cole; Meredith: Haight).
- Bradley, John Lewis. "An Unpublished Ruskin Letter." *Burlington Mag.*, C, 25-26.
- Letter to Mrs. John Simon, dated by Bradley 20 July 1858, criticizing panel of a triptych by Augustus Egg.
- Evans, Joan, and Whitehouse, J. H. (eds.). *The Diaries of John Ruskin*. Vol. II; 1848-1873. London: Oxford Univ. Pr. Pp. x + 405.
- Vol. I (see VB 1957, 416) rev. by C. H. Salter in *RES*, n.s. IX, 228-31; Vol. II rev. by Montague Weekley in *Apollo*, LXVII, 250; by T. S. R. Boase in *Burlington Mag.*, C, 294; by J. F. in *Connoisseur*, CXLII, 184-85; by Jacques Vallette in *Mercure de France*, CCCXXXIII, 346; by Oliver Van Oss in *NER*, CL, 153-56; by Peter Quennell in *S*, 28 Feb., p. 267; by Betty Miller in *TC*, CLXIII, 276-77; in *TLS*, 14 Mar., p. 138; by John L. Bradley in *VS*, II, 88-89.
- Bush-Brown, Albert. "'Get an Honest Bricklayer': The Scientist's Answer to Ruskin." *JAA*, XVI, 348-56.
- Huxley, Gilman, and Charles W. Eliot challenge Ruskin's architectural views.
- Dougherty, Charles T. "John Ruskin." *VNL*, No. 14 (Fall), pp. 23-24.

- Fain, John Tyree. *Ruskin and the Economists*. . . See VB 1957, 416.
- Rev. by Asa Briggs in *Econ. Jour.*, LXVIII, 391-92; in *Economist*, CLXXXII (1957), 905-6; by Francis G. Townsend in *JEGP*, LVII, 155-56; by W. H. G. Armytage in *MLR*, LIII, 115-16; by Merle M. Bevington in *SAQ*, LVI (1957), 523-24; by Harris Chevning in *South Atlantic Bulletin*, XXIII (1957), 18-19; by Alfred Chalk in *Southern Economic Jour.*, XXIV (1957), 94-95.
- Squire, Sir John. "The Notebooks of Ruskin in His Prime." *Illustrated London News*, CCXXXII (March 15), 423.
- Shaw (see also III, Groshong; Egerton: White). *Bernard Shaw's Letters to Granville Barker*. Ed. C. B. Purdom. . . . See VB 1957, 417.
- Rev. by A. J. Farmer in *Etudes anglaises*, X (1957), 304-9.
- An Unfinished Novel*. Ed. Stanley Weintraub. New York: Dodd, Mead.
- Rev. by H. F. Rubinstein in *TC*, CLXIII, 583-84; in *TLS*, 2 May, p. 242. Novel about medicine whose situation anticipates that of *Candide*.
- Altringham, Lord. "Reflections on *The Apple Cart*." *NER*, CLI, 18-23.
- Blissett, William. "Bernard Shaw: Imperfect Wagnerite." *TQ*, XXVII, 185-99.
- Hyams, Edward. "Bernard Shaw's Barber." *NS*, 28 June, pp. 831-32.
- Shaw's favorite topic for barber chair talk was the weather.
- Kaye, Julian Bertram. *Bernard Shaw and the Nineteenth-Century Tradition*. Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Pr. Pp. 222.
- Rev. by Hesketh Pearson in *SR*, 11 Oct., p. 47.
- Maulnier, Thierry. "Heartbreak House (La maison des Coeurs brisés)." *Rev. de Paris*, LXV (March), 142.
- Moffett, John. "When Shaw to Savage Spoke." *NER*, CXLIX (1957), 27-29.
- Shaw's 1934 visit to New Zealand.
- "On Printed Plays" (an excerpt from *Shaw on Theatre*). *Theatre Arts*, XLII (August), 14.
- Park, Bruce R. "A Mote in the Critic's Eye: Bernard Shaw and Comedy." *Univ. of Texas Studies in English*, XXXVII, 195-210.
- Reichart, Walter A. "Gerhart Hauptmann, War Propaganda, and George Bernard Shaw." *Germanic Rev.*, XXXIII, 176-80.
- Though Hauptmann was deceived by some propaganda during World War I, Shaw never was.
- Shaw Bulletin*—
- Vol. II, No. 4 (January, 1958), has items: Lupis-Vukic, J. F., "Shaw's 1929 Program For Easing World Tensions—and How It Originated" (pp. 1-2); "A Statement written by Mr. G. Bernard Shaw while in Split, Yugoslavia in May 1929" (pp. 3-4); O'Donnell, Norbert F., "Harmony and Discord in *Good King Charles*" (pp. 5-8); Kornbluth, Martin L., "Shaw and Restoration Comedy" (pp. 9-17); Ozy, "The Dramatist's Dilemma: an Interpretation of *Major Barbara*" (pp. 18-24); Arlen, Sara, "The Fabric of Memory," a review of Eleanor Robson Belmont's *The Fabric of Memory* (pp. 25-26); "Shavian News Notes" (pp. 26-27); "A Continuing Check-list of Shaviana" (pp. 28-29).
- No. 5 (May, 1958) has items: Evans, T. F., "Granville Barker: Shavian Disciple" (pp. 1-19); "More on Barbara and Undershaft," two rebuttals of the article by Ozy in No. 4; Nethercot, Arthur H., "Major Barbara: Rebuttal and Addendum" (pp. 20-21); and Weintraub, Stanley, "Shaw's Divine Comedy: Addendum" (pp. 21-22); "Shavian Dead Letter File" (pp. 23-24); "Shavian News Notes" (pp. 24 and 29); Seabrook, Alexander, "Colin Wilson: Neo-Shavian," a review of Colin Wilson's *Religion and the Rebel* (pp. 25-26); Greenfield, Joseph D., "A Telescoped Methuselah," a review of the 1958 Theatre Guild production of an abridged *Back to Methuselah* (pp. 26-27); "A Continuing Check-list of Shaviana" (p. 28).
- No. 6 (September, 1958) has items: Rudman, Harry W., "Shaw's *Saint Joan* and Motion Picture Censorship" (pp. 1-4); "Ideas and the Theatre: A G.B.S. Symposium" (pp. 15-20); McDowell, Frederick P. W., "Shaw and the Novel, Victorian and Modern," a review of *'An Unfinished Novel' by Bernard Shaw* edited by Stanley Weintraub (pp. 21-23); Philbrick, Norman, "Shaw on Theatre, a review of *Shaw on Theatre* edited by E. J. West (pp. 23-24); "A Continuing Check-list of Shaviana," compiled and edited by Charles A. Carpenter, Jr. (pp. 25-29); "Shavian News Notes" (p. 29).
- Shenfield, M. "Shaw as a Music Critic." *M & L*, XXXIX, 378-84.
- Simon, Louis. *Shaw on Education*. New York: Columbia Univ. Pr. Pp. 290.
- Spencer, Terence James. "The Dramatic Principles of George Bernard Shaw." *DA*, XVIII, 594.
- Weales, Gerald Clifford. "Religion in Modern English Drama." *DA*, XIX, 142.

- Includes treatment of plays by Shaw and by Wilde.
- Webster, Margaret. "Methuselah Shaw." *Theatre Arts*, XLII (April), 11-12.
- Memories of Shaw and comment on *Back to Methuselah*.
- West, E. J. (ed.). *Shaw on Theatre*. New York: Hill and Wang. Pp. 306.
- Rev. by E. F. Melvin in *Christian Science Monitor*, 10 July, p. 7; by George Freedley in *LJ*, LXXXIII, 2066. Fifty pieces, the majority of which have never before appeared in book form.
- Winsten, Stephen. *Jesting Apostle*. . . . See VB 1957, 419.
- Rev. by Eleazer Lecky in *Personalist*, XXXIX, 322-23.
- Shorthouse, Bishop, Morchard. "John Inglesant and Its Author." *Essays by Divers Hands: Being the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, n.s. XXIX, 73-86.
- Sidgwick (see II, Keller).
- Smiles. *Self-Help, with Illustrations of Conduct & Perseverance*. Ed. Asa Briggs. London: John Murray. Pp. 386.
- Rev. in *TLS*, 26 Dec., p. 750. A centenary edition.
- Smiles, Aileen. *Samuel Smiles and His Surroundings*. . . . See VB 1957, 419.
- Rev. by D. K. Bestor in *JEGP*, LVII, 355-56.
- Smith, Wallace, Elisabeth. *Goldwin Smith: Victorian Liberal*. . . . See VB 1957, 395.
- Rev. briefly in *APSR*, LII, 883; by David Owen in *Canadian Historical Rev.*, XXXIX, 74-76; by Gordon L. Goodman in *JMH*, XXX, 84; by J. M. Beck in *QQ*, LXV, 327-28; by Francis E. Mineka in *VNL*, No. 14 (Fall), pp. 15-16; by Herman Ausubel in *VS*, I, 380-81.
- Spencer, Burrow, J. W. "Herbert Spencer, The Philosopher of Evolution." *History Today*, VIII, 676-83.
- Stephen, Fitzjames. Radzinowicz, Leon. *Sir James Fitzjames Stephen, 1829-1894, and His Contribution to the Development of Criminal Law*. Selden Society: Annual Lectures, 1957. London: Quaritch. Pp. 70.
- Rev. in *TLS*, 26 Sept., p. 540. A lecture on Stephen as a master of criminal law, with a bibliographical appendix.
- Stephen, Leslie (see III, Clive).
- Stevenson (see also Trollope: Knox).
- Aldington, Richard. *Portrait of a Rebel: The Life and Work of Robert Louis Stevenson*. . . . See VB 1957, 419-20.
- Rev. by Bradford A. Booth in *NCF*, XIII, 75-77; by David Daiches in *VS*, I, 371-72.
- LaGuardia, Eric. "The Sire de Maletroit's Door." *Amer. Imago*, XV, 411-23.
- The whole thing is an erotic dream of Denis de Beaulieu.
- McKay, George Leslie. *Some Notes on Robert Louis Stevenson, His Finances, and His Agents and Publishers*. New Haven: Yale Univ. Libr. Pp. 43.
- Rev. briefly in *TLS*, 7 Nov., p. 648.
- Marshall, George. "R. L. Stevenson and the Lepers." *Blackfriars*, XXXIX, 327-32.
- Surtees, Ray, Cyril. "A Master of Life." *S*, 31 Oct., pp. 573-74.
- On Surtees, *Jorrocks*, and *Handley Cross*.
- Swinburne, Baum, Paul F. "Swinburne's 'A Nympholept'." *SAQ*, LVII, 58-68.
- Henry, Anne W. "A Reconstructed Swinburne Ballad." *HLB*, XII, 354-62.
- Tennyson (see also III, Foakes, Ford). Assad, Thomas J. "Analogy in Tennyson's 'Crossing the Bar'." *Tulane Studies in English*, VIII, 153-64.
- Assad's close reading of an oft misread poem is a welcome whiff of common sense. It has taken an enormous amount of ingenuity to find confusion in this poem. Assad dispels the fog.—F. G. T.
- B., A. D. "Extant Copies of Tennyson's *Timbuctoo*." *Book Collector*, VII, 296.
- Lists six copies of separate pamphlet issue.
- Dahl, Curtis. "A Double Frame for Tennyson's Demeter?" *VS*, I, 356-62.
- Interpretation of the poem as "a perhaps unconscious reply to Swinburne's 'Hymn to Proserpine'."
- Elliott, Philip L., Jr. "Another Manuscript Version of 'To the Queen'." *N & Q*, n.s. V, 82-83.
- Notes on a holograph poem of Tennyson.
- Gibson, Walker. "Behind the Veil: A Distinction between Poetic and Scientific Language in Tennyson, Lyell, and Darwin." *VS*, II, 60-68.
- A provocative consideration of how a poet's "angle" of vision is manifested in his syntax.
- Gullason, Thomas Arthur. "Tennyson's Influence on Stephen Crane." *N & Q*, n.s. V, 164-65.
- Crane's reaction against "The Charge of the Light Brigade."

Johnson, E. D. H. "In Memoriam: The Way of a Poet." *VS*, II, 139-48.

Traces through the poem a statement on the nature of poetry.

Killham, John. *Tennyson and "The Princess": Reflections of an Age*. London: Athlone Pr. Pp. x + 299.
Rev. in *TLS*, 5 Dec., p. 699.

Killham, John. "Tennyson and the Sinful Queen—A Corrected Impression." *N & Q*, n.s. V, 507-11.

A rebuttal to the conclusions arrived at by Betty Miller in an article, "Tennyson and the Sinful Queen," in *TC*, Oct. 1955.

Korg, Jacob. "The Pattern of Fatality in Tennyson's Poetry." *VNL*, No. 14 (Fall), pp. 8-11.

Tennyson seemed to feel that fulfillment preceded disaster, if we may judge from the unforeseen, inexplicable catastrophe which so often befalls his heroes at the moment of highest success. In Korg's words, "Tennyson could not rid himself of the profound conviction that somehow ill would be the final goal of good."

Lewis, Naomi. "Whose Arthur?" *NS*, 12 July, pp. 50-51.

Reflections on Tennyson's poem in the course of a review-article on a modern version of the story, T. H. White's *The Once and Future King*.

MacEachen, Dougald B. "Tennyson and the Sonnet." *VNL*, No. 14 (Fall), pp. 1-8.

Miller, Betty. "Camelot at Cambridge." *TC*, CLXIII, 133-47.

Tennyson's associations at Cambridge, with Hallam and others of the "Apostles," provided a model of the male society of the Round Table. "*In Memoriam* . . . appears as an elegy, not for . . . Hallam alone, but for the whole group of the poet's friends and contemporaries; an elegy not only for promise unfulfilled, or for aspiration quenched in death, but . . . for high hopes cut short by life itself, suffocated by the slow pressure of the unproductive years."

Preyer, Robert. "Tennyson as an Oracular Poet." *MP*, LV, 239-51.

An illuminating analysis of the "visionary mode" of Tennyson's early poems; its nature and origin, and the reasons for its abandonment.

Thackeray (see also I, Clark, Dickson; III, Ford, Stang, Sutherland).

Fielding, K. J. "Thackeray and the 'Dignity of Literature'." *TLS*, 19 and 26 Sept., pp. 536, 552.

A review of Thackeray's controversy with Forster and Dickens on the social status of authorship, and an account, based on unpublished letters, of his resignation from the Royal Literary Fund.

Ray, Gordon N. *Thackeray: The Age of Wisdom* (1847-1863). London: Oxford Univ. Pr. Pp. xv + 525.

Rev. by Edward Weeks in *AM*, CCI, 86; by Robert Maurer in *Antioch Rev.*, XVIII, 125-28; by Edward Wagenknecht in *Chicago Sunday Tribune*, 19 Jan., p. 1; by Francis Russell in *Christian Science Monitor*, 9 Jan., p. 5; by T. F. Curley in *Commonweal*, LXVII, 465; by R. D. McMaster in *Dalhousie Rev.*, XXXVIII, 391-93; by Gilbert Thomas in *English*, XII, 108; by DeLancey Ferguson in *HTB*, 12 Jan., p. 6; by J. H. Buckley in *JEGP*, LVII, 823-25; by J. R. Willingham in *LJ*, LXXXIII, 2925; by A. O. J. Cockshut in *Manchester Guardian*, 25 Apr., p. 8; by Jacob Korg in *N*, 26 Apr., p. 358; by Kathleen Tillotson in *NCF*, XIII, 164-67; by Eric Gillett in *NER*, CL, 254; by William Allen in *NS*, 19 Apr., p. 506; by Edgar Johnson in *NYTBR*, 12 Jan., p. 6; by Frank Kermode in *S*, 9 May, p. 597; by William Irvine in *SR*, 11 Jan., p. 17; by Betty Miller in *TC*, CLXIII, 582-83; in *TLS*, 18 Apr., p. 210; by Austin Wright in *VQR*, XXXIV, 314-17; by Lionel Stevenson in *VS*, I, 369-71.

Swenson, Paul B. "Thackeray Drawings in the Print Department." *BPLQ*, X, 101-5. Boston Public Library has twelve drawings and two short notes to Lady Elton. Collection also includes drawings by Rowlandson and Cruikshank.

Thompson, Pope, Myrtle Pihlman. "A Critical Bibliography of Works by and about Francis Thompson." *Bull. New York Pub. Libr.*, LXII, 571-76 (apparently to be continued).

Thomson (see III, Foakes).

Torrens, Robbins, Lionel. *Robert Torrens and the Evolution of Classical Economics*. London: Macmillan. Pp. xiii + 367.

Rev. by Frank Whitson Fetter in *Economica*, n.s. XXV, 345-48; in *TLS*, 11 Apr., p. 198; by George Hilton in *VS*, II, 70-72.

Trollope, Frances (see III, Ford, Smith).

Trollope, Anthony (see also I, Clark, Dickson; II, Fortescue; III Stang; Meredith; Haight).

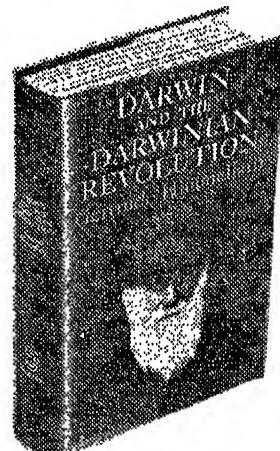
Booth, Bradford A. "Anthony Trollope." *VNL*, No. 13 (Spring), pp. 24-25.

Booth, Bradford A. *Anthony Trollope: Aspects of His Life and Art*. Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Pr. Pp. xi + 258.

- Rev. by Donald Smalley in *NCF*, XIII, 254-57; by H. C. Webster in *SR*, 19 July, pp. 28-29; by A. O. J. Cockshut in *VS*, II, 169-70.
- Gragg, Wilson B. "Trollope and Carlyle." *NCF*, XIII, 266-70.
- Though Trollope disliked Carlyle's vehemence, he was influenced by the prophet. Hagan, John H. "The Duke's Children: Trollope's Psychological Masterpiece." *NCF*, XIII, 1-21.
- Knox, Ronald A. *Literary Distractions*. London: Sheed & Ward.
- Essays on Trollope, Stevenson, and others. Maxwell, J. C. "Cockshut on 'Dr. Wortle's School'." *NCF*, XIII, 153-59.
- Questions Cockshut's interpretation of the novel.
- Watts-Dunton. Truss, Tom James. "Theodore Watts-Dunton as Critic." *DA*, XVIII, 1049-50.
- Attempts to supply in detail the exact contours of Watts's literary criticism and to outline its relationship to the aims and to the art primarily, of Tennyson, Browning, D. G. Rossetti, William Morris, and Swinburne; gives brief statements of his criticism of Dickens, George Eliot, the Brontës, Arnold, Ruskin, Whitman, and Wilde.
- Webbe. Green, David Bonnell. "Four Letters of Cornelius Webbe." *N & Q*, n.s. V, 40-41.
- These hitherto unpublished letters by the Cockney poet, an acquaintance of Keats and Hunt, were written in 1845.
- White. Stock, Irvin. *William Hale White*. . . . See *VB* 1956, 268.
- Rev. by James H. Durbin, Jr., in *Personalist*, XXXIX, 97.
- Wilberforce (see III, Armstrong).
- Wilde (see also I, Taylor, Wing; Blunt: Going, Egerton: White, Shaw: Weales). *The Portrait of Mr. W. H.* Ed. Vyvyan Holland. London: Methuen. Pp. xviii + 90. Rev. by Hilary Corke in *Listener*, 4 Dec., p. 950; in *TLS*, 21 Nov., p. 668 (and see letter by H. Montgomery Hyde, 5 Dec., p. 705). This complete edition of Wilde's speculations on the subject of Shakespeare's sonnets has hitherto been published only in a limited edition.
- Ganz, Arthur F. "The Dandiacal Drama: A Study of the Plays of Oscar Wilde." *DA*, XVIII, 1429.
- Ojala, Aatos. *Aestheticism and Oscar Wilde*. . . . Pt. I, see *VB* 1955, 272; Pt. II, see *VB* 1957, 421.
- Rev. by A. J. Farmer in *Études anglaises*, XI, 170; by R. L. Peters in *JAA*, XVII, 135-36.
- Sims, George. "Who Wrote *For Love of the King?*" *Book Collector*, VII, 269-77.
- Sims seems to suspect Mrs. Chan Toon of the authorship of this play (published in *Hutchinson's Magazine* in 1921 and there attributed to Wilde), but he leaves the question open.
- Wyndham, Horace. "Edited by Oscar Wilde." *TC*, CLXIII, 435-40.
- Oscar Wilde's editorship of the short-lived *Woman's World*.
- Yü, Margaret Man Sang. *Two Masters of Irony: Annotations on Three Essays by Oscar Wilde and Lytton Strachey, with Special Reference to Their Manner of Writing*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong Univ. Pr. Pp. 42.
- Rev. briefly in *TLS*, 24 Jan., p. 50.
- Wiseman. Dougherty, Charles T., and Welch, Homer C. (eds.). "Wiseman on the Oxford Movement: An Early Report to the Vatican." *VS*, II, 149-54.
- Translation of a letter from Wiseman to Secretary of the Propaganda in Rome.
- Yeats (see also I, Clark, Wing; III, Alvarez, Bogan, Kenner; Arnold: Madden, Moore: Burkhart, Small).
- The Variorum Edition of the Poems of W. B. Yeats*. . . . See *VB* 1957, 422.
- Rev. briefly in *CE*, XIX, 273; by M. L. Rosenthal in *N*, 5 Apr., pp. 298-99; by Andrew G. Hoover in *OJS*, XLIV, 90-91; by Curtis Bradford in *SeR*, LXVI, 668-78; in *TLS*, 7 Mar., p. 126 (and see note by R. W. Chapman, 28 Mar., p. 169); by Iain Fletcher, *VS*, II, 72-75.
- Alvarez, A. "Eliot and Yeats: Orthodoxy and Tradition." *TC*, CLXII (1957), 149-63, 224-34.
- Engelberg, Edward. "The Herald of Art: A Study of W. B. Yeats' Criticism and Aesthetic." *DA*, XVIII, 2140.
- Gross, Martha. "Yeats' 'I Am of Ireland'." *Ex*, XVII, Item 15.
- Howarth, Herbert. "Yeats' 'In the Seven Woods', 6." *Ex*, XVII, Item 14.
- Kiernan, T. J. "Lady Gregory and W. B. Yeats." *Dalhousie Rev.*, XXXVIII, 295-306.
- Based in part on personal memories of both Yeats and Lady Gregory. . . .
- Martin, C. G. "W. B. Yeats: An Unpublished Letter." *N & Q*, n.s. V, 260-61.

- A brief note on prosody written in 1906.
- Melchiori, Giorgio. "Yeats' 'Beast' and the Unicorn." *DUJ*, LI, 10-23.
- The unicorn as a symbol of violent rebirth.
- Newton, Norman. "Yeats as Dramatist: *The Player Queen*." *EC*, VIII, 269-84.
- Raine, Kathleen. "A Little Song about a Rose." *NS*, 8 Feb., p. 170.
- In replying to Helen Gardner's review, Raine asks why the greatest English poetry has insisted on regarding symbols as symbols of something and not as technical devices. See also F. A. C. Wilson, "Symbolic Equations," *NS*, 1 Mar., p. 273, in which he defends Porphyry as the source of the honey-bee symbol in "The Stare's Nest by My Window." See also Helen Gardner's reply, "Symbolic Equations," *NS*, 8 Mar., p. 305.
- Reid, B. L. "Yeats and Tragedy." *Hudson Rev.*, XI, 391-410.
- Rose, Phyllis Hoge. "Yeats and the Dramatic Lyric." *DA*, XVIII, 2130.
- Saul, George Brandon. *Prolegomena to the Study of Yeats's Poems*. Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Univ. Pr., 1957. Pp. 196. Rev. briefly by F. L. Gwynn in *CE*, XX, 58.
- Schmalenbeck, Hildegard. "The Early Career of W. B. Yeats." *DA*, XVIII, 593.
- Shanley, J. Lyndon. "Thoreau's Geese and Yeats's Swans." *AL*, XXX, 361-64.
- Thwaite, Anthony. "Yeats and the Noh." *TC*, CLXII (1957), 235-42.
- Wade, Allan. *A Bibliography of the Writings of W. B. Yeats*. 2nd ed. rev. London: Hart-Davis. Pp. 449.
- Rev. by Gerald D. McDonald in *BSP*, LII, 322-26; in *TLS*, 7 Mar., p. 126. Previous edition, 1951; see *VB* 1952, 268.
- Watson, Thomas Lee. "A Critical Edition of Selected Lyrics of William Butler Yeats." *DA*, XIX, 1080.
- The main body of the dissertation consists of some one hundred selected lyrics with notes and annotations to the text of the poems.
- Wilson, Francis Alexander Charles. *W. B. Yeats and Tradition*. London: Gollancz. Pp. 286.
- Rev. by Christopher Busby in *Dublin Rev.*, CCXXXII, 178-81; by R. F. Ratcliff in *HJ*, LVI, 311-12; by Helen Gardner in *NS*, 1 Feb., pp. 141-42; by Thomas Hogan in *S*, 17 Jan., p. 78; by Thomas Parkinson in *SeR*, LXVI, 678-85; by G. F. Hudson in *TC*, CLXIII, 482-83; in *TLS*, 24 Jan., p. 43.

From the perspective of a century



DARWIN AND THE DARWINIAN REVOLUTION

by Gertrude Himmelfarb

Did Darwin launch a scientific revolution—or did *The Origin of Species* merely call attention to a revolution which had already occurred? This biographical, historical and scientific study undertakes to answer that question and others equally pertinent through a thorough consideration and analysis of Darwin's background, education, researches and writings. Dr. Himmelfarb also discusses the inconsistencies of Darwin's theories and offers an illuminating cross-section of contemporary reactions to their publication. The entire study is at once the definitive work on the man and his writing and a complete refutation of conventional appraisals of Darwinism. *Bibliography, notes, index.*

\$5.95 at all booksellers

DOUBLEDAY & COMPANY, INC.

Garden City, N. Y.

THE
TRANSCENDENTALIST
MINISTERS
by
WILLIAM
R.
HUTCHISON

This book, awarded the Brewer Prize by the American Society of Church History, is a study of the efforts of the Transcendentalists of the New England Renaissance to reform the Unitarian Church. Mr. Hutchison believes that Transcendentalism was far more than a tendency to appraise the universe in terms of an intuitive faith. Most of the men associated with the Movement were Unitarian ministers and he has concentrated on their attempt to apply transcendental thinking to theology and to the everyday problems of the parish ministry. \$4.50

YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS

THE CONCISE CAMBRIDGE BIBLIOGRAPHY
OF ENGLISH LITERATURE

Edited by George Watson

"We thought CUP was mad when they announced they were going to compress into one handy vol the 4 vols of the *Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature* (1940), plus the Supplemental vol (1957), plus new XXth century material. . . . The present book is proof that an expert conscientious editor can turn the trick. Here are the first editions, the main editions, the preferred editions, the chief bibliographies, plus occasional annotations and editorial comment on the work of over 400 major (and some minor

writers), from Caedmon to Dylan Thomas to Virginia Woolf (plus a couple of 'American' authors: Henry James and T. S. Eliot), books by and about, plus 'useful modern reprints (and) scholarly editions'. Those who have the 5-vol set will want this handy vol for quick reference; those who lack the CBEL will find this a 'best buy.' Indeed, price is so low (\$3.75) that every bookman will be able to use 2 or 3: for shop, home, and scouting expeditions."

Antiquarian Bookman

\$3.75—Copies may be ordered through your local bookseller

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS • 32 East 57th St., New York 22

WALTER BAGEHOT

*A Study of
His Life and Thought
Together with a Selection
from His Political Writings
by
NORMAN*

ST. JOHN-STEVAS

Includes the complete text of *The English Constitution* (1867), essays on Brougham and Peel, and sketches of Gladstone and Disraeli. Extensive bibliography and index.

"Here is recaptured much of the mind and spirit of one of the most fascinating of the mid-Victorians."—*The Scotsman*

\$5.00

at your bookseller, or order from

INDIANA UNIVERSITY PRESS • BLOOMINGTON

Just published...

Victorian Poetry

CLOUGH TO KIPLING

394 pages

\$1.25

200 poems from 26 poets (the majority from 9 great poets) edited with introduction, bibliography, and biographical notes by ARTHUR J. CARR of the University of Michigan.

*For complete listings write to
Rinehart & Company, Inc.
232 Madison, New York 16*

...in

Rinehart Editions

the series of distinguished paperbacks that includes the new and forthcoming:

CONRAD: Lord Jim

Robert B. Heilman, editor 369 pp., \$.75

DICKENS: Hard Times

William W. Watt, editor 274 pp., \$.65

HARDY: Far from the Madding Crowd

Carl Weber, editor 388 pp., \$.95

NEWMAN: The Idea of a University

Martin J. Svaglic, editor
500 pp., \$1.25 (prob.)

and many other volumes of the great literature of the Victorians.

COMMENTS AND QUERIES



running from 6 July to 14 August: at London, "Literature, Art and Social Change: Nineteenth-Century England"; at Oxford, "England, 1870 to the Present Day."

WE HAVE REGRETFULLY to record the recent death of G. D. H. Cole, late Chichele Professor of Social and Political Theory in the University of Oxford. We remember with pleasure his visit to Indiana University in the spring of 1958, and we are proud to print a review of his in this issue.

GLADLY TECHE: G. Kitson Clark has been appointed Ford's Lecturer at Oxford for the academic year 1959-60; he will give a series of lectures on "The Making of Victorian England." Graham Landrum (Austin College) has been working on an experimental unit of Victorian studies as a part of a program sponsored at Austin by the Ford Foundation; the unit occupies about seven months of the freshman English course; Mr. Landrum would like to correspond with others trying to use Victorian material at the freshman level. Dougald B. MacEachen (John Carroll University) asks for someone to do a history of the teaching of English literature in British universities in the nineteenth century—"something of the scope of George Haines' article in the March 1958 VS." There are two relevant British summer schools, both

ERRATUM: The American publisher of H. M. Pollard's *Pioneers of Popular Education, 1760-1850*, reviewed in VS I, 294, is not Transatlantic Arts, as there reported, but the Harvard University Press.

DISPUTANDUM EST:

JOSEF L. ATHOLZ (Columbia) comments, "In the article 'Wiseman on the Oxford Movement' (VS, December 1958) by Messrs. Dougherty and Welsh, it is distinctly implied that Wiseman's report on the Oxford Movement was significant as a factor in bringing about the doubling of the English vicariates in 1840: 'It is inconceivable that Rome would not have followed events in England after 1833 with close attention, and the swift and coordinated reorganization of the English vicariates in 1840 is ample evidence that the Papacy had indeed been closely watching the English scene.... what was the source of the Vatican's information, and what was its nature?' (p. 149). It is quite possible, in view of the lack of other information, that this letter shaped the attitude of the Vatican

toward the Oxford Movement' (p. 150).

"This, I submit, is an erroneous interpretation of the significance of the interesting document whose text they have edited. The authors admit a 'lack of other information' to justify it; they find no historian who inclines to it except John J. O'Connor, 'who has drawn the same conclusion from the circumstantial evidence' (p. 149, n. 1), supported neither by evidence nor argument. The fact is that the increase of the vicariates from four to eight was brought about by the internal needs of the English Catholics, without any reference to the Oxford Movement. Four vicars-apostolic were simply inadequate to meet the needs of the English Catholics in 1840. Their numbers had multiplied several times since the four vicariates were instituted in 1688. This alone would explain the fact; but let us analyze the actual reorganization. The South of England, which previously had three districts, now had four (excluding Wales, which was set apart), and the North, formerly one district, was divided into three. This was a perfectly natural response to the existing needs of the English Catholics, corresponding to their actual distribution. It would not have been the case if the motive for the redistribution had been the anticipated Oxford conversions: the strength of the Oxford Movement would have justified a greater increase in the South and less in the North. But there is more than 'circumstantial evidence.' The redistribution had been under discussion for several years before Wiseman wrote his report. Bishop Griffith's diary records that the Pope, in 1837, 'approved and sanctioned a further division, saying that as the number of Catholics increased, there was cause for an increase of Bishops to govern them' (Bernard Ward, *The Sequel to Catholic Emancipation* [London, 1915], I, 128).

"The significance of the Wiseman report is that it shows how, practically alone among English prelates, he was striving to influence Propaganda to take friendly cognizance of the Oxford Movement. In this matter he was going over the heads of the English Bishops; and, on his return to England in 1840, he found himself practically isolated among them in his sympathy with the Tractarians. He was, of course, justified by the conversions of 1845, and from that time took the

leading place among the English Bishops. But no conclusions can be drawn from this report, in the absence of other information, as to its actual influence upon Propaganda. His promotion to the episcopate in 1840 is not necessarily a sign of particular confidence in him, since his position as rector of the English College was one which traditionally led to a bishopric. The report simply illustrated the skillful way in which he played his lone hand; the successes of 1845 must have retrospectively vindicated him as a prophet.

"In criticizing the interpretation of this document by Messrs. Dougherty and Welsh, I wish at the same time to thank them for having published it. I hope it is but the precursor of a full publication, carefully edited by qualified specialists, of the micro-filmed Vatican documents relating to Victorian England. It whets my appetite for more."

MR. DOUGHERTY REPLIES: "In my introduction to the Wiseman letter I suggested, in the most hesitant and qualified way, that this letter may have shaped the Vatican's attitude toward the Oxford movement, and that that attitude was the reason for the reorganization of the English vicariates in 1840. Mr. Altholz has denied the second half of my hypothesis. Instead he persuasively argues that the 1840 reorganization was carried out without reference to the Oxford movement.

"His argument convinces me that the administrative details of the reorganization had already been worked out in accordance with the current statistical distribution of Roman Catholics in England. However there is another circumstance, which I have emphasized and which Mr. Altholz omits. This is the timing of events. It is true that the English vicariates needed to be reorganized, but why this year? Why was this not done earlier, or later? The answer, I suggest again, lies in Wiseman's letter.

"It is clear from Mr. Altholz's argument that the Vatican authorities already had the necessary statistics. What did Wiseman tell them which they did not already know? He gave them a qualitative estimate of events in England, an account of the spirit of the

times. He wrote that new churches were being built because of the indefatigable zeal of the architect and the generosity of the poor; that conversions were multiplying and these converts included men of wide reputation in the arts, substantial wealth, and political power; and, finally, that at the very seat of Anglican theology, a movement had begun which involved some of Oxford's most able men, which was already moving toward Rome, and which had spread across the land. It is distinctly possible that such a report galvanized the great Vatican bureaucracy into action, and the timing of subsequent events seems to me to support my interpretation.

"It is true that after the English College was reopened in 1818, almost all the rectors became bishops, but since Wiseman was only the second rector the single instance of the appointment of Gradwell cannot be said to represent a tradition. Wiseman's elevation in spite of the coolness of the English bishops, and at this time, surely does attest to Rome's confidence in him.

"I believe that my interpretation of the Wiseman letter has been enriched rather than destroyed by Mr. Altholz's observations, and I am grateful for the additional light he has shed upon the whole problem. These conjectures based upon circumstantial evidence will be unnecessary when the reports of the English vicars, the full correspondence of Wiseman, Baggs, and Grant with the Propaganda, and of Wiseman with Cardinal Mai become available."

CANON J. C. GILL, Wellingborough, Northants, comments, "I feel constrained to reply to the review of the book by Drs. Henderson and Chaloner in the current issue of VICTORIAN STUDIES. The writer thereof seems to be concerned to whitewash the Liberals of that day. I hold no brief for Engels, but evidence about the social conditions of the eighteen-thirties does not depend upon him. Dr. Mather makes light of Engels' charge that factory-owners seduced their female operatives and quotes someone else's more extreme statement that he may suggest exaggeration on the part of writers of that day. There is plenty of evidence quite apart from that which he quotes, and it is impossi-

ble to read the writings and speeches of supporters of the Ten Hours Bill without recognizing this. If it is argued that the female operatives were easy to seduce, support is given to the contention that moral standards were low, but that does not support Dr. Mather's argument. Moreover, he is right in saying that "there was a Poor Law in Victorian England," but that does not prove that no one starved. It was maintained by many observers — including writers of *The Times* — that the Poor Law did not relieve poverty; it only relieved destitution. There were occasions when the destitute were not relieved because officials were so anxious to observe the letter of their instructions that they were too late.

"In his last paragraph, your reviewer suggests that two of Engels' assertions ought not to pass unchallenged. He says that the claim that the Reform Act of 1832 'raised the status of the bourgeoisie to that of the ruling class.' Beyond inferring that 'what is known about the structure of politics at that time' disproves the claim, he offers no effective challenge, however. Surely, the Reform Parliament had a majority of members who were either allies of the middle class or themselves members of it. Factory reformers asserted that there were forty-five millowners — typical of new middle-class members — and they carried with them other industrialists, as well as Whigs, Macaulay — whatever class he belonged to — was returned by the middle-class supporters of Leeds because he was opposed to factory reform and a supporter of all that the middle-class manufacturers stood for. Similarly, Dr. Mather challenges Engels' assertion that the Poor Law (Inquiry) Commissioners 'accepted Malthus's views without question.' What does he object to here? That they accepted it without question? We cannot know, perhaps. But that most of them accepted it is without question, surely. Is not that why they were appointed?

"I hope that VICTORIAN STUDIES will be used by scholars who are not concerned to whitewash the upholders of *laissez-faire*, the resistors of factory legislation, and the perpetrators of the New Poor Law of 1834. We are suffering in this country because the Conservative Party has absorbed so much of their outlook that it is now more Liberal than most Liberals. I hope that someone

more learned than I will reply to Dr. Mather in greater detail and with greater authority."

MR. MATHER REPLIES: "I did not quote someone else's more extreme statement; the whole point of the quotation was that it came from Engels himself. Has Canon Gill found any specific evidence to support the charge that 'factory-owners seduced their female operatives' — evidence such as would be accepted in a court of law, and not mere rumour and hearsay? There is none in the Factory Commission's reports and evidence.

"2. As for the 'occasions when the destitute were not relieved' because of the incompetence of officials, are these supposed to justify Engel's assertion that 'the unemployed worker has to rely on charity, begging or theft'?

"3. Professor W. O. Aydelotte has estimated (*History*, XXXIX) that at least 71% of the members of the House of Commons between 1841 and 1847 belonged to noble or 'gentle' families. Some, indeed, represented large open constituencies like Leeds or Manchester. But by no means all did. Some fifty proprietary boroughs, where a patron who was usually a member of the aristocracy returned one or both of the two members, survived the reformer's axe in 1832. Furthermore, 253 seats in the reformed parliament were allocated to the counties, where, in many instances, powerful landowners commanded the voting strength of their tenants. Radical reformers of the 'thirties and 'forties of the nineteenth century did not make the mistake of despising the influence of the landed interest, for the Anti-Corn Law League's campaign drew much of its inspiration from the fact that the Corn Law symbolized aristocratic predominance.

"4. By far the most influential members of the Poor Law Commission were Nassau Senior and Edwin Chadwick. Senior in his 'Two Lectures on Population' denied the Malthusian proposition that population had a 'tendency' to increase beyond the means of subsistence. He was, at the most, a semi-Malthusian, whilst Chadwick, as his biographer (Professor Finer) points out, objected to poor relief, not in principle (as Malthus did) but because of the way in which it was administered.

"Respect for factual accuracy is not to be confused with 'whitewash.' It is, however, advisable to abstain from condemning whole classes of men in history on fragmentary or hearsay evidence, and without taking account of the historical circumstances which conditioned the thinking of their members about social problems. To say that is not to deny sympathy to other classes whose needs were inadequately met."

TO MAKE AN END: C. Fred MacRae (Mount Allison University) writes: "I am going to take this opportunity to comment on the question 'When Did Victorianism End?', discussed in VS, I, 3. It seems to me that it would be equally (though not more) logical to say that Victorianism outlived the Queen by fifteen years. What seems generally overlooked is that the dividing line which separates the twentieth century from all that has gone before it was drawn in July, 1916; *viz.*, by the Battle of the Somme. The opening months of the First World War did not differ radically in their emotional climate from the days of the South African War as reflected in Noel Coward's *Cavalade*. J. B. Priestley made the same point in one of his broadcasts to North America during the Second World War. The early war poetry of Rupert Brooke, Julian Grenfell, and their like, was essentially Victorian, as that of Siegfried Sassoon and, his school was essentially anti-Victorian. Officers wore swords in action during the retreat from Mons. But the casualty-lists of July 1916 finally and decisively changed all that, permanently altering the emotional climate of England.

"There are thus two dates which are more significant than any that come between them: 1832 and 1916. The first marks the end of the eighteenth century in politics as 1798 marks the end of it in poetry. The second marks the end of the nineteenth century for good and all. There is only the question of nomenclature remaining. Shall we take the whole period as the 'Victorian Age,' subdivided into 'early Victorian,' 'mid-Victorian,' 'late-Victorian,' and 'post-Victorian'; or shall we limit the term 'Victorian' to the first two of these periods? Either is defensible but the first seems to me the more closely linked to the actual situation."

DAVID R. CARROLL, Lecturer in English at Fourah Bay College, Freetown, Sierra Leone (affiliated with Durham University). Has forthcoming several articles on the symbolism and structure of George Eliot's novels.

E. J. FEUCHTWANGER, Tutor and Lecturer in Modern History and Politics, Adult Edu-

cation Department, Southampton University. Author of articles on historical and political subjects. Now working on a book on the party system in the 1870's and 1880's.

COLEMAN O. PARSONS, Associate Professor of English at The City College of New York. Has published articles on Scott, Stevenson, Coleridge, and others.



ADVICE TO CONTRIBUTORS

VICTORIAN STUDIES encourages contributors always to state or clearly imply the relevance of their work not just to a particular branch of knowledge but to the whole Victorian age. Such a statement or implication need not involve a concession in depth or detail, but it does require a deliberate attempt to "place" the article in its Victorian context and so to give a clear sense of its likely significance to a given reader of VICTORIAN STUDIES.

Manuscripts should be styled to accord with the *MLA Style Sheet* (copies of which can be had from the Treasurer, Modern Language Association, 6 Washington Square North, New York 3, N. Y., for 50¢). All matter should be double-spaced and footnotes should be typed together at the end of the article. An editorial decision can usually be reached more quickly if two copies are submitted. A stamped, self-addressed envelope should accompany all manuscripts. Authors should, of course, retain a copy for themselves.

two announcements for readers of VICTORIAN STUDIES

DARWIN: A Special Number

in September will mark the centennial of the *Origin of Species*, with five essays ranging from the role of evolutionary ideas in anthropology to an analysis of the contemporary scientific dissent from Darwinism. Bert James Loewenberg, chairman of the International Darwin Anniversary Committee, will be guest co-editor for the special issue.

1859: Entering an Age of Crisis

will be published by the Indiana University Press this fall. This collection of sixteen essays dealing with various phases of a remarkable year has been edited by the editors of VICTORIAN STUDIES. Information about the book and about a special discount for subscribers to this journal can be found elsewhere in this issue.

INDEX

- ABRAMS, M. H., rev. *Romantic Image*, by Frank Kermode, 75.
- ALLOTT, KENNETH, "Matthew Arnold's Reading-Lists in Three Early Diaries," 254.
- Alt, Peter and Alsopach, Russell K., eds., *The Variorum Edition of the Poems of W. B. Yeats*, rev. by IAIN FLETCHER, 72.
- BADER, A. L., rev. *Through A Glass Darkly*, by Katherine H. Porter; *Bulwer-Lytton's Novels and "Isis Unveiled,"* by S. E. Liljegren, 183.
- BARKER, T. C., rev. *Technical Education and Social Change*, by Stephen F. Cotgrove.
- Barlow, Nora, ed., *The Autobiography of Charles Darwin*, rev. by CHARLES C. GILLISPIE, 166.
- Baum, Paull F., *Ten Studies in the Poetry of Matthew Arnold*, rev. by WILLIAM A. MADDEN, 173.
- Bealey, Frank and Pelling, Henry, *Labour and Politics, 1900-1906*, rev. by G. D. H. COLE, 331.
- Beerbohm, Max, *Max's Nineties: Drawings, 1892-1899*, rev. by JEROME H. BUCKLEY, 343.
- Benians, E. A., Butler, James, and Carrington, C. E., eds., *The Empire-Commonwealth, 1870-1919*, Vol. III, *The Cambridge History of the British Empire*, rev. by PRESTON SLOSSON, 340.
- BIBBY CRIL, "Thomas Henry Huxley and University Development," 97.
- Blaug, Mark, *Ricardian Economics*, rev. by GEORGE W. HILTON, 70.
- Boe, Alf, *From Gothic Revival to Functional Form*, rev. by JOHN STEEGMAN, 328.
- Booth, Bradford A., *Anthony Trollope: Aspects of His Life and Art*, rev. by A. O. J. COCKSHUT, 169.
- Bouyer, Louis, *Newman: His Life and Spirituality*, rev. by MARTIN J. SVAGLIC, 162.
- BRADLEY, JOHN LEWIS, rev. *The Diaries of John Ruskin, 1848-1873*, Vol. II, ed. by Joan Evans and John Howard Whitehouse, 88.
- BROCK, M. G., rev. *The House of Lords in the Age of Reform, 1784-1837*, by A. S. Turberville, 280.
- Brown, Lucy, *The Board of Trade and the Free-Trade Movement, 1830-42*, rev. by ROGER PROUTY, 348.
- Buckler, William E., *Matthew Arnold's Books: Toward a Publishing Diary*, rev. by WILLIAM A. MADDEN, 173.
- BUCKLEY, JEROME H., rev. *Carcatures by Max from the Collection in the Ashmolean Museum; Max's Nineties: Drawings, 1892-1899*, by Max Beerbohm, 343.
- CAMERON, J. M., rev. *Three Cardinals: Newman, Wiseman, Manning*, by E. E. Reynolds, 282.
- CARROLL, DAVID R., "Unity Through Analogy: An Interpretation of *Middlemarch*," 305.
- Chadwick, Owen, *From Bossuet to Newman*, rev. by MARTIN J. SVAGLIC, 162.
- CHALONER, W. H., Introductory Note to "The Literature of Chartism" by Y. V. KOVALEV, 117.
- Churchill, Winston S., *The Great Democracies*, Vol. IV of *The History of the English-Speaking Peoples*, rev. by MICHAEL KRAUS, 337.
- CLIVE, JOHN, "More or Less Eminent Victorians: Some Trends in Recent Victorian Biography," 5.
- COCKSHUT, A. O. J., rev. *Anthony Trollope: Aspects of His Life and Art*, by Bradford A. Booth, 169.
- COLE, G. D. H., rev. *The Advent of the British Labour Party*, by Philip Poirier; *Labour and Politics, 1900-1906*, by Frank Bealey and Henry Pelling, 331.
- COLEMANN, D. C., *The British Paper Industry, 1495-1860*, rev. by ARTHUR J. TAYLOR, 277.
- COLEMAN, D. C., rev. *A History of Industrial Chemistry*, by F. Sherwood Taylor; *The Chemical Industry During the Nineteenth Century*, by L. F. Haber, 78.
- CONACHER, J. B., "A Visit to the Gladstones in 1894," 155.
- Cope, Zachary, *Florence Nightingale and the Doctors*, rev. by F. G. Young, 283.
- Cotgrove, Stephen F., *Technical Education and Social Change*, rev. by T. C. BARKER, 279.
- Coveney, Peter, *Poor Monkey*, rev. by BARBARA GARLITZ, 89.
- COWAN, L. GRAY, rev. *David Livingstone*, by George Seaver; *Livingstone The Doctor*, by Michael Gelfand; *Livingstone in Africa*, by Cecil Northcott, 80.
- Dalziel, Margaret, *Popular Fiction 100 Years Ago*, rev. by W. L. G. JAMES, 182.
- DOUGHERTY, CHARLES T. and WELSH, HOMER C., "Wiseman on the Oxford Movement: An Early Report to the Vatican," 149.
- DOWNER, ALAN, rev. *Bulwer and Macready*, ed. by Charles H. Shattuck, 344.
- Dunsheath, Percy and Miller, Margaret, *Convocation and the University of London*, rev. by JOHN ROACH, 181.

- Edel, Leon and Ray, Gordon N., eds., *Henry James and H. G. Wells*, rev. by MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL, 268.
- Edwards, Ralph and Ramsey, L. G. G., eds., *The Early Victorian Period, 1830-1860*, Vol. VI of *The Connoisseur Period Guides*, rev. by JOHN STEEGMAN, 328.
- Engels, F., *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, ed. by W. O. Henderson and W. H. Chaloner, rev. by F. C. MATHER, 178.
- Evans, Joan and Whitehouse, John Howard, eds., *The Diaries of John Ruskin, 1848-1873*, Vol. II, rev. by JOHN LEWIS BRADLEY, 88.
- FAGE, J. D., rev. *Rhodes of Africa*, by Felix Gross; *Sir Harry Johnston and the Scramble for Africa*, by Roland Oliver, 82.
- FEUCHTWANGER, E. J., "The Conservative Party Under the Impact of the Second Reform Act," 289.
- FLETCHER, IAIN, rev. *The Variorum Edition of the Poems of W. B. Yeats*, ed. by Peter Alt and Russell K. Alspach, 72.
- Fox, Alan, *A History of the National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives, 1874-1957*, rev. by H. W. McCREADY, 334.
- GARLINTON, BARBARA, rev. *Poor Monkey*, by Peter Coveney, 89.
- Gelfand, Michael, *Livingstone the Doctor*, rev. by L. GRAY COWAN, 80.
- GETTMANN, ROYAL A., rev. *Adam and Charles Black, 1807-1957; The House of Cassell, 1848-1958*, by Simon Nowell-Smith, 172.
- GIBBS, N. H., rev. *The Anti-Corn Law League, 1838-1846*, by Norman McCord, 180.
- GIMSON, WALKER, "Behind the Veil: A Distinction between Poetic and Scientific Language in Tennyson, Lyell, and Darwin," 60.
- GILLISPIE, CHARLES COULSTON, rev. *The Autobiography of Charles Darwin*, ed. by Nora Barlow; *Evolutionary Theory and Christian Belief*, by David Lack, 166.
- GREAVES, R. W., rev. *Dean Church: The Anglican Response to Newman*, by B. A. Smith, 165.
- Gross, Felix, *Rhodes of Africa*, rev. by J. D. FAGE, 82.
- Haber, L. F., *The Chemical Industry During the Nineteenth Century*, rev. by D. C. COLEMAN, 78.
- Hanbury, H. G., *The Vinerian Chair and Legal Education*, rev. by EDWARD McWHINNEY, 273.
- Henderson, W. O. and Chaloner, W. H., eds., *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, by F. Engels, rev. by F. C. MATHER, 178.
- HILTON, GEORGE W., rev. *Ricardian Economics*, by Mark Blaug; *Robert Torrens and the Evolution of Classical Economics*, by Lionel Robbins, 70.
- Hitchcock, Henry-Russell, *Architecture, Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, rev. by VINCENT SCULLY, 329.
- Holt, Edgar, *The Boer War*, rev. by G. B. PYRAH, 184.
- Hough, GRAHAM, rev. *The Poetry of Experience*, by Robert Langbaum, 77.
- Hyams, Edward, ed., *Taine's Notes on England*, rev. by HENRI PEYRE, 275.
- HYDE, WILLIAM J., "Hardy's View of Realism: A Key to the Rustic Characters," 45.
- IRVINE, WILLIAM, rev. *Letters of the Drownings to George Barrett*, ed. by Paul Landis and Ronald E. Freeman, 85.
- JAMES, Henry, *Literary Reviews and Essays, on American, English, and French Literature*, ed. by Albert Mordell, rev. by MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL, 268.
- JAMES, W. L. G., rev. *Popular Fiction 100 Years Ago*, by Margaret Dalziel, 182.
- JAMISON, WILLIAM A., *Arnold and the Romantics*, rev. by WILLIAM A. MADDEN, 173.
- JONES, Wilbur Devereux, *Lord Aberdeen and the Americas*, rev. by MICHAEL KRAUS, 337.
- JOHNSON, E. D. H., "In Memoriam": The Way of the Poet," 139.
- KAYE, JULIAN B., *Bernard Shaw and the Nineteenth-Century Tradition*, rev. by MELVIN RICHTER, 346.
- KERMODE, FRANK, *The Romantic Image*, rev. by M. H. ABRAMS, 75.
- KITSON CLARK, G., rev. *Democracy in England*, by Diana Spearman, 347.
- KOVALEV, Y. V., "The Literature of Chartism," 117.
- KOVALEV, Y. V., ed., *An Anthology of Chartist Literature*, rev. by F. C. MATHER, 178.
- KRAUS, MICHAEL, rev. *Lord Aberdeen and the Americas*, by Wilbur D. Jones; *The Great Democracies*, by Winston S. Churchill; *The Anglo-American Connection in the Early Nineteenth Century*, by Frank Thistlethwaite, 337.
- LACK, DAVID, *Evolutionary Theory and Christian Belief*, rev. by CHARLES C. GILLISPIE, 166.
- LANDIS, PAUL and FREEMAN, RONALD E., eds., *Letters of the Brownings to George Barrett*, rev. by WILLIAM IRVINE, 85.
- LANGBAUM, ROBERT, *The Poetry of Experience*, rev. by GRAHAM HOUGH, 77.
- LILJEGREN, S. B., *Bulwer-Lytton's Novels and "Isis Unveiled"*, rev. by A. L. BADER, 183.
- LUNN, ARNOLD, *A Century of Mountaineering, 1857-1957*, rev. by DAVID ALLAN ROBERTSON, JR., 342.
- LYONS, F. S. L., rev. *The Independent Irish Party*, by J. H. Whyte, 177.
- MCCORD, NORMAN, *The Anti-Corn Law League, 1838-1846*, rev. by N. H. GIBBS, 180.
- MCREADY, H. W., rev. *The Trades Union Congress, 1868-1921*, by B. C. Roberts; *A History of the National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives, 1874-1957*, by ALAN FOX, 334.
- MCWHINNEY, EDWARD, rev. *The Vinerian Chair and Legal Education*, by H. G. Hanbury, 273.
- MACDONAGH, OLIVER, "Delegated Legislation and Administrative Discretions in the 1850's: A Particular Study," 29.
- MADDEN, WILLIAM A., rev. *Ten Studies in the Poetry of Matthew Arnold*, by PAUL F. BAUM; *Matthew Arnold's Books: Toward a Publishing Diary*, by William E. Buckler; *Arnold and the Romantics*, by William A. Jamison, 173.
- MATHER, F. C., rev. *An Anthology of Chartist Literature*, ed. by Y. V. Kovalev; *The Condition of*

- The Working Class in England, by F. Engels, ed. by W. O. Henderson and W. H. Chaloner, 178.
- ayer, J. P., ed., *Journeys to England and Ireland*, by A. de Tocqueville, rev. by HENRI PEYRE, 275.
- linchinton, W. E., *The British Tinplate Industry*, rev. by ARTHUR J. TAYLOR, 277.
- Miller, J. Hillis, *Charles Dickens: The World of His Novels*, rev. by JULIAN L. MOYNANAN, 170.
- fordell, Albert, ed., *Literary Reviews and Essays*, by Henry James, rev. by MORTON D. ZABEL, 268.
- MOYNANAN, JULIAN L., rev. *Charles Dickens: The World of His Novels*, by J. Hillis Miller, 170.
- Nadel, George, *Australia's Colonial Culture*, rev. by MICHAEL ROE, 175.
- NADEL, GEORGE, rev. *A Victorian Eminence*, by Giles St. Aubyn, 84.
- Northcott, Cecil, *Livingstone in Africa*, rev. by L. GRAY COWAN, 80.
- Nowell-Smith, Simon, *The House of Cassell, 1848-1958*, rev. by KOYAL A. GETTMANN, 172.
- Oliver, Roland, *Sir Harry Johnston and the Scramble for Africa*, rev. by J. D. PAGE, 82.
- PARSONS, COLEMAN O., "The Wintry Duel: A Victorian Import," 317.
- Pearson, Hesketh, *Gilbert: His Life and Strife*, rev. by ELIZABETH SEWELL, 87.
- PELLING, HENRY, rev. *The Chartist Challenge*, by A. R. Schoyen, 89.
- PEYRE, HENRI, rev. *Taine's Notes on England*, ed. by Edward Hyams; *Journeys to England and Ireland*, by A. de Tocqueville, ed. by J. P. Mayer, 275.
- Poirier, Philip, *The Advent of the British Labour Party*, rev. by G. D. H. COLE, 331.
- Porter, Katherine H., *Through A Glass Darkly*, rev. by A. L. BADER, 183.
- PROUTY, ROGER, rev. *The Board of Trade and the Free-Trade Movement, 1830-42*, by Lucy Brown, 348.
- PYRAH, G. B., rev. *The Boer War*, by Edgar Holt, 184.
- Reynolds, E. E., *Three Cardinals: Newman, Wiseman, Manning*, rev. by J. M. CAMERON, 282.
- RICHTER, MELVIN, rev. *Bernard Shaw and the Nineteenth-Century Tradition*, by Julian B. Kaye, 346.
- ROACH, JOHN, rev. *Convocation and the University of London*, by Percy Dunsheath and Margaret Miller, 181.
- Robbins, Lionel, *Robert Torrens and the Evolution of Classical Economics*, rev. by GEORGE W. HILTON, 70.
- Roberts, B. C., *The Trades Union Congress, 1868-1921*, rev. by H. W. McCREADY, 334.
- ROBERTS, DAVID, "Jeremy Bentham and the Victorian Administrative State," 193.
- ROBERTSON, DAVID ALLAN, JR., rev. *A Century of Mountaineering, 1857-1957*, by Arnold Lunn, 342.
- ROE, MICHAEL, rev. *Australia's Colonial Culture*, by George Nadel, 175.
- St. Aubyn, Giles, *A Victorian Eminence*, rev. by GEORGE NADEL, 84.
- Schoyen, A. R., *The Chartist Challenge*, rev. by HENRY PELLING, 89.
- SCULLY, VINCENT, rev. *Architecture, Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, by Henry-Russell Hitchcock, 329.
- Seaver, George, *David Livingstone*, rev. by L. GRAY COWAN, 80.
- SEWELL, ELIZABETH, rev. *Gilbert: His Life and Strife*, by Hesketh Pearson, 87.
- Shattuck, Charles H., ed., *Bulwer and Macready*, rev. by ALAN DOWNIE, 344.
- SLOSSON, PRESTON, rev. *The Empire-Commonwealth, 1870-1919*, ed. by E. A. Benians, James Butler, and C. E. Carrington, 340.
- Smith, B. A. *Dean Church: The Anglican Response to Newman*, rev. by R. W. GREAVES, 165.
- Spearman, Diana, *Democracy in England*, rev. by G. KITSON CLARK, 347.
- STEEGMAN, JOHN, rev. *The Early Victorian Period, 1830-1860*, ed. by Ralph Edwards and L. G. G. Ramsey; *From Gothic Revival to Functional Form*, by Alf Boe, 328.
- STONE, HARRY, "Dickens and the Jews," 223.
- SVAGLIC, MARTIN J., rev. *Newman: His Life and Spirituality*, by Louis Bouyer; *From Bossuet to Newman*, by Owen Chadwick, 162.
- TAYLOR, ARTHUR J., rev. *The British Paper Industry, 1495-1860*, by D. C. Coleman; *The British Tinplate Industry*, by W. E. Minchinton; *The Rise of the British Rubber Industry During the Nineteenth Century*, by William Woodruff; *Men and Machines*, by Charles Wilson and William Reader, 277.
- Taylor, F. Sherwood, *A History of Industrial Chemistry*, rev. by D. C. COLEMAN, 78.
- TENNYSON, CHARLES, "They Taught the World to Play," 211.
- Thistlethwaite, Frank, *The Anglo-American Connection in the Early Nineteenth Century*, rev. by MICHAEL KRAUS, 337.
- de Tocqueville, Alexis, *Journeys to England and Ireland*, ed. by J. P. Mayer, rev. by HENRI PEYRE, 275.
- TOWNSEND, FRANCIS G., ed., "Victorian Bibliography for 1958," 351.
- Turberville, A. S., *The House of Lords in the Age of Reform, 1784-1837*, rev. by M. G. BROCK, 280.
- WELSH, HOMER C. See DOUGHERTY.
- Whyte, J. H., *The Independent Irish Party*, rev. by F. S. L. LYONS, 177.
- Wilson, Charles and Reader, William, *Men and Machines*, rev. by ARTHUR J. TAYLOR, 277.
- Woodruff, William, *The Rise of the British Rubber Industry During the Nineteenth Century*, rev. by ARTHUR J. TAYLOR, 277.
- YOUNG, F. G., rev. *Florence Nightingale and the Doctors*, by Zachary Cope, 283.
- ZABEL, MORTON DAUWEN, rev. *Henry James and H. G. Wells*, ed. by Leon Edel and Gordon N. Ray; *Literary Reviews and Essays*, by Henry James, ed. by Albert Mordell, 268.

